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# MINOR POEMS

*(Continued)*



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[TRANSLATIONS.]

THE FIFTH ODE OF HORACE, LIB. I.,

*Quis multâ gracilis te puer in rosâ,*

Rendered almost word for word, without rhyme, according to the Latin measure, as near as the language will permit.

WHAT slender youth, bedewed with liquid odours,  
Courts thee on roses in some pleasant cave,

Pyrrha? For whom bind'st thou

In wreaths thy golden hair,

Plain in thy neatness? Oh, how oft shall he

On faith and changed gods complain, and seas

Rough with black winds and storms

Unwonted shall admire,

Who now enjoys thee credulous, all gold;

Who always vacant, always amiable,

• Hopes thee, of flattering gales

Unmindful! Hapless they

To whom thou untried seem'st fair! Me, in my vowed

Picture, the sacred wall declares to have hung

My dank and dropping weeds

To the stern God of Sea.

[As Milton inserts the original with his translation, as if to challenge comparison,  
it is right that we should do so too.]

## TRANSLATIONS.

## AD PYRRHAM. ODE V.

*Horatius ex Pyrrhæ illecebris tanquam e naufragio enataverat, cujus amore irretitos affirmat esse miseros.*

QUIS multâ gracilis te puer in rosâ  
 Perfusus liquidis urget odoribus  
 Grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?  
 Cui flavam religas comam  
 Simplex munditiæ? Heu, quoties fidem  
 Mutatosque Deos flebit, et aspera  
 Nigris æquora ventis  
 Emirabitur insolens,  
 Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aureâ;  
 Qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem,  
 Sperat, nescius auræ  
 Fallacis! Miseri quibus  
 Intentatâ nites. Me tabulâ sacer  
 Votivâ paries indicat uvida  
 Suspendisse potenti  
 Vestimenta maris Deo.

---

*April, 1648.—J.M.*

Nine of the Psalms done into metre; wherein all, but what is in a different character, are the very words of the Text, translated from the original.

## PSALM LXXX.

1 THOU Shepherd that dost Israel *keep*,  
 Give ear *in time of need*,  
 Who ledest like a flock of sheep  
 Thy loved Joseph's seed,  
 That sitt'st between the Cherubs *bright*,  
 Between their wings *outspread*;

Shine forth, *and from thy cloud give light,*  
*And on our foes thy dread.*

2 In Ephraim's view and Benjamin's,  
 And in Manasseh's sight, 10  
 Awake<sup>1</sup> thy strength, come, and *be seen* <sup>1</sup> *Gnorera.*  
*To save us by thy might.*

3 Turn us again ; *thy grace divine*  
*To us, O God, vouchsafe ;*  
 Cause thou thy face on us to shine,  
 And then we shall be safe.

4 Lord God of Hosts, how long wilt thou,  
 How long wilt thou declare  
 Thy<sup>2</sup> smoking wrath, *and angry brow,* *Gnashanta.*  
 Against thy people's prayer ? 20

5 Thou fed'st them with the bread of tears ;  
 Their bread with tears they eat ;  
 And mak'st them largely<sup>3</sup> drink the tears <sup>3</sup> *Shalish.*  
*Wherewith their checks are wet.*

6 A strife thou mak'st us *and a prey*  
 To every neighbour foe ;  
 Among themselves they<sup>4</sup> laugh, they<sup>4</sup> play,  
 And<sup>4</sup> flouts at us they throw. *Jilgnagn.*

7 Return us, *and thy grace divine,*  
 O God of Hosts, *vouchsafe ;* 30  
 Cause thou thy face on us to shine,  
 • And then we shall be safe.

8 A Vine from Egypt thou hast brought,  
*Thy free love made it thine,*  
 And drov'st out nations *proud and haught,*  
 To plant this *lovely* Vine.

9 Thou didst prepare for it a place,  
 And root it deep and fast,  
 That it *began to grow apace,*  
*And filled the land at last.* 40

10 With her *green* shade that covered *all*  
The hills were *overspread* ;  
Her boughs as *high as* cedars tall  
*Advanced their lofty head.*

11 Her branches *on the western side*  
Down to the sea she sent,  
And *upward* to that river *wide*  
Her other branches *went.*

12 Why hast thou laid her hedges low,  
And broken down her fence,  
That all may pluck her, as they go,  
*With rudest violence?*

50

13 The *tusked* boar out of the wood  
Upturns it by the roots ;  
Wild beasts there browse, and make their food  
*Her grapes and tender shoots.*

14 Return now, God of Hosts ; look down  
From Heaven, thy seat divine ;  
Behold *us, but without a frown,*  
And visit this *thy* Vine.

60

15 Visit this Vine, which thy right hand  
Hath set, and planted *long,*  
And the young branch, that for thyself  
Thou hast made firm and strong.

16 But now it is consumed with fire,  
And cut *with axes* down ;  
They perish at thy dreadful ire,  
At thy rebuke and frown.

17 Upon the Man of thy right hand  
Let thy *good* hand be *laid* ;  
Upon the Son of Man, whom thou  
Strong for thyself hast made.

70

18 So shall we not go back from thee  
*To ways of sin and shame :*

- Quicken us thou ; then *gladly* we  
 Shall call upon thy Name.
- 19 Return us, *and thy grace divine*,  
 Lord God of Hosts, *vouchsafe* ;  
 Cause thou thy face on us to shine,  
 And then we shall be safe.

80

## PSALM LXXXI.

- 1 To God our strength sing loud *and clear* .  
 Sing loud to God *our King* ;  
 To Jacob's God, *that all may hear*,  
 Loud acclamations ring.
- 2 Prepare a hymn, prepare a song ;  
 The timbrel hither bring ;  
 The *cheerful* psaltery bring along,  
 And harp *with* pleasant *string*.
- 3 Blow, *as is wont*, in the new moon,  
 With trumpets' *lofty sound*,  
 The appointed time, the day whereon  
 Our solemn feast *comes round*.
- 4 This was a statute *given of old*  
 For Israel *to observe*,  
 A law of Jacob's God *to hold*,  
*From whence they might not swerve*.
- 5 This he a testimony ordained  
 In Joseph, *not to change*,  
 When as he passed through Egypt-land ;  
 The tongue I heard was strange.
- 6 From burden, *and from slavish toil*,  
 I set his shoulder free ;  
 His hands from pots, *and miry soil*,  
 Delivered were *by me*.

10

20,

7 When trouble did thee sore assail,  
*On me then* didst thou call,  
 And I to free thee *did not fail*,  
*And led thee out of thrall*.

<sup>1</sup> *Be Sether ragnam.*

I answered thee in <sup>1</sup> thunder deep,  
 With clouds encompassed round;  
 I tried thee at the water *steep*  
 Of Meriba *renowned*.

30

8 Hear, O my people, *hearken well*:  
 I testify to thee,  
*Thou ancient stock of Israel*,  
 If thou wilt list to me:

9 Throughout the land of thy abode  
 No alien God shall be,  
 Nor shalt thou to a foreign god  
 In honour bend thy knee.

40

10 I am the Lord thy God, which brought  
 Thee out of Egypt-land;  
 Ask large enough, and I, *besought*,  
 Will grant thy full demand.

11 And yet my people would not *hear*,  
*Nor* hearken to my voice;  
 And Israel, *whom I loved so dear*,  
 Misliked me for his choice.

12 Then did I leave them to their will,  
 And to their wandering mind;  
 Their own conceits they followed still,  
 Their own devices blind.

50

13 Oh that my people would *be wise*,  
*To serve me all their days!*  
 And oh that Israel would *advise*  
*To walk my righteous ways!*

14 Then would I soon bring down their foes,  
*That now so proudly rise*,

And turn my hand against *all those*  
*That are* their enemies.

60

- 15 Who hate the Lord should *then be fain*  
*To bow to him and bend ;*  
 But *they, his people, should remain ;*  
 Their time should have no end.
- 16 And he would feed them *from the stock*  
 With flour of finest wheat,  
 And satisfy them from the rock  
 With honey *for their meat.*

## PSALM LXXXII.

- 1 GOD in the <sup>1</sup>great<sup>1</sup> assembly stands  
*Of kings and lordly states ;*  
<sup>2</sup>Among the gods<sup>2</sup> on both his hands  
 He judges and debates.
- 2 How long will ye<sup>3</sup> pervert the right  
 With<sup>3</sup> judgment false and wrong,  
 Favouring the wicked *by your might,*  
*Who thence grow bold and strong ?*
- 3 <sup>4</sup>Regard the<sup>4</sup> weak and fatherless ;  
<sup>4</sup>Despatch the<sup>4</sup> poor man's cause ;  
 And <sup>5</sup>raise the man in deep distress  
 By<sup>5</sup> just and equal laws.
- 4 Defend the poor and desolate,  
 And rescue from the hands  
 Of wicked men the low estate  
 Of him *that help demands.*
- 5 They know not, nor will understand ;  
 In darkness they walk on ;  
 The earth's foundations all are <sup>6</sup>moved,  
 And <sup>6</sup>out of order gone.

*Bagnadath-el.*<sup>2</sup> *Bekerev.**Tishphetu gna-  
vel.*<sup>4</sup> *Shiphthu-dal.*

10

<sup>5</sup> *Hatzdikul.*<sup>6</sup> *Zimmotu.*

20



*Shiphla*

6 I said that ye were gods, yea all  
 The sons of God Most High ;  
 7 But ye shall die like men, and fall  
 As other princes *die*  
 8 Rise, God ; <sup>7</sup> judge thou the earth in might :  
 This *wicked* earth <sup>7</sup> redress ;  
 For thou art he who shalt by right  
 The nations all possess.

## PSALM LXXXIII

<sup>1</sup> *Jehem yu i.*

1 BE not thou silent *now at length* ;  
 O God, hold not thy peace :  
 Sit thou not still, O God *of strength* ;  
*We cry and do not cease.*

<sup>2</sup> *Jasnamun.*<sup>3</sup> *Sod*<sup>4</sup> *Jithja, natsu  
gnal.*<sup>5</sup> *T'ephum i.*

2 For lo <sup>1</sup> thy *furious* foes *now* <sup>1</sup> swell,  
 And <sup>1</sup> storm outrageously,  
 And they that hate thee, *proud and fell*,  
 Exalt their heads full high

3 Against thy people they <sup>2</sup> contrive  
<sup>3</sup> Their plots and counsels deep ;  
<sup>4</sup> Them to ensnare they chiefly strive  
<sup>5</sup> Whom thou dost hide and keep.

1 3

4 "Come, let us cut them off," say they,  
 "Till they no nation be ;  
 That Israel's name for ever may  
 Be lost in memory."

<sup>6</sup> *Lev jachlan.*

5 For they consult <sup>6</sup> with all their might,  
 And all as one in mind  
 Themselves against thee they unite,  
 And in firm union bind.

6 The tents of Edom, and the brood  
 Of *scornful* Ishmael,

- Moab, with them of Hagar's blood,  
*That in the desert dwell,*
- 7 Gebal and Ammon *there conspire,*  
*And hateful Amalec,*  
 The Philistines, and they of Tyre,  
*Whose bounds the sea doth check.*
- 8 With them *great* Ashur also bands,  
*And doth confirm the knot ;*  
*All these have lent their armed hands*  
*To aid the sons of Lot.*
- 9 Do to them as to Midian *bold,*  
*That wasted all the coast ;*  
 To Sisera, and as *is told*  
*Thou didst to Jabin's host,*  
*When at the brook of Kishon old*  
*They were repulsed and slain,*
- 10 At 'Endor quite cut off, and rolled  
 As dung upon the plain.
- 11 As Zeb and Oreb evil sped,  
 So let their princes speed ;  
 As Zeba and Zalmunna *bled,*  
 So let their princes *bled.*
- 12 *For they amidst their pride* have said,  
 " By right now shall we seize  
 God's houses, and *will now invade*  
 ' Their stately palaces."
- 13 My God, oh make them as a wheel ;  
*No quiet let them find ;*  
 Giddy and *restless* let *them reel,*  
 Like stubble from the wind.
- 14 As, *when* an aged wood takes fire  
 Which on a sudden strays,  
 The *greedy* flame runs higher and higher,  
 Till all the mountains blaze ;

30

40

*— Noth / Ichim*  
*beats both.*

50

<sup>8</sup> They seek thy  
name: *Heb.*

- 15 So with thy whirlwind them pursue,  
And with thy tempest chase;  
16 <sup>8</sup> And till they <sup>8</sup> yield thee honour due,  
Lord, fill with shame their face. 60  
17 Ashamed and troubled let them be,  
Troubled and shamed for ever,  
Ever confounded, and so die  
With shame, *and scape it never.*  
18 Then shall they know that thou, whose name  
Jehovah is, alone  
Art the Most High, *and thou the same*  
O'er all the earth *art One.*

## PSALM LXXXIV.

- 1 HOW lovely are thy dwellings fair!  
O Lord of Hosts, how dear  
The *pleasant* tabernacles are  
*Where thou dost dwell so near!*  
2 My soul doth long and almost die  
Thy courts, O Lord, to see;  
My heart and flesh aloud do cry,  
O living God, for thee.  
3 There even the sparrow, *freed from wrong,*  
Hath found a house of *rest*; 10  
The swallow there, to lay her young,  
Hath built her *brooding* nest;  
Even *by* thy altars, Lord of Hosts,  
*They find their safe abode;*  
*And home they fly from round the coasts*  
*Toward thee, my King, my God.*  
4 Happy who in thy house reside,  
Where thee they ever praise!

# TRANSLATIONS.

13

- 5 Happy whose strength in thee doth bide,  
And in their hearts thy ways! 20
- 6 They pass through Baca's *thirsty* vale,  
*That dry and barren ground,*  
As through a fruitful watery dale  
Where springs and showers abound.
- 7 They journey on from strength to strength  
*With joy and gladsome cheer,*  
*Till all before our God at length*  
In Sion do appear.
- 8 Lord God of Hosts, hear *now* my prayer,  
O Jacob's God, give ear: 30
- 9 Thou, God, our shield, look on the face  
Of thy anointed *dear*.
- 10 For one day in thy courts *to be*  
*Is better and more blest*  
*Than in the joys of vanity*  
A thousand days *at best*.  
I in the temple of my God  
Had rather keep a door  
Than dwell in tents *and rich abode*  
*With sin for evermore.* 40
- 11 For God, the Lord, both sun and shield,  
Gives grace and glory *bright*;  
No good from them shall be withheld  
Whose ways are just and right.
- 12 Lord *God* of Hosts *that reign'st on high,*  
That man is *truly* blest  
Who *only* on thee doth rely,  
And in thee only rest.

## PSALM LXXXV.

- 1 THY land to favour graciously  
• Thou hast not, Lord, been slack;

Thou hast from *hard* captivity  
Returned Jacob back.

2 The iniquity thou didst forgive  
*That wrought* thy people woe,  
And all their sin *that did thee grieve*  
Hast hid *wherc none shall know*.

3 Thine anger all thou hadst removed,  
And *calmly* didst return 10

<sup>1</sup> Heb. The burn-  
ing heat of thy  
wrath

From thy<sup>1</sup> fierce wrath, which we had proved  
Far worse than fire to burn.

4 God of our saving health and peace,  
Turn us, and us restore;  
Thine indignation cause to cease  
Toward us, *and chide no more*.

5 Wilt thou be angry without end,  
For ever angry thus?  
Wilt thou thy frowning ire extend  
From age to age on us? 20

<sup>2</sup> Heb. Turn to  
quicken us

6 Wilt thou not<sup>2</sup> turn and *hear our voice*,  
And thus again<sup>2</sup> revive,  
That so thy people may rejoice,  
By thee preserved alive?

7 Cause us to see thy goodness, Lord;  
To us thy mercy shew;  
Thy saving health to us afford,  
*And life in us renew*.

8 *And now* what God the Lord will speak  
I will *go straight and* hear, 30  
For to his people he speaks peace,  
And to his saints *full dear*;  
To his dear saints he will speak peace;  
But let them never more  
Return to folly, *but surcease*  
*To trespass as before*.

# TRANSLATIONS.

15

- 9 Surely to such as do him fear  
 Salvation is at hand,  
 And glory shall *ere long appear*  
*To dwell within our land.* 40
- 10 Mercy and Truth, *that long were missed,*  
 Now *joyfully* are met;  
 Sweet Peace and Righteousness have kissed,  
*And hand in hand are set.*
- 11 Truth from the earth *like to a flower*  
 Shall bud and blossom *then*;  
 And Justice from her heavenly bower  
 Look down *on mortal men.*
- 12 The Lord will also then bestow  
 Whatever thing is good; 50  
 Our land shall forth in plenty throw  
 Her fruits *to be our food.*
- 13 Before him Righteousness shall go,  
*His royal harbinger:*  
 Then<sup>3</sup> will he come, and not be slow;  
 His footsteps cannot err.

<sup>3</sup> *Heb* : He will  
 set his steps to the  
 way

## PSALM LXXXVI.

- 1 *Thy gracious* ear, O Lord, incline;  
 O hear me, *I thee pray*;  
 For I am poor, and almost pine  
 With need *and sad decay.*
- 2 Preserve my soul; for <sup>1</sup> I have trod  
 Thy ways, and love the just:  
 Save thou thy servant, O my God,  
 Who *still* in thee doth trust.
- 3 Pity me, Lord, for daily thee  
 I call; 4 Oh make rejoice 10

<sup>1</sup> *Heb.* I am  
 good, loving, a doer  
 of good and holy  
 things.

- Thy servant's soul! for, Lord, to thee  
 I lift my soul *and voice*.
- 5 For thou art good; thou, Lord, art prone  
 To pardon; thou to all  
 Art full of mercy, thou *alone*,  
 To them that on thee call.
- 6 Unto my supplication, Lord,  
 Give ear, and to the cry  
 Of my *incessant* prayers afford  
 Thy hearing graciously. 20
- 7 I in the day of my distress  
 Will call on thee *for aid*;  
 For thou wilt *grant* me *free access*,  
*And answer what I prayed*.
- 8 Like thee among the gods is none,  
 O Lord; nor any works  
*Of all that other gods have done*  
 Like to thy *glorious* works.
- 9 The nations all whom thou hast made  
 Shall come, *and all shall franie* 30  
 To bow them low before thee, Lord,  
 And glorify thy name.
- 10 For great thou art, and wonders great  
 By thy strong hand are done;  
 Thou *in thy everlasting seat*  
 Remainest God alone.
- 11 Teach me, O Lord, thy way *most right*;  
 I in thy truth will bide;  
 To fear thy name my heart unite;  
*So shall it never slide.* 40
- 12 Thee will I praise, O Lord my God,  
*Thee honour and adore*  
 With my whole heart, and blaze abroad  
 Thy name for evermore.

- 13 For great thy mercy is toward me,  
 And thou hast freed my soul,  
 Ev'n from the lowest hell set free,  
*From deepest darkness foul.*
- 14 O God, the proud against me rise,  
 And violent men are met 50  
 To seek my life, and in their eyes  
 No fear of thee have set.
- 15 But thou, Lord, art the God most mild,  
 Readiest thy grace to shew,  
 Slow to be angry, and *art styled*  
 Most merciful, most true
- 16 Oh turn to me *thy face at length*,  
 And me have mercy on;  
 Unto thy servant give thy strength,  
 And save thy handmaid's son. 60
- 17 Some sign of good to me afford,  
 And let my foes *then* see,  
 And be ashamed, because thou, Lord,  
 Dost help and comfort me

## PSALM LXXXVII

- AMONG the holy mountains *high*  
 Is his foundation fast ,  
*There seated in his sanctuary,*  
*His temple there is placed*
- 2 Sion's *fair* gates the Lord loves more  
 Than all the dwellings *fair*  
 Of Jacob's *land, though there be store,*  
*And all within his care*
- 3 City of God, most glorious things  
 Of thee *abroad* are spoke. 10



- I mention Egypt, *where proud kings*  
*Did our forefathers yoke,*
- 4 I mention Babel to my friends,  
*Philistia full of scorn,*  
 And Tyre, with Ethiop's *utmost ends:*  
 Lo! this man there was born.
- 5 But *twice that praise shall in our ear*  
*Be said of Sion last.*  
 This and this man was born in her;  
 High God shall fix her fast.
- 6 The Lord shall write it in a scroll,  
 That ne'er shall be out-worn,  
 When he the nations doth enroll,  
 That this man there was born.
- 7 Both they who sing and they who dance  
*With sacred songs are there;*  
 In thee *fresh brooks and soft streams glance,*  
*And all my fountains clear.*

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## PSALM IXXXVIII

- 1 LORD GOD, that dost me save and keep,  
 All day to thee I cry,  
 And all night long before thee *weep,*  
 Before thee *prostrate lie.*
- 2 Into thy presence let my prayer,  
*With sighs devout, ascend;*  
 And to my cries, that *ceaseless are,*  
 Thine ear with favour bend.
- 3 For, cloyed with woes and trouble store,  
 Surcharged my soul doth lie;  
 My life, *at death's uncheerful door,*  
 Unto the grave draws nigh.

10

- 4 Reckoned I am with them that pass  
 Down to the *dismal* pit ;  
 I am a <sup>1</sup> man but weak, alas !  
 And for that name unfit,
- 5 From life discharged and parted quite  
 Among the dead *to sleep*,  
 And like the slain *in bloody fight*  
 That in the grave lie *deep* ;
- Whom thou rememberest no more,  
 Dost never more regard :  
 Them, from thy hand delivered o'er,  
*Death's hideous house hath barred.*
- 6 Thou, in the lowest pit *profound*,  
 Hast set me *all forlorn*,  
 Where thickest darkness *hovers round*,  
 In horrid deeps *to mourn*.
- 7 Thy wrath, *from which no shelter saves*,  
 Full sore doth press on me ;
- <sup>2</sup> Thou break'st upon me all thy waves,  
<sup>2</sup> And all thy waves break me.
- 8 Thou dost my friends from me estrange,  
 And mak'st me odious,  
 Me to them odious, *for they change*,  
 And I here pent up thus.
- 9 Through sorrow and affliction great  
 • Mine eye grows dim and dead ;  
 Lord, all the day I thee entreat,  
 My hands to thee I spread.
- 10 Wilt thou do wonders on the dead ?  
 Shall the deceased arise  
 And praise thee *from their loathsome bed*  
*With pale and hollow eyes ?*
- 11 Shall they thy loving-kindness tell  
 On whom the grave *hath hold* ?

<sup>1</sup> Heb. : A man  
without manly  
strength.

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<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew  
hears both

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- Or they *who* in perdition *dwell*  
 Thy faithfulness *unfold*?
- 12 In darkness can thy mighty *hand*  
*Or* wondrous acts be known? 50  
 Thy justice in the *gloomy* land  
 Of *dark* oblivion?
- 13 But I to thee, O Lord, do cry  
*Ere yet my life be spent*;  
 And *up to thee* my prayer *doth hie*  
 Each morn, and thee prevent.
- 14 Why wilt thou, Lord, my soul forsake  
 And hide thy face from me,
- a *Heb Præ con-* 15 That am already bruised, and<sup>s</sup> shake 60  
*cussione.* With terror sent from thee;  
 Bruised and afflicted, and *so low*  
 As ready to expire,  
 While I thy terrors undergo,  
 Astonished with thine ire?
- 16 Thy fierce wrath over me doth flow;  
 Thy threatenings cut me through:
- 17 All day they round about me go;  
 Like waves they me pursue.
- 18 Lover and friend thou hast removed,  
 And severed from me far: 70  
 They *fly me now* whom I have loved,  
 And as in darkness are.
- 

## PSALM I.

*Done into verse 1653.*

BLEST is the man who hath not walked astray  
 In counsel of the wicked, and i' the way,

Of sinners hath not stood, and in the seat  
 Of scorers hath not sat ; but in the great  
 Jehovah's Law is ever his delight,  
 And in his Law he studies day and night.  
 He shall be as a tree which planted grows  
 By watery streams, and in his season knows  
 To yield his fruit ; and his leaf shall not fall ;  
 And what he takes in hand shall prosper all. 10  
 Not so the wicked ; but, as chaff which fanned  
 The wind drives, so the wicked shall not stand  
 In judgment, or abide their trial then,  
 Nor sinners in the assembly of just men.  
 For the Lord knows the upright way of the just,  
 And the way of bad men to ruin must.

## PSALM II.

*Done August 8, 1653 — Terzetti.*

WHY do the Gentiles tumult, and the nations  
 Muse a vain thing, the kings of the earth upstand  
 With power, and princes in their congregations  
 Lay deep their plots together through each land  
 Against the Lord and his Messiah dear ?  
 "Let us break off," say they, "by strength of hand,  
 Their bonds, and cast from us, no more to wear,  
 Their twisted cords." He who in Heaven doth dwell  
 Shall laugh ; the Lord shall scoff them, then severe  
 Speak to them in his wrath, and in his fell 10  
 And fierce ire trouble them. "But I," saith he,  
 "Anointed have my King (though ye rebel)  
 On Sion my holy hill." A firm decree  
 I will declare : the Lord to me hath said,  
 "Thou art my Son ; I have begotten thee

This day; ask of me, and the grant is made:  
 As thy possession I on thee bestow  
 The Heathen, and, as thy conquest to be swayed,  
 Earth's utmost bounds: them shalt thou bring full low  
 With iron sceptre bruised, and them disperse 20  
 Like to a potter's vessel shivered so."  
 And now be wise at length, ye kings averse;  
 Be taught, ye judges of the earth; with fear  
 Jehovah serve, and let your joy converse  
 With trembling; kiss the Son, lest he appear  
 In anger, and ye perish in the way,  
 If once his wrath take fire, like fuel sere.  
 Happy all those who have in him their stay.

## PSALM III.

*August 9, 1653.*

*When he fled from Absalom.*

LORD, how many are my foes!  
 How many those  
 That in arms against me rise!  
 Many are they  
 That of my life distrustfully thus say,  
 "No help for him in God there lies."  
 But thou, Lord, art my shield, my glory;  
 Thee, through my story,  
 The exalter of my head I count:  
 Aloud I cried 10  
 Unto Jehovah; he full soon replied,  
 And heard me from his holy mount.  
 I lay and slept; I waked again:  
 For my sustain  
 Was the Lord. Of many millions

The populous rout  
 I fear not, though, encamping round about,  
 They pitch against me their pavilions.  
 Rise, Lord; save me, my God! for thou  
 Hast smote ere now  
 On the cheek-bone all my foes,  
 Of men abhorred  
 Hast broke the teeth. This help was from the Lord;  
 Thy blessing on thy people flows.

20

## PSALM IV.

*August 10, 1653.*

ANSWER me when I call,  
 God of my righteousness;  
 In straits and in distress  
 Thou didst me disenthral  
 And set at large: now spare,  
 Now pity me, and hear my earnest prayer.  
 Great ones, how long will ye  
 My glory have in scorn?  
 How long be thus forborne  
 Still to love vanity?  
 To love, to seek, to prize  
 Things false and vain, and nothing else but lies?  
 Yet know the Lord hath chose,  
 Chose to himself apart,  
 The good and meek of heart  
 (For whom to choose he knows);  
 Jehovah from on high  
 Will hear my voice what time to him I cry.  
 Be awed, and do not sin;  
 Speak to your hearts alone

10

20

Upon your beds, each one,  
 And be at peace within.  
 Offer the offerings just  
 Of righteousness, and in Jehovah trust.  
 Many there be that say  
 "Who yet will show us good?"  
 Talking like this world's brood;  
 But, Lord, thus let me pray:  
 On us lift up the light,  
 Lift up the favour, of thy count'nance bright. 30  
 Into my heart more joy  
 And gladness thou hast put  
 Than when a year of glut  
 Their stores doth over-cloy,  
 And from their plenteous grounds  
 With vast increase their corn and wine abounds.  
 In peace at once will I  
 Both lay me down and sleep;  
 For thou alone dost keep  
 Me safe where'er I lie: 40  
 As in a rocky cell  
 Thou, Lord, alone in safety mak'st me dwell.

## PSALM V.

*August 12, 1653.*

JEHOVAH, to my words give ear,  
 My meditation weigh;  
 The voice of my complaining hear,  
 My King and God, for unto thee I pray.  
 Jehovah, thou my early voice  
 Shalt in the morning hear;  
 I' the morning I to thee with choice  
 Will rank my prayers, and watch till thou appear.

For thou art not a God that takes  
In wickedness delight ;  
Evil with thee no biding makes ;  
Fools or mad men stand not within thy sight.  
All workers of iniquity  
Thou hat'st ; and them unblest  
Thou wilt destroy that speak a lie ;  
The bloody and guileful man God doth detest.  
But I will in thy mercies dear,  
Thy numerous mercies, go  
Into thy house ; I, in thy fear,  
Will towards thy holy temple worship low.  
Lord, lead me in thy righteousness,  
Lead me, because of those  
That do observe if I transgress ;  
Set thy ways right before where my step goes.  
For in his faltering mouth unstable  
No word is firm or sooth ;  
Their inside, troubles miserable ;  
An open grave their throat, their tongue they smooth.  
God, find them guilty ; let them fall  
By their own counsels quelled ;  
Push them in their rebellions all  
Still on ; for against thee they have rebelled.  
Then all who trust in thee shall bring  
Their joy, while thou from blame  
Defend'st them : they shall ever sing,  
And shall triumph in thee, who love thy name.  
For thou, Jehovah, wilt be found  
To bless the just man still :  
As with a shield thou wilt surround  
Him with thy lasting favour and good will.

10

20

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## PSALM VI.

*August 13, 1653.*

LORD, in thy anger do not reprehend me,  
 Nor in thy hot displeasure me correct;  
 Pity me, Lord, for I am much deject,  
 And very weak and faint; heal and amend me:  
 For all my bones, that even with anguish ache,  
 Are troubled; yea, my soul is troubled sore;  
 And thou, O Lord, how long? Turn, Lord; restore  
 My soul; oh, save me, for thy goodness' sake!  
 For in death no remembrance is of thee;  
 Who in the grave can celebrate thy praise? 10  
 Wearied I am with sighing out my days;  
 Nightly my couch I make a kind of sea;  
 My bed I water with my tears; mine eye  
 Through grief consumes, is waxen old and dark  
 I' the midst of all mine enemies that mark.  
 Depart, all ye that work iniquity,  
 Depart from me; for the voice of my weeping  
 The Lord hath heard; the Lord hath heard my prayer;  
 My supplication with acceptance fair  
 The Lord will own, and have me in his keeping. 20  
 Mine enemies shall all be blank, and dashed  
 With much confusion; then, grown red with shame,  
 They shall return in haste the way they came,  
 And in a moment shall be quite abashed.

## PSALM VII.

*August 14, 1653.**Upon the words of Chush the Benjamite against him*

LORD, my God, to thee I fly;  
 Save me, and secure me under

Thy protection while I cry ;  
Lest, as a lion (and no wonder),  
He haste to tear my soul asunder,  
Tearing and no rescue nigh.

Lord, my God, if I have thought  
Or done this ; if wickedness  
Be in my hands ; if I have wrought  
Ill to him that meant me peace ;  
Or to him have rendered less,  
And not freed my foe for naught :

10

Lct the enemy pursue my soul,  
And overtake it ; let him tread  
My life down to the earth, and roll  
In the dust my glory dead,  
In the dust, and there outspread  
Lodge it with dishonour foul.

Rise, Jehovah, in thine ire ;  
Rouse thyself amidst the rage  
Of my foes that urge like fire ;  
And wake for me, their fury assuage ;  
Judgment here thou didst engage  
And command, which I desire.

20

So the assemblies of each nation  
Will surround thee, seeking right :  
Thence to thy glorious habitation  
Return on high, and in their sight.  
Jehovah judgeth most upright  
All people from the world's foundation.

30

Judge me, Lord ; be judge in this  
According to my righteousness,  
And the innocence which is  
Upon me : cause at length to cease

Of evil men the wickedness,  
And their power that do amiss.

But the just establish fast,  
Since thou art the just God that tries  
Hearts and reins On God is cast  
My defence, and in him lies ;  
In him who, both just and wise,  
Saves the upright of heart at last.

God is a just judge and severe,  
And God is every day offended ,  
If the unjust will not forbear,  
His sword he whets ; his bow hath bended  
Already, and for him intended  
The tools of death that waits him near.

(His arrows purposely made he  
For them that persecute.) Behold,  
He travails big with vanity ;  
Trouble he hath conceived of old  
As in a womb, and from that mould  
Hath at length brought forth a lie.

50

He digg'd a pit, and delved it deep,  
And fell into the pit he made :  
His mischief, that due course doth keep,  
Turns on his head : and his ill trade  
Of violence will undelayed  
Fall on his crown with ruin steep.

60

Then will I Jehovah's praise  
According to his justice raise,  
And sing the Name and Deity  
Of Jehovah the Most High.

## PSALM VIII.

*August 14, 1653.*

O JEHOVAH our Lord, how wondrous great  
And glorious is thy name through all the earth,  
So as above the heavens thy praise to set!

Out of the tender mouths of latest bearth,  
Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou  
Hast founded strength, because of all thy foes,  
To stint the enemy, and slack the avenger's brow,  
That bends his rage thy providence to oppose.

When I behold thy heavens, thy fingers' art,  
The moon and stars, which thou so bright hast set 10  
In the pure firmament, then saith my heart,  
Oh, what is man that thou rememberest yet  
And think'st upon him, or of man begot  
That him thou visit'st, and of him art found?  
Scarce to be less than gods thou mad'st his lot;  
With honour and with state thou hast him crowned.

O'er the works of thy hand thou mad'st him lord;  
Thou hast put all under his lordly feet,  
All flocks and herds, by thy commanding word,  
All beasts that in the field or forest meet, 20  
Fowl of the heavens, and fish that through the wet  
Sea-paths in shoals do slide, and know no dearth.  
O Jehovah our Lord, how wondrous great  
And glorious is thy name through all the earth!

---

## SCRAPS FROM THE PROSE WRITINGS.

FROM "OF REFORMATION TOUCHING CHURCH DISCIPLINE IN ENGLAND," 1641.

[DANTE, *Inferno*, xix 115.]

AH, Constantine, of how much ill was cause,  
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains  
That the first wealthy Pope received of thee!

[PETRARCH, *Sonnet* 107.]

FOUNDED in chaste and humble poverty,  
'Gainst them that raised thee dost thou lift thy horn,  
Impudent whore? Where hast thou placed thy hope?  
In thy adulterers, or thy ill-got wealth?  
Another Constantine comes not in haste.

[ARIOSIO, *Orl Fur.* xxxiv. Stanz. 80.]

THEN passed he to a flowery mountain green,  
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously:  
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)  
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave.

FROM THE APOLOGY FOR SMECTYMNUS, 1642.

[HORACE, *Sat.* i. 1, 24.]

LAUGHING to teach the truth  
What hinders? as some teachers give to boys  
Junkets and knacks, that they may learn apace.

[HORACE, *Sat.* 1. 10, 14.]

JOKING decides great things  
Stronglier and better oft than earnest can.

[SOPHOCLES, *Electra*, 624.]

'TIS you that say it, not I. You do the deeds,  
And your ungodly deed, find me the words.

FROM AREOPAGITICA, 1644.

[EURIPIDES, *Suppliants*, 438.]

THIS is true Liberty, when freeborn men  
Having to advise the public, may speak free,  
Which he who can and will deserves high praise.  
Who neither can nor will may hold his peace.  
What can be juster in a state than this?

FROM TETRACHORDON, 1645.

[HORACE, *Epist.* 1. 16, 40.]

WHOM do we count a good man? Whom but he  
Who keeps the laws and statutes of the senate,  
Who judges in great suits and controversies,  
Whose witness and opinion wins the cause?  
For his own house, and the whole neighbourhood,  
Sees his foul inside through his whited skin.

FROM "THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES," 1649.

[SENECA, *Her. Fur.* 922.]

THERE can be slain  
No sacrifice to God more acceptable  
Than an unjust and wicked king.

## FROM THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN, 1670.

[In Geoffrey of Monmouth the story is that Brutus the Trojan, wandering through the Mediterranean, and uncertain whither to go, arrived at a dispeopled island called Leogecia, where he found, in a ruined city, a temple and oracle of Diana. He consulted the oracle in certain Greek verses, of which Geoffrey gives a version in Latin elegiacs ; and Milton translates these.]

GODDESS of Shades, and Huntress, who at will  
Walk'st on the rolling sphere, and through the deep,  
On thy third reign, the Earth, look now, and tell  
What land, what seat of rest thou bidd'st me seek,  
What certain seat, where I may worship thee  
For aye, with temples vowed, and virgin quires.

[Sleeping before the altar of the Goddess, Brutus received from her, in vision, an answer to the above in Greek. Geoffrey quotes the traditional version of the same in Latin elegiacs, which Milton thus translates.]

BRUTUS, far to the west, in the ocean wide,  
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,  
Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old ;  
Now void, it fits thy people. Thither bend  
Thy course ; there shalt thou find a lasting seat ;  
There to thy sons another Troy shall rise,  
And kings be born of thee, whose dreaded might  
Shall awe the world, and conquer nations bold.

PART II.  
THE LATIN POEMS.

*Separate Title-page in Edition of 1645 :—*“Joannis Miltoni Londinensis Poemata. Quorum pleraque intra annum ætatis vigesimum conscripsit. Nunc primum edita. Londini, Typis R. R. Prostant ad Insignia Principis, in Cœmeterio D. Pauli, apud Humphredum Moseley. 1645.”

*Separate Title-page in Edition of 1673 :—*Same as above, word for word, as far as to “Londini,” inclusively ; after which the rest runs thus : “Excudebat W. R. anno 1673.”



# LATIN POEMS.

## [DE AUCTORE TESTIMONIA.]

*Hæc quæ sequuntur de Authore testimonia, tametsi ipse intelligebat non tam de se quam supra se esse dicta, eo quod præclaro ingenio viri, nec uon amici, ita fere solent laudare ut omnia suis potius virtutibus quam veritati congruentia nimis cupide affingant, uoluit tamen horum egregiam in se voluntatem non esse notam, cum alii præsertim ut id faceret magnopere suaderent. Dum enim nimiae laudis invidiam totis ab se viribus amolitur, sibi quod plus æquo est non attributum esse mavult, iudicium interim hominum cordatorum atque illustrium quin summo sibi honori ducat negare non potest.*

JOANNES BAPTISTA MANSUS, MARCHIO VILLENSIS NEAPOLITANUS,  
AD JOANNEM MILTONIUM ANGLUM.

Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,  
Non Anglus, verùm herclè Angelus ipse, fores.

AD JOANNEM MILTONEM ANGLUM, TRIPLICI POESEOS LAUREÂ  
CORONANDUM, GRÆCÂ NIMIRUM, LATINÂ, ATQUE HETRUSCÂ,  
EPIGRAMMA JOANNIS SALSILLI ROMANI.

Cede, Meles; cedat depressâ Mincius urnâ;  
Sebetus Tassum desinat usque loqui;  
At Thamesis victor cunctis ferat altior undas;  
Nam per te, Milto, par tribus unus erit.

AD JOANNEM MILTONUM.

Græcia Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem ;  
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique pareni.

SELVAGGI.

AL SIGNOR GIO. MILTONI, NOBILE INGLESE.

ODE.

Ergimi all' Etra o Clio,  
Perchè di stelle intreccierò corona !  
Non più del biondo Dio  
La fronde eterna in Pindo, e in Elicona :  
Diensi a merto maggior maggiori i fregi,  
A celeste virtù celesti pregi.

Non può del Tempo edace  
Rimaner preda eterno alto valore ;  
Non può l' obbligo rapace  
Furar dalle memorie eccelso onore.  
Sull' arco di mia cetra un dardo forte  
Virtù m' adatti, e ferirò la Morte.

10

Dell' Ocean profondo  
Cinta dagli ampi gorghi Anglia risiede  
Separata dal mondo, •  
Però che il suo valor l' umano eccede :  
Questa feconda sa produrre Eroi,  
Ch' hanno a ragion del sovrumano tra noi.

Alla virtù sbandita  
Danno nei petti lor fido ricetta,  
Quella gli è sol gradita,  
Perchè in lei san trovar gioia e diletto ;  
Ridillo tu, Giovanni, e mostra in tanto,  
Con tua vera virtù, vero il mio Canto.

20

Lungi qal patrio lido  
Spínse Zeusi l' industrie ardente brama ;  
Ch' udio d' Elena il grido  
Con aurea tromba rimbombar la fama,  
E per poterla effigiare al paro  
Dalle più belle Idce trasse il più raro.

30

Così l' ape ingegnosa  
Trae con industria il suo liquor pregiato  
Dal giglio e dalla rosa,  
E quanti vaghi fiori ornano il prato ;  
Formano un dolce suon diverse corde,  
Fan varie voci melodia concorde.

Di bella gloria amante  
Milton, dal Ciel natio, per varie parti  
Le peregrine piante  
Volgesti a ricercar scienze ed arti ;  
Del Gallo regnator vedesti i Regni,  
E dell' Italia ancor gl' Eroi più degni.

40

Fabro quasi divino,  
Sol virtù rintracciando, il tuo pensiero  
Vide in ogni confino  
Chi di nobil valor calca il sentiero ;  
L' ottimo dal miglior dopo scegliea  
Per fabbricar d' ogni virtù l' Idea.

Quanti nacquero in Flora,  
O in lei del parlar Tosco appreser l' arte,  
La cui memoria onora  
Il mondo fatta eterna in dotte carte,  
Volesti ricercar per tuo tesoro,  
E parlasti con lor nell' opre loro.

50

Nell' altera Babelle  
Per te il parlar confuse Giove in vano,

Che per varie favelle  
Di se stessa trofeo cadde sul piano :  
Ch' ode, oltr' all' Anglia, il suo più degno idioma  
Spagna, Francia, Toscana, e Grecia, e Roma.

60

I più profondi arcani  
Ch' occulta la Natura, e in cielo e in terra,  
Ch' a Ingegni sovrumani  
Tropo avara talor gli chiude, e serra,  
Chiaramente conosci, e giungi al fine  
Della moral virtude al gran confine.

Non batta il Tempo l' ale,  
Fermisi immoto, e in un ferminsi gli anni,  
Che di virtù immortale  
Scorron di troppo ingiuriosi ai danni ;  
Che s' opre degne di poema e storia  
Furon già, l' hai presenti alla memoria.

70

Dammi tua dolce Cetra,  
Se vuoi ch' io dica del tuo dolce canto,  
Ch' inalzandoti all' Etra  
Di farti uomo celeste ottiene il vanto ;  
Il Tamigi il dirà, chè gli è concesso  
Per te, suo cigno, pareggiar Permesso.

Io, che in riva dell' Arno  
Tento spiegar tuo merto alto e preclaro,  
So che fatico indarno,  
E ad ammirar, non a lodarlo imparo ;  
Freno dunque la lingua, e ascolto il core,  
Che ti prende a lodar con lo stupore.

80

Del Sig. ANTONIO FRANCINI,  
Gentiluomo Fiorentino.

JOANNI MILTONI, LONDINENSI,

Juveni patriâ, virtutibus, eximio :

Viro qui multa peregrinatione, studio cuncta, orbis terrarum loca perspexit, ut, novus Ulysses, omnia ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet :

Polyglotto, in cujus ore linguæ jam deperditæ sic reviviscunt ut idiomata omnia sint in ejus laudibus infacunda ; et jure ea percallet ut admirationes et plausus populorum ab propriâ sapientiâ excitatos intelligat :

Illi, cujus animi dotes corporisque sensus ad admirationem commovent, et per ipsam motum cuique auferunt ; cujus opera ad plausus hortantur, sed venustate vocem laudatoribus adimunt :

Cui in Memoriâ totus orbis ; in Intellectu sapientia ; in Voluntate ardor gloriæ ; in Ore eloquentia ; harmonicos cælestium sphærarum sonitus Astronomiâ duce audienti ; characteres mirabilium Naturæ per quos Dei magnitudo describitur magistrâ Philosophiâ legenti ; antiquitatum latebras, vetustatis excidia, eruditionis ambages, comite assiduâ Autorum lectione, 'exquirenti, restauranti, percurrenti'

(At cur nitor in arduum?) :

Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora Famæ non sufficiant, nec hominum stupor in laudandis satis est, Reverentiæ et Amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum admirationis tributum offert

CAROLUS DATUS, Patricius Florentinus,  
Tanto homini servus, tantæ virtutis amator.

## ELEGIARUM LIBER.

## ELEGIA PRIMA.

AD CAROLUM DIODATUM.

TANDEM, chare, tuæ mihi pervenere tabellæ,

Pertulit et voces nuncia charta tuas ;

Pertulit occiduâ Devæ Cestrensis ab orâ

Vergivium prono quâ petit amne salum.

Multùm, crede, juvat terras aluisse remotas

Pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele caput,

Quòdque mihi lepidum tellus longinqua sodalem

Debet, at unde brevi reddere jussa velit.

Me tenet urbs reflûâ quam Thamesis alluit undâ,

Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.

10

Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum,

Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.

Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles ;

Quàm male Phœbicolis convenit ille locus !

Nec duri libet usque minas perferre Magistri,

Cæteraque ingenio non subcunda meo.

Si sit hoc exilium, patrios adiisse penates,

Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,

Non ego vel profugi nomen sortemve recuso,

Lætus et exilii conditione fruor.

20

O utinam vates nunquam graviora tulisset

Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro ;

Non tunc Ionio quicquam cessisset Homero,

Neve foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.

Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Musis,  
 Et totum rapiunt me, mea vita, libri.  
 Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri,  
 Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.  
 Seu catus auditur senior, seu prodigus hæres,  
 Seu procus, aut positâ casside miles adest, 30  
 Sive decennali fœcundus lite patronus  
 Detonat inculto barbarâ verba foro;  
 Sæpe vafer gnato succurrit servus amanti,  
 Et nasum rigidi fallit ubique patris;  
 Sæpe novos illic virgo mirata calores  
 Quid sit amor nescit, dum quoque nescit amat:  
 Sive cruentatum furiosa Tragœdia sceptrum  
 Quassat, et effusis crinibus ora rotat;  
 Et dolet, et specto, juvat et spectasse dolendo;  
 Interdum et lacrymis dulcis amaror inest: 40  
 Seu puer infelix indelibata reliquit  
 Gaudia, et abrupto flendus amore cadit;  
 Seu ferus e tenebris iterat Styga criminis ultor,  
 Conscia funereo pectora torre movens;  
 Seu mœret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili,  
 Aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos.  
 Sed neque sub tecto semper nec in urbe latemus,  
 Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.  
 Nos quoque lucus habet vicinâ consitus ulmo,  
 Atque suburbani nobilis umbra loci. 50  
 Sæpius hic, blandas spirantia sidera flamas,  
 Virgineos videas præteriisse choros.  
 Ah quoties dignæ stupui miracula formæ  
 Quæ possit senium vel reparare Jovis!  
 Ah quoties vidi superantia lumina gemmas,  
 Atque faces quotquot volvit uterque polus;  
 Collaque bis vivi Pelopis quæ brachia vincant,  
 Quæque fluit puro nectare tincta via,

Et decus eximium frontis, tremulosque capillos,

Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit Amor;

60

Pellacesque genas, ad quas hyacinthina sordet

Purpura, et ipse tui floris, Adoni, rubor!

Cedite laudatæ toties Heröides olim,

Et quæcunque vagum cepit amica Jovem;

Cedite Achæmeniaæ turritâ fronte puellæ,

Et quot Susa colunt, Memnonianque Ninon;

Vos etiam Danaæ fasces submitтите Nymphæ,

Et vos Iliacæ, Romulcæque nurus;

Nec Pompeianas Tarpëia Musa columnas

Jactet, et Ausoniis plena theatra stolis.

70

Gloria virginibus debetur prima Britannis;

Extera sat tibi sit fœmina posse sequi.

Tuque urbs Dardaniis, Londinum, structa colonis,

Turrigerum latè conspicienda caput,

Tu nimium felix intra tua mœnia claudis

Quicquid formosi pendulus orbis habet.

Non tibi tot cælo scintillant astra sereno,

Endymioneæ turba ministra deæ,

Quot tibi conspicuæ formæque auroque puellæ

Per medias radiant turba videnda vias.

80

Creditur huc geninis venisse invecta columbis

Alma pharetrigero milite cincta Venus,

Huic Cnidon, et riguas Simoentis flumine valles,

Huic Paphon, et roseam posthabitura Cypron.

Ast ego, dum pueri sinit indulgentia cæci,

Mœnia quàm subito linqere fausta paro;

Et vitare procul malefidæ infamia Circes

Ætria, divini Molyos usus ope.

Stat quoque juncosas Cami remcare paludes,

Atque iterum raucæ murmur adire Scholæ.

90

Interea fidi parvum cape munus amici,

Paucaque in alternos verba coacta modos.



## ELEGIA SECUNDA.

*Anno ætatis 17.*

IN OBITUM PRÆCONIS ACADEMICI CANTABRIGIENSIS.

TE, qui conspicuus baculo fulgente solebas  
 Palladium toties ore cicere gregem,  
 Ultima præconum præconem te quoque sæva  
 Mors rapit, officio nec favet ipsa suo.  
 Candidiora licet fuerint tibi tempora plumis  
 Sub quibus accipimus delituisse Jovem,  
 O dignus tamen Hæmonio juvenescere succo,  
 Dignus in Æsonios vivere posse dies,  
 Dignus quem Stygiis medicâ revocaret ab undis  
 Arte Coronides, sæpe rogante deâ.

Tu si jussus eras acies accire togatas,  
 Et celer a Phœbo nuntius ire tuo,  
 Talis in Iliacâ stabat Cyllenius aulâ  
 Alipes, æthereâ missus ab arce Patris;  
 Talis et Eurybates ante ora furentis Achillei  
 Rettulit Atridæ jussa severa ducis.  
 Magna sepulchrorum regina, satelles Averni,  
 Sæva nimis Musis, Palladi sæva nimis,  
 Quin illos rapias qui pondus inutile terræ?  
 Turba quidem est telis ista petenda tuis.

Vestibus hunc igitur pullis, Academia, luge,  
 Et madeant lacrymis nigra feretra tuis.  
 Fundat et ipsa modos querebunda Elegiæ tristes,  
 Personet et totis nænia mœsta scholis.

10

20

ELEGIA TERTIA.

*Anno ætatis 17.*

IN OBITUM PRÆSULIS WINTONIENSIS.

MÆSTUS eram, et tacitus, nullo comitante, sedebam,  
 Hærebantque animo tristia plura mco:  
 Protinus en subiit funestæ cladis imago  
 Fecit in Angliaco quam Libitina solo;  
 Dum procerum ingressa est splendentes marmore tures  
 Dira sepulchrali Mors metuenda face,  
 Pulsavitque auro gravidos et jaspide muros,  
 Nec metuit satrapum sternere falce greges.  
 Tunc memini clarique ducis, fratrisque verendi,  
 Intempestivis ossa cremata rogis;  
 Et memini Heroum quos vidit ad æthera raptos,  
 Flevit et amissos Belgia tota duces.  
 At te præcipuè luxi, dignissime Præsul,  
 Wintoniæque olim gloria magna tuæ;  
 Delicui fletu, et tristi sic ore querebar:  
 "Mors fera, Tartareo diva secunda Jovi,  
 Nonne satis quod sylva tuas persentiat iras,  
 Et quod in herbosos jus tibi detur agros,  
 Quodque afflata tuo marcescant lilia tabo,  
 Et crocus, et pulchræ Cypridi sacra rosa?  
 Nec sinis ut semper fluvio contermina quercus  
 Miretur lapsus prætereuntis aquæ;  
 Et tibi succumbit liquido quæ plurima cælo  
 Evêhitur pennis, quamlibet augur, avis,  
 Et quæ mille nigris errant animalia sylvis,  
 Et' quod alunt mutum Proteos antra pecus.  
 Invida, tanta tibi cum sit concessa potestas,  
 Quid juvat humanâ tingere cæde manus?

10

20

Nobileque in pectus certas acuisse sagittas,  
 Semideamque animam sede fugâsse suâ?" 30  
 Talia dum lacrymans alto sub pectore volvo,  
 Roscidus occiduis Hesperus exit aquis,  
 Et Tartessiaco submerserat æquore currum  
 Phœbus, ab Eöo littore mensus iter.  
 Nec mora; membra cavo posui refovenda cubili;  
 Condiderant oculos noxque soporque meos,  
 Cum mihi visus eram lato spatiarier agro;  
 Heu! nequit ingenium visa referre meum.  
 Illic puniccâ radiabant omnia luce,  
 Ut matutino cum juga sole rubent; 40  
 Ac veluti cum pandit opes Thaumantia proles  
 Vestitu nituit multicolore solum;  
 Non dea tam variis ornavit floribus hortos  
 Alcinoi Zephyro Chloris amata levi.  
 Flumina vernantes lambunt argentea campos;  
 Ditiôr Hesperio flavet arena Tago;  
 Serpit odoriferas per opes levis aura Favoni,  
 Aura sub innumeris humida nata rosis:  
 Talis in extremis terræ Gaugētidis oris  
 Luciferi regis fingitur esse domus. 50  
 Ipse racemiferis dum densas vitibus umbras  
 Et pelluentes miror ubique locos,  
 Ecce mihi subito Præsul Wintonius astat!  
 Sidereum nitido fulsit in ore jubar;  
 Vestis ad auratos defluxit candida talos;  
 Infula divinum cinxerat alba caput.  
 Dumque senex tali incedit venerandus amictu,  
 Intremuit læto florea terra sono;  
 Agmina gemmatis plaudunt cælestia pennis;  
 Pura triumphali personat æthra tubâ. 60  
 Quisque novum amplexu comitem cantuque salutat,  
 Hosque aliquis placido misit ab ore sonos:

“Nate, veni, et patrii felix cape gaudia regni;  
 Semp̄er abhinc duro, nate, lābore vaca.”  
 Dixit, et aligeræ tetigerunt nablia turmæ;  
 At mihi cum tenebris aurea pulsa quies;  
 Flebam turbatos Cephaleiâ pellice somnos.  
 Talia contingant somnia sæpe mihi!

ELEGIA QUARTA.

*Anno ætatis 18.*

AD THOMAM JUNIUM, PRÆCEPTOREM SUUM, APUD MERCATORES ANGLICOS  
 HAMBURGÆ AGENTES PASTORIS MUNERE FUNGENTEM.

CURRE per immensum subitò, mea littera, pontum  
 I, pete Teutonicos læve per æquor agros;  
 Segnes rumpe moras, et nil, precor, obstet cuncti,  
 Et festinantis nil remoretur iter.  
 Ipse ego Sicanio frænantem carcere ventos  
 Æolon, et virides sollicitabo Deos,  
 Cæruleamque suis comitatam Dorida Nymphis,  
 Ut tibi dent placidam per sua regna viam.  
 At tu, si poteris, celeres tibi sume jugales,  
 Vecta quibus Colchis fugit ab ore viri;  
 Aut queis Triptolemus Scythicas devenit in oras,  
 Gratus Eleusinâ missus ab urbe puer.  
 Atque, ubi Germanas flavere videbis arenas,  
 Ditis ad Hamburgæ mœnia flecte gradum,  
 Dicitur occiso quæ ducere nomen ab Hamâ,  
 Cimbrica quem fertur clava dedisse neci.  
 Vivit ibi antiquæ clarus pietatis honore  
 Præsul, Christicolas pascere doctus oves;  
 Ille quidem est animæ plusquam pars altera nostræ;  
 Dimidio vitæ vivere cogor ego.  
 Hei mihi, quot pelagi, quot montes interjecti,  
 Me faciunt aliâ parte carere mei!

10

20

Charior ille mihi quàm tu, doctissime Graiùm,  
 Cliniadi, pronepos qui Telamonis erat;  
 Quàmque Stagirites generoso magnus alumno,  
 Quem peperit Lybico Chaonis alma Jovi.  
 Qualis Amyntorides, qualis Philyrëius Heros  
 Myrmidonum regi, talis et ille mihi.

Primus ego Aonios illo præeunte recessus

Lustrabam, et bifidi sacra vireta jugi,  
 Pieriosque hausì latices, Clioque favente  
 Castalio sparsi læta ter ora mero.

30

Flammeus at signum ter viderat arietis Æthon

Induxitque auro lanea terga novo,  
 Bisque novo terram sparsisti, Chlorig, senilem  
 Gramine, bisque tuas abstulit Auster opes;  
 Necdum ejus licuit mihi lumina pascere vultu,  
 Aut linguæ dulces aure bibisse sonos.

Vade igitur, cursuque Eurum præverte sonorum;

Quàm sit opus monitis res docet, ipsa vides.

40

Invenies dulci cum conjuge fortè sedentem,

Mulcentem gremio pignora chara suo;  
 Forsitan aut veterum prælargà volumina Patrum  
 Versantem, aut veri Biblia sacra Dei,  
 Cælestive animas saturantem rore tenellas,  
 Grande salutiferæ religionis opus.

Utque solet, multam sit dicere cura salutem,

Dicere quam decuit, si modo adesset, herum.  
 Hæc quoque, paulùm oculos in humum defixa modestos,  
 Verba verecundo sis memor ore loqui:

“Hæc tibi, si teneris vacat inter prælia Musis,  
 Mittit ab Angliaco littore fida manus.

Accipe sinceram, quamvis sit sera, salutem;

Fiat et hoc ipso gratior illa tibi.  
 Sera quidem, sed vera fuit, quam casta recepit  
 Icaris a lento Penelopeia viro.

Ast ego quid volui manifestum tollere crimen,

Ipse quod ex omni parte levare nequit?

Arguitur tardus meritò, noxamque fatetur,

Et pudet officium deseruisse suum.

60

Tu modò da veniam fasso, veniamque roganti;

Crimina diminui quæ patuere solent.

Non ferus in pavidos rictus diducit hiantes,

Vulnifico pronos nec rapit ungue leo.

Sæpe sarissiferi crudelia pectora Thracis

Supplicis ad mœstas deliquere preces;

Extensæque manus avertunt fulminis ictus,

Placat et iratos hostia parva Deos.

Jamque diu scripsisse tibi fuit impetus illi,

Neve moras ultra ducere passus Amor;

70

Nam vaga Fama refert, heu nuntia vera malorum!

In tibi finitimis bella tumere locis,

Teque tuamque urbem truculento milite cingi,

Et jam Saxonicos arma parâsse duces.

Te circum latè campos populatur Enyo,

Et sata carne virûm jam cruor arva rigat.

Germanisque suum concessit Thracia Martem;

Illuc Odrysios Mars pater egit equos;

Perpetuòque comans jam deflorescit oliva;

Fugit et ærisonam Diva perosa tubam,

80

Fugit, io! terris, et jam non ultima Virgo

Creditur ad superas justa volâsse domos.

Te tamen interea belli circumsonat horror,

Vivis et ignoto solus inopsque solo;

Et, tibi quam patrii non exhibuere penates,

Sede peregrinâ quæris egenus opem.

Patria, dura parens, et saxis sævior albis

Spûmea quæ pulsat littoris unda tui,

Siccine te decet innocuos exponere foetus,

Siccine in externam ferrea cogis humum,

90

Et sinis ut terris quærant alimenta remotis  
 Quos tibi prospiciens miserat ipse Deus,  
 Et qui læta ferunt de cælo nuntia, quique  
 Quæ via post cineres ducat ad astra docent?  
 Digna quidem Stygiis quæ vivas clausa tenebris,  
 Æternæque animæ digna perire fame!  
 Haud aliter vates terræ Thesbitidis olim  
 Pressit inassueto devia tesqua pede,  
 Desertasque Arabum salebras, dum regis Achabi  
 Effugit, atque tuas, Sidoni dira, manus.  
 Talis et, horrissonis laceratus membra flagello,  
 Paulus ab Æmathiâ pellitur urbe Cilix;  
 Piscosæque ipsum Gergessæ civis Iësum  
 Finibus ingratus jussit abire suis.  
 At tu sume animos, nec spes cadat anxia curis,  
 Nec tua concutiat decolor ossa metus.  
 Sis etenim quamvis fulgentibus obsitus armis,  
 Intententque tibi millia tela necem,  
 At nullis vel inerme latus violabitur armis,  
 Deque tuo cuspis nulla cruore bibet.  
 Namque eris ipse Dei radiante sub ægide tutus;  
 Ille tibi custos, et pugil ille tibi;  
 Ille Sionææ qui tot sub mœnibus arcis  
 Assyrios fudit nocte silente viros;  
 Inque fugam vertit quos in Samaritidas oras  
 Misit ab antiquis prisca Damascus agris;  
 Terruit et densas pavido cum rege cohortes,  
 Aëre dum vacuo buccina clara sonat,  
 Cornea pulvereum dum verberat uigula campum,  
 Currus arenosam dum quatit actus humum,  
 Auditurque hinnitus equorum ad bella ruentum,  
 Et strepitus ferri, murmuraque alta virum.  
 Et tu (quod superest miseris) sperare memento,  
 Et tua magnanimo pectore vince mala;

100

110

120

Nec dubites quandoque frui melioribus annis,  
Atque iterum patrios posse videre lares."

## ELEGIA QUINTA.

*Anno ætatis 20.*

IN ADVENTUM VERIS.

IN se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro  
Jam revocat Zephyros, vere tepente, novos;  
Induiturque brevem Tellus reparata juventam,  
Jamque soluta gelu dulcè virescit humus.  
Fallor? an et nobis redeunt in carmina vires,  
Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?  
Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo  
(Quis putet?) atque aliquod jam sibi poscit opus.  
Castalis ante oculos, bifidumque cacumen oberrat,  
Et mihi Pirenen somnia nocte ferunt; 10  
Concitaque arcano fervent mihi pectora motu,  
Et furor, et sonitus me sacer intùs agit.  
Delius ipse venit (video Penëide lauro  
Implicitos crines), Delius ipse venit.  
Jam mihi mens liquidi raptatur in ardua cæli,  
Perque vagas nubes corpore liber eo;  
Perque umbras, perque antra feror, penetralia vatum;  
Et mihi fana patent interiora Deùm;  
Intuiturque animus toto quid agatur Olympo,  
Nec fugiunt oculos Tartara cæca meos. 20  
Quid tam grande sonat distento spiritus ore?  
Quid parit hæc rabies, quid sacer iste furor?  
Ver mihi, quod dedit ingenium, cantabitur illo;  
Profuerint isto reddita dona modo.  
Jam, Philomela, tuos foliis adoperta novellis,  
Instituis modulos, dum silet omne nemus:



Urbe ego, tu sylvâ, simul incipiamus utrique,  
Et simul adventum vcris uterque canat.  
Vcris, io! rediere vices; celcbremus honores  
Vcris, et hoc subcat Musa perennis opus. 30  
Jam sol, Æthiopas fugiens Tithoniaque arva,  
Flectit ad Arctoas aurca lora plagas.  
Est breve noctis iter, brevis est mora noctis opacæ,  
Horrida cum tenebris exulat illa suis.  
Jamque Lycaonius plastrum cælcste Bootes  
Non longâ scquitur fessus ut ante viâ:  
Nunc etiam solitas circum Jovis atria toto  
Excubias agitant sidera rara polo.  
Nam dolus, et cædes, et vis cum nocte recessit,  
Neve Giganteum Dii timere scelus. 40  
Fortè aliquis scopuli recubans in vertice pastor,  
Roscida cum primo sole rubescit humus,  
“Hac,” ait, “hac certè caruisti nocte puellâ,  
Phœbe, tuâ, celeres quæ retincret equos.”  
Læta suas repetit sylvas, pharetramque rcsunit  
Cynthia, lucifcras ut videt alta rotas,  
Et, tenues ponens radios, gaudere videtur  
Officium fieri tam breve fratris ope.  
“Desere,” Phœbus ait, “thalamos, Aurora, seniles;  
Quid juvat effœto procubuisse toro? 50  
Te manet Æolides viridi venator in herbâ;  
Surgc; tuos ignes altus Hymettus habet.”  
Flava verecundo dea crimen in ore fatetur,  
Et matutinos ociùs urgct cquos.  
Exuit invisam Tellus rediviva senectam,  
Et cupit amplexus, Phœbe, subire tuos.  
Et cupit, et digna est; quid enim formosius illâ,  
Pandit ut omniferos luxuriosa sinus,  
Atque Arabum spirat messes, et ab ore venusto  
Mitia cum Paphiis fundit anoma rosis? 60

Ecce, coronatur sacro frons ardua luco,  
 Cingit ut Idæam pinea turris Opim;  
 Et vario madidos intexit flore capillos,  
 Floribus et visa est posse placere suis.  
 Floribus effusos ut erat redimita capillos,  
 Tænario placuit diva Sicana Deo.  
 Aspice, Phœbe; tibi faciles hortantur amores,  
 Mellitasque movent flamina verna preces;  
 Cinnamon Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer alâ;  
 Blanditiasque tibi ferre videntur aves. 70  
 Nec sine dote tuos temeraria quærit amores  
 Terra, nec optatos poscit egena toros;  
 Alma salutiferum medicos tibi gramen in usus  
 Præbet, et hinc titulos adjuvat ipsa tuos.  
 Quod si te pretium, si te fulgentia tangunt  
 Munera (muneribus sæpe coemptus amor),  
 Illa tibi ostentat quascunque sub æquore vasto,  
 Et superinjectis montibus, abdit opes.  
 Ah! quoties, cum tu clivoso fessus Olympo  
 In vespertinas præcipitaris aquas, 80  
 "Cur te," inquit, "cursu languentem, Phœbe, diurno  
 Hesperiiis recipit cærule mater aquis?  
 Quid tibi cum Tethy? quid cum Tartesside lymphâ?  
 Dia quid immundo perluis ora salo?  
 Frigora, Phœbe, meâ melius captabis in umbrâ;  
 Huc ades; ardentes imbue rore comas.  
 Mollior egelidâ veniet tibi somnus in herbâ;  
 Huc ades, et gremio lumina pone meo.  
 Quaque jaces circum mulcebit lenè susurrans  
 Aura per humentes corpora fusa rosas. 90  
 Nec me (crede mihi) terrent Semelcîa fata,  
 Nec Phaëtonteo fumidus axis equo;  
 Cum tu, Phœbe, tuo sapientiùs uteris igni,  
 Huc ades, et gremio lumina pone meo."

Sic Tellus lasciva suos suspirat amores ;  
 Matris in exemplum cætera turba ruunt.  
 Nunc etenim toto currit vagus orbe Cupido,  
 Languentesque foveat solis ab igne faces.  
 Insonuere novis lethalia cornua nervis,  
 Triste micant ferro tela corusca novo. 100  
 Jamque vel invictam tentat superâsse Dianam,  
 Quæque sedet sacro Vesta pudica foco.  
 Ipsa senescentem reparat Venus annua formam,  
 Atque iterum tepido creditur orta mari.  
 Marmoreas juvenes clamant *Hymenæe* per urbes ;  
 Littus *io Hymen* et cava saxa sonant.  
 Cultior ille venit, tunicâque decentior aptâ ;  
 Puniceum redolet vestis odora crocum.  
 Egrediturque frequens ad amœni gaudia veris  
 Virgineos auro cincta puella sinus. 110  
 Votum est cuique suum ; votum est tamen omnibus unum,  
 Ut sibi quem cupiat det Cytherea virum.  
 Nunc quoque septenâ modulatur arundine pastor,  
 Et sua quæ jungat carmina Phyllis habet.  
 Navita nocturno placat sua sidera cantu,  
 Delphinâsque leves ad vada summa vocat.  
 Jupiter ipse alto cum conjuge ludit Olympo,  
 Convocat et famulos ad sua festa Deos.  
 Nunc etiam Satyri, cum sera crepuscula surgunt,  
 Pervolitant celeri florea rura choro, 120  
 Sylvanusque suâ cyparissi fronde revinctus,  
 Semicaperque Deus, semideusque caper.  
 Quæque sub arboribus Dryades latuere vetustis  
 Per juga, per solos expatiantur agros.  
 Per sata luxuriat fruticetaque Mænalius Pan ;  
 Vix Cybele mater, vix sibi tuta Ceres ;  
 Atque aliquam cupidus prædatur Oreada Faunus,  
 Consulit in trepidos dum sibi nympa pedes,

Jamque latet, latitansque cupit malè tecta videri,

Et fugit, et fugiens pervelit ipsa capi.

130

Dii quoque non dubitant cælo præponere sylvas,

Et sua quisque sibi numina lucus habet.

Et sua quisque diu sibi numina lucus habeto,

Nec vos arboreâ, dii, precor, ite domo.

Te referant, miseris te, Jupiter, aurea terris

Sæcla! quid ad nimbos, aspera tela, redis?

Tu saltem lentè rapidos age, Phœbe, jugales

Quà potes, et sensim tempora veris eant:

Brumaque productas tardè ferat hispida noctes,

Ingruat et nostro senior umbra polo!

140

## ELEGIA SEXTA.

AD CAROLUM DIODATUM, RURI COMMORANTEM;

*Qui, cum Idibus Decemb. scripsisset, et sua carmina excusari postulâsset si solito minus essent bona, quod inter lautitias quibus erat ab amicis exceptus haud satis felicem operam Musis dare se posse affirmabat, hoc habuit responsum.*

MITTO tibi sanam non pleno ventre salutem,

Quâ tu distento fortè carere potes.

At tua quid nostram prolectat Musa camœnam,

Nec sinit optatas posse sequi tenebras?

Carmine scire velis quàm te redamemque colamque;

Crede mihi vix hoc carmine scire queas.

Nam neque noster amor modulis includitur arctis,

Nec venit ad claudos integer ipse pedes.

Quàm bene solennes epulas, hilaremque Decembrim,

Festaque cælifugam quæ coluere Deum,

10

Deliciasque refers, hiberni gaudia ruris,

Haustaque per lepidos Gallica musta focos!

Quid quereris refugam vino dapibusque poesin?

Carmen amat Bacchum, carmina Bacchus amat.

Nec puduit Phœbum virides gestâsse corymbos,  
Atque hederam lauro præposuisse suæ.

Sæpiùs Aoniis clamavit collibus *Euæ*

Mista Thyoneo turba novena choro.

Naso Corallæis mala carmina misit ab agris ;

Non illic epulæ, non sata vitis erat.

20

Quid nisi vina, rosasque, racemiferumque Lyæum,  
Cantavit brevibus Tëia Musa modis ?

Pindaricosque inflat numeros Teumesius Euan,

Et redolet sumptum pagina quæque merum ;

Dum gravis everso currus crepat axe supinus,

Et volat Elco pulvere fuscus eques.

Quadrimoque madens Lyricen Romanus Iaccho

Dulcè canit Glyceran, flavicomamque Chloen.

Jam quoque lauta tibi generoso mensa paratu

Mentis alit vires, ingeniumque fovet.

30

Massica fœcundam despumant pocula venam,

Fundis et ex ipso condita metra cado.

Addimus his artes, fusumque per intima Phœbum

Corda ; favent uni Bacchus, Apollo, Ceres.

Scilicet haud mirum tam dulcia carmina per te,

Numine composito, tres peperisse Deos.

Nunc quoque Thressa tibi cælato barbitos auro

Insonat argutâ molliter icta manu ;

Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum,

Virgineos tremulâ quæ regat arte pedes.

40

Illa tuas saltem teneant spectacula Musas,

Et revocent quantum crapula pellit iners.

Crede mihi, dum psallit ebur, comitataque plectrum

Implet odoratos festa chorea tholos,

Percipies tacitum per pectora serpere Phœbum,

Quale repentinus permeat ossa calor ;

Perque puellares oculos digitumque sonantem

Irruet in totos lapsa Thalia sinus.

Namque Elegia levis multorum cura deorum est,  
Et vocat ad numeros quemlibet illa suos ;  
Liber adest elegis, Eratoque, Ceresque, Venusque,  
Et cum purpurâ matre tenellus Amor.  
Talibus inde licent convivia larga poetis,  
Sæpiùs et veteri commaduisse mero.  
At qui bella refert, et adulto sub Jove cælum,  
Heroasque pios, semideosque duces,  
Et nunc sancta canit superûm consulta deorum,  
Nunc latrata fero regna profunda cano,  
Ille quidem parcè, Samii pro more magistri,  
Vivat, et innocuos præbeat herba cibos ;  
Stet prope fagineo pellucida lympa catillo,  
Sobriaque e puro pocula fonte bibat.  
Additur huic scelerisque vacans et casta juvenus,  
Et rigidi mores, et sine labe manus ;  
Qualis veste nitens sacrâ, et lustralibus undis,  
Surgis ad infensos augur iture Deos.  
Hoc ritu vixisse ferunt post rapta sagacem  
Lumina Tiresian, Ogygiumque Linon,  
Et lare devoto profugum Calchanta, senemque  
Orpheon edomitis sola per antra feris ;  
Sic dapis exiguus, sic rivi potor Homerus  
Dulichium vexit per freta longa virum,  
Et per monstrificam Persciæ Phœbados aulam,  
Et vada fœmineis insidiosa sonis,  
Perque tuas, rex ime, domos, ubi sanguine nigro  
Dicitur umbrarum detinuisse greges :  
Diis etenim sacer est vates, divûmque sacerdos,  
Spirat et occultum pectus et ora Jovem.  
At tu, si quid agam scitabere (si modò saltem  
Esse putas tanti noscere siquid agam).  
Paciferum canimus cælesti semine regem,  
Fausta que sacratis sæcula pacta libris ;

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Vagitumque Dei, et stabulantem paupere tecto  
 Qui suprema suo cum patre regna colit;  
 Stelliparumque polum, modulantesque æthere turmas,  
 Et subito elisos ad sua fana Deos.  
 Dona quidem dedimus Christi natalibus illa;  
 Illa sub auroram lux mihi prima tulit.  
 Te quoque pressa manent patriis meditata cicutis;  
 Tu mihi, cui recitem, iudicis instar eris.

90

## ELEGIA SEPTIMA.

*Anno ætatis undevigesimo.*

NONDUM blanda tuas leges, Amathusia, nôram,  
 Et Paphio vacuum pectus ab igne fuit.  
 Sæpe cupidineas, puerilia tela, sagittas,  
 Atque tuum spreui maxime numen, Amor.  
 "Tu puer imbelles" dixi "transfige columbas;  
 Conveniunt tenero mollia bella duci:  
 Aut de passeribus tumidos age, parve, triumphos;  
 Hæc sunt militiæ digna trophæa tuæ.  
 In genus humanum quid inania dirigis arma?  
 Non valet in fortes ista pharetra viros."  
 Non tulit hoc Cyprius (neque enim Deus ullus ad iras  
 Promptior), et duplici jam ferus igne calet.  
 Ver erat, et summæ radians per culmina villæ  
 Attulerat primam lux tibi, Maie, diem;  
 At mihi adhuc refugam quærebant lumina noctem,  
 Nec matutinum sustinuere jubar.  
 Astat Amor lecto, pictis Amor impiger alis;  
 Prodidit astantem mota pharetra Deum;  
 Prodidit et facies, et dulcè minantis ocelli,  
 Et quicquid puero dignum et Amore fuit.

10

Talis in æterno juvenis Sigeius Olympo  
Miscet amatori pocula plena Jovi ;  
Aut, qui formosas pellexit ad oscula nymphas,  
Thiodamantæus Naiade raptus Hylas.  
Addideratque iras, sed et has decuisse putares ;  
Addideratque truces, nec sine felle, minas.  
Et “ Miser exemplo sapuisses tutiùs,” inquit ;  
“ Nunc mea quid possit dextera testis eris.  
Inter et expertos vires numerabere nostras,  
Et faciam vero per tua damna fidem.  
Ipse ego, si nescis, strato Pythone superbum  
Edomui Phœbum, cessit et ille mihi ;  
Et, quoties meminit Penëidos, ipse fatetur  
Certiùs et graviùs tela nocere mea.  
Me nequit adductum curvare peritiùs arcum,  
Qui post terga solet vincere, Parthus eques :  
Cydoniusque mihi cedit venator, et ille  
Inscius uxori qui necis author erat.  
Est etiam nobis ingens quoque victus Orion,  
Herculeæque manus, Herculeusque comes.  
Jupiter ipse licet sua fulmina torqueat in me,  
Hærebunt lateri spicula nostra Jovis.  
Cætera quæ dubitas meliùs mea tela docebunt,  
Et tua non leviter corda petenda mihi.  
Nec te, stulte, tuæ poterunt defendere Musæ ;  
Nec tibi Phœbæus porriget anguis opem.”  
Dixit, et, aurato quatiens mucrone sagittam,  
Evolat in tepidos Cypridos ille sinus.  
At mihi risuro tonuit ferus ore minaci,  
Et mihi de puero non metus ullus erat.  
Et modò quà nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites,  
Et modò villarum proxima rura placent.  
Turba frequens, facieque simillima turba dearum,  
Splendida per medias itque reditque vias ;

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Auctaque luce dies gemino fulgore coruscat.

Fallor? an et radios hinc quoque Phœbus habet?

Hæc ego non fugi spectacula grata severus,

Impetus et quò me fert juvenilis agor;

Lumina luminibus malè providus obvia misi,

Neve oculos potui continuisse meos.

60

Unam fortè aliis supereminuisse notabam;

Principium nostri lux erat illa mali.

Sic Venus optaret mortalibus ipsa videri,

Sic regina Deûm conspicienda fuit.

Hanc memor objecit nobis malus ille Cupido,

Solus et hos nobis texuit antè dolos.

Nec procul ipse vafer latuit, multæque sagittæ,

Et facis a tergo grande pependit onus.

Nec mora; nunc ciliis hæsit, nunc virginis ori,

Insilit hinc labiis, insidet inde genis;

70

Et quascunque agilis partes jaculator oberrat,

Hei mihi! mille locis pectus inerme ferit.

Protinùs insoliti subierunt corda furores;

Uror amans intùs, flammaque totus eram.

Interea misero quæ jam mihi sola placebat

Ablata est, oculis non reditura meis;

Ast ego progredior tacitè querebundus, et excors,

Et dubius volui sæpe referre pedem.

Findor; et hæc remanet, sequitur pars altera votum;

Raptaque tam subito gaudia flere juvat.

80

Sic dolet amissum proles Junonia cælum,

Inter Lemniacos præcipitata focos;

Talis et abreptum solem respexit ad Orcum

Vectus ab attonitis Amphiaraus equis.

Quid faciam infelix, et luctu victus? Amores

Nec licet inceptos ponere, neve sequi.

O utinam spectare semel mihi detur amatos

Vultus, et coràm tristia verba loqui!

Forsitan et duro non est adamante creata,  
 Fortè nec ad nostras surdeat illa preces! 90  
 Crede mihi, nullus sic infeliciter arsit;  
 Ponar in exemplo primus et unus ego.  
 Parce, precor, teneri cum sis Deus ales amoris;  
 Pugnent officio nec tua facta tuo.  
 Jam tuus O certè est mihi formidabilis arcus,  
 Nate deâ, jaculis nec minus igne potens:  
 Et tua fumabunt nostris altaria donis,  
 Solus et in Superis tu mihi summus eris.  
 Deme meos tandem, verùm nec deme, furores;  
 Nescio cur, miser est suaviter omnis amans: 100  
 Tu modò da facilis, posthæc mea siqua futura est,  
 Cuspis amatuos figat ut una duos.

*Hæc ego mente olim lævâ, studioque supino,  
 Nequitia posui vana trophæa meæ.  
 Scilicet abreptum sic me malus impulit error,  
 Indocilisque ætas prava magistra fuit;  
 Donec Socraticos umbrosa Academia rivos  
 Præbuit, admissum dedocuitque jugum.  
 Protinùs, extinctis ex illo tempore flammis,  
 Cincta rigent multo pectora nostra gelu;  
 Unde suis frigus metuit puer ipse sagittis,  
 Et Diomedeam vim timet ipsa Venus.*

## [EPIGRAMMATA.]

• • IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM.

CUM simul in regem nuper satrapasque Britannos  
 Ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas,

Fallor? an et mitis voluisti ex parte videri,  
 Et pensare malâ cum pietate scelus?  
 Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria cæli,  
 Sulphureo curru flammivolisque rotis;  
 Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,  
 Liquit Iordanios turbine raptus agros.

## IN EANDEM.

SICCINE tentâsti cælo donâsse Iacobum,  
 Quæ septemgemino Bellua monte lates?  
 Ni meliora tuum poterit dare munera numen,  
 Parce, precor, donis insidiosa tuis.  
 Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adivit  
 Astra, nec inferni pulveris usus ope.  
 Sic potiùs fœdos in cælum pelle cucullos,  
 Et quot habet brutos Roma profana Deos;  
 Namque hac aut aliâ nisi quemque adjuveris arte,  
 Crede mihi, cæli vix bene scandet iter. 10

## IN EANDEM.

PURGATOREM animæ derisit Iacobus ignem,  
 Et sine quo superûm non adeunda domus.  
 Frenduit hoc trinâ monstrum Latiale coronâ,  
 Movit et horrificum cornua dena minax.  
 Et "Nec inultus" ait "temnes mea sacra, Britanne  
 Supplicium spretâ religione dabis;  
 Et, si stelligeras unquam penetraveris arces,  
 Non nisi per flammâs triste patebit iter."  
 O quàm funesto cecinisti proxima vero,  
 Verbaque ponderibus vix caritura suis! 10  
 Nam prope Tartareo sublime rotatus ab igni  
 Ibat ad æthereas, umbra perusta, plagas.

## IN EANDEM.

QUEM modò Roma suis devoverat impia diris,  
 Et Styge damnârat, Tænarioque sinu,  
 Hunc, vice mutatâ, jam tollere gestit ad astra  
 Et cupit ad superos evehere usque Deos.

## IN INVENTOREM BOMBARDÆ.

IAPETIONIDEM laudavit cæca vetustas,  
 Qui tulit ætheream solis ab axe facem;  
 At mihi major erit qui lurida creditur arma  
 Et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Jovi.

## AD LEONORAM ROMÆ CANENTEM.

ANGELUS unicuique suus (sic credite, gentes)  
 Obtigit æthereis ales ab ordinibus.  
 Quid mirum, Leonora, tibi si gloria major?  
 Nam tua præsentem vox sonat ipsa Deum.  
 Aut Deus, aut vacui certè mens tertia cæli,  
 Per tua secretò guttura serpit agens;  
 Serpit agens, facilisque docet mortalia corda  
 Sensim immortalis assuescere posse sono.  
 Quòd, si cuncta quidem Deus est, per cunctaque fusus,  
 In te unâ loquitur, cætera mutus habet.

10

## AD EANDEM.

ALTERA Torquatum cepit Leonora poetam,  
 Cujus ab insano cessit amore furens.  
 Ah miser ille tuo quanto feliciùs ævo  
 Perditus, et propter te, Leonora, foret!  
 Et te Pieriâ sensisset voce canentem  
 Aurea maternæ fila movere lyræ!

Quamvis Dircæo torsisset lumina Pentheo  
 Sævior, aut totus desipuisset iners,  
 Tu tamen errantes cæcâ vertigine sensus  
 Voce eadem poteras composuisse tuâ;  
 Et poteras, ægro spirans sub corde quietem,  
 Flexanimo cantu restituisset sibi.

10

## AD EANDEM.

CREDULA quid liquidam Sirena, Neapoli, jactas,  
 Claraque Parthenopes fana Achelöiados,  
 Littoreamque tuâ defunctam Naiada ripâ  
 Corpore Chalcidico sacra dedisse rogo?  
 Illa quidem vivitque, et amoenâ Tibridis undâ  
 Mutavit rauci murmura Pausilipi.  
 Illic, Romulidum studiis ornata secundis,  
 Atque homines cantu detinet atque Deos.

## APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO.

RUSTICUS ex malo sapidissima poma quotannis  
 Legit, et urbano lecta dedit Domino:  
 Hic, incredibili fructûs dulcedine captus,  
 Malum ipsam in proprias transtulit areolas.  
 Hactenûs illa ferax, sed longo debilis ævo,  
 Mota solo assueto, protinûs aret iners.  
 Quod tandem ut patuit Domino, spe lusus inani,  
 Damnavit celeres in sua damna manus;  
 Atque ait, "Heu quanto satius fuit illa Coloni  
 (Parva licet) grato dona tulisse animo!  
 Possem ego avaritiam frænare, gulamque voracem:  
 Nunc periere mihi et foetus et ipse parens."

10

[DE MORO.]

GALLI ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori  
Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget ?

AD CHRISTINAM, SUECORUM REGINAM, NOMINE CROMWELLI.

BELLIPOTENS Virgo, Septem regina Trionum,  
Christina, Arctoi lucida stella poli !  
Cernis quas merui durâ sub casside rugas,  
Utque senex armis impiger ora tero,  
Invia fatorum dum per vestigia nitor,  
Exequor et populi fortia jussa manu.  
Ast tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra ;  
Nec sunt hi vultus Regibus usque truces.

*Elegiarum Finis.*

## SYLVARUM LIBER.

*Anno ætatis 17.*

IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI.

PARERE Fati discite legibus,  
 Manusque Parcæ jam date supplices,  
 Qui pendulum telluris orbem  
     Iäpeti colitis nepotes.  
 Vos si relicto Mors vaga Tænaro  
 Semel vocârit flebilis, heu ! moræ  
     Tentantur incassum dolique ;  
     Per tenebras Stygis ire certum est.  
 Si destinatam pellere dextera  
 Mortem valeret, non ferus Hercules  
     Nessi venenatus cruore  
     Æmathiâ jacuisset Cætâ ;  
 Nec fraude turpi Palladis invidæ  
 Vidisset occisum Ilion Hectora, aut  
     Quem larva Pelidis peremit  
     Ense Locro, Jove lacrymante.  
 Si triste Fatum verba Hecatæia  
 Fugare possint, Telegoni parens  
     Vixisset infamis, potentique  
     Ægiali soror usa virgâ.  
 Numenque trinum fallere si queant  
 Artes medentum, ignotaque gramina,  
 Non gnarus herbarum Machaon  
     Eurypyli cecidisset hastâ ;

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Læsisset et nec te, Philyreie,  
 Sagitta Echidnæ perlita sanguine;  
 Nec tela te fulmenque avitum,

Cæse puer genetricis alvo.

Tuque, O alumno major Apolline,  
 Gentis togatæ cui regimen datum,

30

Frondosa quem nunc Cirrha luget,

Et mediis Helicon in undis,

Jam præfuisses Palladio gregi

Lætus superstes, nec sine gloriâ;

Nec puppe lustrâsses Charontis

Horribiles barathri recessus.

At fila rupit Persephone tua,

Irata cum te viderit artibus

Succoque pollenti tot atris

Faucibus eripuisse Mortis.

40

Colende Præses, membra precor tua

Molli quiescant cespite, et ex tuo

Crescant rosæ calthæque busto,

Purpureoque hyacinthus ore.

Sit mite de te judicium Æaci,

Subrideatque Ætnæa Proserpina,

Interque felices perennis

Elysio spatiere campo!

## IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS.

*Anno ætatis 17.*

JAM pius extremâ veniens Iacobus ab arcto  
 Teucrigenas populos, latèque patentia regna  
 Albionum tenuit, jamque inviolabile fœdus  
 Sceptra Caledoniis conjunxerat Anglica Scotis:  
 Pacificusque novo, felix divesque, sedebat  
 In solio, occultique doli securus et hostis:



Cum ferus ignifluo regnans Acheronte tyrannus,  
 Eumenidum pater, æthereo vagus exul Olympo,  
 Fortè per immensum terrarum erraverat orbem,  
 Dinumerans sceleris socios, vernasque fideles, 10  
 Participes regni post funera mœsta futuros.  
 Hic tempestates medio ciet aëre diras;  
 Illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos;  
 Armat et invictas in mutua viscera gentes,  
 Regnaque oliviferâ vertit florentia pace;  
 Et quoscunque videt puræ virtutis amantes,  
 Hos cupit adjicere imperio, fraudumque magister  
 Tentat inaccessum sceleri corrumpere pectus;  
 Insidiasque locat tacitas, cassesque latentes  
 Tendit, ut incautos rapiat, ceu Caspia tigris 20  
 Insequitur trepidam deserta per avia prædam  
 Nocte sub illuni, et somno nictantibus astris.  
 Talibus infestat populos Summanus et urbes,  
 Cinctus cæruleæ fumanti turbine flammæ.  
 Jamque fluentisonis albentia rupibus arva  
 Apparent, et terra Deo dilecta marino,  
 Cui nomen dederat quondam Neptunia proles,  
 Amphitryoniaden qui non dubitavit atrocem,  
 Æquore tranato, furiali poscere bello,  
 Ante expugnatae crudelia sæcula Trojæ. 30  
 At simul hanc, opibusque et festâ pace beatam,  
 Aspicit, et pingues donis Cerealibus agros,  
 Quodque magis doluit, venerantem numina veri  
 Sancta Dei populum, tandem suspiria rupit  
 Tartareos ignes et luridum olentia sulphur;  
 Qualia Trinacriâ trux ab Jove clausus in Ætnâ  
 Efflat tabifico monstrosus ab ore Typhœus.  
 Ignescunt oculi, stridetque adamantinus ordo  
 Dentis, ut armorum fragor, ictaque cuspidibus  
 Atque "Pererrato solum hoc lacrymabile mundo 40

Inveni" dixit; "gens hæc mihi sola rebellis,  
 Contemtrixque jugi, nostrâque potentior arte.  
 Illa tamen, mea si quicquam tentamina possunt,  
 Non feret hoc impune diu, non ibit inulta."  
 Hactenus; et piceis liquido natat aëre pennis:  
 Quâ volat, adversi præcursant agmine venti,  
 Densantur nubes, et crebra tonitrua fulgent.

Jamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes,  
 Et tenet Ausoniæ fines. A parte sinistrâ  
 Nimbifer Apenninus erat, priscique Sabini;  
 Dextra veneficiis infamis Hetruria; nec non  
 Te furtiva, Tibris, Thetidi videt oscula dantem:  
 Hinc Mavortigenæ consistit in arce Quirini.  
 Reddiderant dubiam jam sera crepuscula lucem,  
 Cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem,  
 Panificosque Deos portat, scapulisque virorum  
 Evehitur; præeunt submisso poplite reges,  
 Et mendicantûm series longissima fratrum;  
 Cereaque in manibus gestant funalia cæci,  
 Cimmeriis nati in tenebris vitamque trahentes.

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Templa dein multis subeunt lucentia tædis  
 (Vesper erat sacer iste Petro), fremitusque canentûm  
 Sæpe tholos implet vacuos, et inane locorum:  
 Qualiter exululat Bromius, Bromiique caterva,  
 Orgia cantantes in Echionio Aracyntho,  
 Dum tremuit attonitus vitreis Asopus in undis,  
 Et procul ipse cavâ responsat rupe Cithæron.

His igitur tandem solenni more peractis,  
 Nox senis amplexus Erebi taciturna reliquit,  
 Præcipitesque impellit equos stimulante flagello,  
 Captum oculis Typhlonta, Melanchætēque ferocem,  
 Atque Acherontæo prognatam patre Siopen  
 Torpidam, et hirsutis horrentem Phrica capillis.

70

Interea regum domitor, Phlegetontius hæres,

Ingreditur thalamos (neque enim secretus adulter  
 Producit steriles molli sine pellice noctes);  
 At vix compositos somnus claudebat ocellos  
 Cum niger umbrarum dominus, rectorque silentium,  
 Prædatorque hominum, falsâ sub imagine tectus  
 Astitit. Assumptis micuerunt tempora canis; 80  
 Barba sinus promissa tegit; cineracea longo  
 Syrmate verrit humum vestis; pendetque cucullus  
 Vertice de raso; et, ne quicquam desit ad artes,  
 Cannabeo lumbos constrinxit fune salaces,  
 Tarda fenestratis figens vestigia calceis.  
 Talis, uti fama est, vasta Franciscus eremo  
 Tetra vagabatur solus per lustra ferarum,  
 Sylvestrique tulit genti pia verba salutis  
 Impius, atque lupos domuit, Libyosque leones.  
 Subdolus at tali Serpens velatus amictu 90  
 Solvit in has fallax ora execrantia voces:  
 "Dormis, nate? Etiamne tuos sopor opprimit artus?  
 Immemor O fidei, pecorumque oblite tuorum!  
 Dum cathedram, venerande, tuam diademaque triplex  
 Ridet Hyperboreo gens barbara nata sub axe,  
 Dumque pharetrati spernunt tua jura Britanni:  
 Surge, age! surge piger, Latius quem Cæsar adorat,  
 Cui reserata patet convexi janua cæli;  
 Turgentes animos et fastus frange procaces,  
 Sacrilegique sciant tua quid maledictio possit, 100  
 Et quid Apostolicæ possit custodia clavis;  
 Et memor Hesperiae disjectam ulciscere classem,  
 Mersaque Iberorum lato vexilla profundo,  
 Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosæ,  
 Thermodoontæ nuper regnante puellâ.  
 At tu si tenero mavis torpescere lecto,  
 Crescentesque negas hosti contundere vires,  
 Tyrrhenum implebit numeroso milite pontum,

Signaque Aventino ponet fulgentia colle ;  
 Reliquias veterum franget, flammisque cremabit, 110  
 Sacraque calcabit pedibus tua colla profanis,  
 Cujus gaudebant soleis dare basia reges.  
 Nec tamen hunc bellis et aperto Marte lacesces ;  
 Irritus ille labor ; tu callidus utere fraude :  
 Quælibet hæreticis disponere retia fas est.  
 Jamque ad consilium extremis rex magnus ab oris  
 Patricios vocat, et procerum de stirpe creatos,  
 Grandævosque patres trabeâ canisque verendos :  
 Hos tu membratim poteris conspergere in auras,  
 Atque dare in cineres, nitrati pulveris igne 120  
 Edibus injecto, quâ convenere, sub imis.  
 Protinûs ipse igitur quoscunque habet Anglia fidos  
 Propositi factique mone : quisquamne tuorum  
 Audebit summi non jussa facessere Papæ ?  
 Perculsosque metu subito, casuque stupentes,  
 Invadat vel Gallus atrox, vel sævus Iberus.  
 Sæcula sic illic tandem Mariana redibunt,  
 Tuque in belligeros iterum dominaberis Anglos.  
 Et, nequid timeas, divos divasque secundas  
 Accipe, quotque tuis celebrantur numina fastis." 130  
 Dixit, et adscitos ponens malefidus amictus  
 Fugit ad infandam, regnum illætabile, Lethen.

Jam rosea Eoas pandens Tithonia portas  
 Vestit inauratas redeunti lumine terras ;  
 Mœstaque adhuc nigri deplorans funera nati  
 Irrigat ambrosiis montana cacumina guttis ;  
 Cum somnos pepulit stellatæ janitor aulæ,  
 Nocturnos visus et somnia grata revolvens.

Est locus æternâ septus caligine noctis,  
 Vasta ruinosi quondam fundamina tecti, 140  
 Nunc torvi spelunca Phoni, Prodotæque bilinguis,  
 Effera quos uno peperit Discordia partu.

.Hic inter cæmenta jacent præruptaque saxa  
 Ossa inhumata virûm, et trajecta cadavera ferro ;  
 Hic Dolus intortis semper sedet ater ocellis,  
 Jurgiaque, et stimulis armata Calumnia fauces ;  
 Et Furor, atque viæ moriendi mille, videntur,  
 Et Timor ; exanguisque locum circumvolat Horror ;  
 Perpetuòque leves per muta silentia Manes  
 Exululant ; tellus et sanguine conscia stagnat. 150  
 Ipsi etiam pavidì latitant penetralibus antri  
 Et Phonos et Prodotes ; nulloque sequente per antrum,  
 Antrum horrens, scopulosum, atrum feralibus umbris,  
 Diffugiunt sontes, et retrò lumina vortunt.  
 Hos pugiles Romæ per sæcula longa fideles  
 Evocat antistes Babylonius, atque ita fatur :  
 " Finibus occiduis circumfusum incolit æquor  
 Gens exosa mihi ; prudens Natura negavit  
 Indignam penitùs nostro conjungere mundo.  
 Illuc, sic jubeo, celeri contendite gressu, 160  
 Tartareoque leves diffrentur pulvere in auras  
 Et rex et pariter satrapæ, scelerata propago ;  
 Et quotquot fidei caluere cupidine veræ  
 Consilii socios adhibete, operisque ministros."  
 Finierat : rigidi cupidè paruerè gemelli.

Interea longo flectens curvamine cælos  
 Despicit æthereâ Dominus qui fulgurat arce,  
 Vanaque perversæ ridet conamina turbæ,  
 Atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri.

Esse ferunt spatium, quâ distat ab Aside terrâ 170  
 Fertilis Europe, et spectat Mareotidas undas ;  
 Hic turris posita est Titanidos ardua Famæ,  
 Ærea, lata, sonans, rutilis vicinior astris  
 Quàm superimpositum vel Athos vel Pelion Ossæ.  
 Mille fores aditusque patent, totidemque fenestræ,  
 Amplaque per tenues translucent atria muros.

Excitat hic varios plebs agglomerata susurros;  
Qualiter instrepitant circum mulctralia bombis  
Agmina muscarum, aut texto per ovilia junco,  
Dum Canis æstivum cæli petit ardua culmen. 180  
Ipsa quidem summâ sedet ultrix matris in arce:  
Auribus innumeris cinctum caput eminet olli,  
Queis sonitum exiguum trahit, atque levissima captat  
Murmura, ab extremis patuli confinibus orbis;  
Nec tot, Aristoride, servator inique juvençæ  
Isidos, immiti volvebas lumina vultu,  
Lumina non unquam tacito nutantia somno,  
Lumina subjectas latè spectantia terras.  
Istis illa solet loca luce carentia sæpe  
Perlustrare, etiam radianti impervia soli; 190  
Millenisque loquax auditaque visaque linguis  
Cuilibet effundit temeraria; veraque mendax  
Nunc minuit, modò confictis sermonibus auget.  
Sed tamen a nostro meruisti carmine laudes,  
Fama, bonum quo non aliud veracius ullum,  
Nobis digna cani, nec te memorâsse pigebit  
Carmine tam longo; servati scilicet Angli  
Officiis, vaga diva, tuis tibi reddimus æqua.  
Te Deus, æternos motu qui temperat ignes,  
Fulmine præmisso, alloquitur, terrâque tremante: 200  
"Fama, siles? an te latet impia Papistarum  
Conjurata cohors in meque meosque Britannos,  
Et nova sceptrigero cædes meditata Iäcobo?"  
Nec plura: illa statim sensit mandata Tonantis,  
Et, satis antè fugax, stridentes induit alas,  
Induit et variis exilia corpora plumis;  
Dextrâ tubam gestat Temesæo ex ære sonoram.  
Nec mora; jam pennis cedentes remigat auras,  
Atque parum est cursu celeres prævertere nubes;  
Jam ventos, jam solis equos, post terga reliquit: 20

Et primò Angliacas, solito de more, per urbes  
 Ambiguas voces incertaque murmura spargit;  
 Mox arguta dolos et detestabile vulgat  
 Proditionis opus, nec non facta horrida dictu,  
 Authoresque addit sceleris, nec garrula cæcis  
 Insidiis loca structa silet. Stupuere relatis,  
 Et pariter juvenes, pariter tremuere puellæ,  
 Effoetique senes pariter, tantæque ruinæ  
 Sensus ad ætatem subito penetraverat omnem.  
 Attamen interea populi miserescit ab alto  
 Æthereus Pater, et crudelibus obstitit ausis  
 Papicolûm. Capti pœnas raptantur ad acres:  
 At pia thura Deo et grati solvuntur honores;  
 Compita læta focis genialibus omnia fumant;  
 Turba choros juvenilis agit; Quintoque Novembris  
 Nulla dies toto occurrit celebratior anno.

220

*Anno ætatis 17.*

IN OBITUM PRÆSULIS ELIENSIS.

ADHUC madentes rore squalebant genæ,  
 Et sicca nondum lumina  
 Adhuc liquentis imbre turgebant salis  
 Quem nuper effudi pius  
 Dum mœsta charo justa persolvi rogo  
 Wintoniensis Præsulis,  
 Cum centilinguis Fama (proh! semper mali  
 Cladisque vera nuntia)  
 Spargit per urbes divitis Britanniæ,  
 Populosque Neptuno satos,  
 Cessisse Morti et ferreis Sororibus,  
 Te, generis humani decus,  
 Qui rex sacrorum illâ fuisti in insulâ  
 Quæ nomen Anguillæ tenet.

10

Tunc inquietum pectus irâ protinûs  
 Ebulliebat fervidâ,  
 Tumulis potentem sæpe devovens deam :  
 Nec vota Naso in Ibida  
 Concepit alto diriora pectore ;  
 Graiusque vates parciûs 20  
 Turpem Lycambis execratus est dolum,  
 Sponsamque Neobulen suam.  
 At ecce ! diras ipse dum fundô graves,  
 Et imprecor Neci necem,  
 Audîsse tales videor attonitus sonos  
 Leni, sub aurâ, flamine :  
 “ Cæcos furores pone ; pone vitream  
 Bilemque et irritas minas.  
 Quid temerè violas non nocenda numina,  
 Subitòque ad iras percita ? 30  
 Non est, ut arbitraris elusus miser,  
 Mors atra Noctis filia,  
 Erebove patre creta, sive Erinnye,  
 Vastove nata sub Chao :  
 Ast illa, cælo missa stellato, Dei  
 Messes ubique colligit ;  
 Animasque mole carneâ reconditas  
 In lucem et auras evocat,  
 (Ut cum fugaces excitant Horæ diem,  
 Themidos Jovisque filiæ,) 40  
 Et sempiterni ducit ad vultus Patris,  
 At justa raptat impios  
 Sub regna furvi luctuosa Tartari  
 Sedesque subterraneas.  
 Hanc ut vocantem lætus audivi, citò  
 Fœdum reliqui carcerem,  
 Volatilesque faustus inter milites  
 Ad astra sublimis feror,



"Vates ut olim raptus ad cælum senex,  
 Auriga currus ignei. 50  
 Non me Bootis terruere lucidi  
 Sarraca tarda frigore, aut  
 Formidolosi Scorpionis brachia;  
 Non ensis, Orion, tuus.  
 Prætervolavi fulgidi solis globum;  
 Longèque sub pedibus deam  
 Vidi triformem, dum coërcebat suos  
 Frænis dracones aureis.  
 Erraticorum siderum per ordines,  
 Per lacteas vehor plagas, 60  
 Velocitatem sæpe miratus novam,  
 Donec nitentes ad fores  
 Ventum est Olympi, et regiam crystallinam, et  
 Stratum smaragdis atrium.  
 Sed hic tacebo, nam quis effari queat  
 Oriundus humano patre  
 Amœnitates illius loci? Mihi  
 Sat est in æternum frui."

## NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM.

HEU! quàm perpetuis erroribus acta fatiscit  
 Avia mens hominum, tenebrisque immersa profundis  
 Œdipodioniam volvit sub pectore noctem!  
 Quæ vesana suis metiri facta deorum  
 Audet, et incisas leges adamante perenni  
 Assimilare suis, nulloque solubile sæclo  
 Consilium Fati perituris alligat horis.  
 Ergone marcescet sulcantibus obsita rugis  
 Naturæ facies, et rerum publica Mater,  
 Omniparum contracta uterum, sterilest ab ævo? 10

Et, se fassa senem, malè certis passibus ibit  
 Sidereum tremebunda caput? Num tetra vetustas  
 Annorumque æterna fames, squalorque situsque,  
 Sidera vexabunt? An et insatiabile Tempus  
 Esuriet Cælum, rapietque in viscera patrem?  
 Heu! potuitne suas imprudens Jupiter arces  
 Hoc contra munisse nefas, et Temporis isto  
 Exemisse malo, gyrosque dedisse perennes?  
 Ergo erit ut quandoque, sono dilapsa tremendo,  
 Convexi tabulata ruant, atque obvius ictu  
 Stridat uterque polus, superâque ut Olympius aulâ  
 Decidat, horribilisque relectâ Gorgone Pallas;  
 Qualis in Ægæam proles Junonia Lemnon  
 Deturbata sacro cecidit de limine cæli.

20

Tu quoque, Phœbe, tui casus imitabere nati  
 Præcipiti curru, subitâque ferere ruinâ  
 Pronus, et extinctâ fumabit lampade Nereus,  
 Et dabit attonito feralia sibila ponto.

Tunc etiam aërei divulsis sedibus Hæmi  
 Dissultabit apex, imoque allisa barathro  
 Terrebunt Stygium dejecta Ceraunia Ditem,  
 In superos quibus usus erat, fraternaue bella.

30

At Pater Omnipotens, fundatis fortiùs astris,  
 Consuluit rerum summæ, certoque peregit  
 Pondere Fatorum lances, atque ordine summo  
 Singula perpetuum jussit servare tenorem.

Volvitur hinc lapsu Mundi rota prima diurno,  
 Raptat et ambitos sociâ vertigine cælos.

Tardior haud solito Saturnus, et acer ut olim  
 Fulmineùm rutilat cristatâ casside Mavors.

40

Floridus æternùm Phœbus juvenile coruscat,  
 Nec fovet effœtas loca per declivia terras  
 Devexo temone Deus; sed semper, amicâ  
 Luce potens, eadem currit per signa rotarum.

Surgit odoratis pariter formosus ab Indis  
 Æthereum pecus albenti qui cogit Olympo,  
 Manè vocans, et serus agens in pascua cæli;  
 Temporis et gemino dispertit regna colore.  
 Fulget, obitque vices alterno Delia cornu,  
 Cæruleumque ignem paribus complectitur ulnis. 50  
 Nec variant elementa fidem, solitoque fragore  
 Lurida percussas jaculantur fulmina rupes.  
 Nec per inane furit leviori murmure Corus;  
 Stringit et armiferos æquali horrore Gelonos  
 Trux Aquilo, spiratque hiemem, nimbosque volutat.  
 Utque solet, Siculi diverberat ima Pelori  
 Rex maris, et raucâ circumstrepit æquora conchâ  
 Oceani Tubicen, nec vastâ mole minorem  
 Ægæona ferunt dorso Balearica cete.  
 Sed neque, Terra, tibi sæcli vigor ille vetusti 60  
 Priscus abest; servatque suum Narcissus odorem;  
 Et puer ille suum tenet, et puer ille, decorem,  
 Phœbe, tuusque, et, Cypri, tuus; nec ditior olim  
 Terra datum sceleri celavit montibus aurum  
 Conscia, vel sub aquis gemmas. Sic denique in ævum  
 Ibit cunctarum series justissima rerum;  
 Donec flamma orbem populabitur ultima, latè  
 Circumplexa polos et vasti culmina cæli,  
 Ingentique rogo flagrabit machina Mundi.

DE IDEÂ PLATONICÂ QUEMADMODUM ARISTOTELES  
 INTELLEXIT.

DICITE, sacrorum præsides nemorum deæ,  
 Tuque O noveni perbeata numinis  
 Memoria mater, quæque in immenso procul  
 Antro recumbis otiosa Æternitas,  
 Monumenta servans, et ratas leges Jovis,

Cælique fastos atque ephemeridas Deûm,  
 Quis ille primus cujus ex imagine  
 Natura solers finxit humanum genus,  
 Æternus, incorruptus, æquævus polo,  
 Unusque et universus, exemplar Dei? 10  
 Haud ille, Palladis gemellus innubæ,  
 Interna proles insidet menti Jovis;  
 Sed, quamlibet natura sit communior,  
 Tamen seorsus extat ad morem unius,  
 Et, mira! certo stringitur spatio loci:  
 Seu sempiternus ille siderum comes  
 Cæli pererrat ordines decemplicis,  
 Citimumve terris incolit Lunæ globum;  
 Sive, inter animas corpus adituras sedens,  
 Obliviosas torpet ad Lcthes aquas; 20  
 Sive in remotâ fortè terrarum plagâ  
 Incedit ingens hominis archetypus gigas,  
 Et diis tremendus erigit celsum caput,  
 Atlante major portitore siderum.  
 Non, cui profundum cæcitas lumen dedit,  
 Dirçæus augur vidit hunc alto sinu;  
 Non hunc silenti nocte Plëiones nepos  
 Vatum sagaci præpes ostendit choro;  
 Non hunc sacerdos novit Assyrius, licet  
 Longos vetusti commemoret atavos Nini, 30  
 Priscumque Belon, inclytumque Osiridem;  
 Non ille trino gloriosus nomine  
 Ter magnus Hermes (ut sit arcani sciens)  
 Talem reliquit Isidis cultoribus.  
 At tu, perenne ruris Academi decus,  
 (Hæc monstra si tu primus induxti scholis)  
 Jam jam poetas, urbis exules tuæ,  
 Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus;  
 Aut institutor ipse migrabis foras.

## AD PATREM.

NUNC mea Pierios cupiam per pectora fontes  
 Irriguas torquere vias, totumque per ora  
 Volvere laxatum gemino de vertice rivum;  
 Ut, tenues oblita sonos, audacibus alis  
 Surgat in officium venerandi Musa parentis.  
 Hoc utcunque tibi gratum, pater optime, carmen  
 Exiguum meditatur opus; nec novimus ipsi  
 Aptius a nobis quæ possint munera donis  
 Respondere tuis, quamvis nec maxima possint  
 Respondere tuis, nedum ut par gratia donis  
 Esse queat vacuis quæ redditur arida verbis.  
 Sed tamen hæc nostros ostendit pagina census,  
 Et quod habemus opum chartâ numeravimus istâ,  
 Quæ mihi sunt nullæ, nisi quas dedit aurea Clio,  
 Quas mihi semoto somni peperere sub antro,  
 Et nemoris lauretæ sacri, Parnassides umbræ.

10

Nec tu, vatis opus, divinum despice carmen,  
 Quo nihil æthereos ortus et semina cæli,  
 Nil magis humanam commendat origine mentem,  
 Sancta Prometheæ retinens vestigia flammæ.  
 Carmen amant Superi, tremebundaque Tartara carmen  
 Ima ciere valet, divosque ligare profundos,  
 Et triplici duos Manes adamante coercet.  
 Carmine sepositi retegunt arcana futuri  
 Phœbades, et tremulæ pallentes ora Sibyllæ;  
 Carmina sacrificus sollennes pangit ad aras,  
 Aurea seu sternit motantem cornua taurum,  
 Seu cum fata sagax fumantibus abdita fibris  
 Consulit, et tepidis Parcam scrutatur in extis.  
 Nos etiam, patrium tunc cum repetemus Olympum,  
 Æternæque moræ stabunt immobilis ævi,  
 Ibimus auratis per cæli templa coronis,

20

30

Dulcia suaviloquo sociantes carmina plectro,  
 Astra quibus geminique poli convexa sonabunt.  
 Spiritus et rapidos qui circinat igneus orbes  
 Nunc quoque sidereis intercinit ipse choreis  
 Immortale melos et inenarrabile carmen,  
 Torrida dum rutilus compescit sibila Serpens,  
 Demissoque ferox gladio mansuescit Orion,  
 Stellarum nec sentit onus Maurusius Atlas.

40

Carmina regales epulas ornare solebant,  
 Cum nondum luxus, vastæque immensa vorago  
 Nota gulæ, et modico spumabat cœna Lyæo.  
 • Tum de more sedens, festa ad convivia vates,  
 Æsculeâ intonsos redimitus ab arbore crines,  
 Heroumque actus imitandaque gesta canebat,  
 Et Chaos, et positi latè fundamina Mundi,  
 Reptantesque deos, et alentes numina glandes,  
 Et nondum Ætnæo quæsitum fulmen ab antro.  
 Denique quid vocis modulamên inane juvabit,  
 Verborum sensusque vacans, numerique loquacis?  
 Silvestres decet iste choros, non Orphea, cantus,

50

• Qui tenuit fluvios, et quercubus addidit aures,  
 Carmine, non citharâ, simulacraque functa canendo  
 Compulit in lacrymas: habet has a carmine laudes.

Nec tu perge, precor, sacras contemnere Musas,  
 Nec vanas inopesque puta, quarum ipse peritus  
 Munere mille sonos numeros componis ad aptos,  
 Millibus et vocem modulis variare canoram  
 Doctus Arionii meritò sis nominis hæres.

60

Nunc tibi quid mirum si me genuisse poëtam  
 Contigerit, charo si tam propè sanguine juncti  
 Cognatas artes studiumque affine sequamur?  
 Ipse vólens Phœbus se dispertire duobus,  
 Altera dona mihi, dedit altera dona parenti;  
 Dividuumque Deum, genitorque puerque, tenemus.

Tu tamen ut simules teneras odisse Camœnas,  
 Non odisse reor. Neque enim, pater, ire jubebas  
 Quà via lata patet, quà pronior area lucri,  
 Certaue condendi fulget spes aurea nummi;  
 Nec rapis ad leges, malè custoditaue gentis  
 Jura, nec insulsis damnas clamoribus aures.  
 Sed, magis excultam cupiens ditescere mentem,  
 Me, procul urbano strepitu, secessibus altis  
 Abductum, Aoniæ jucunda per otia ripæ,  
 Phœbæo lateri comitem sinis ire beatum.  
 Officium chari tacco commune parentis;  
 Me poscunt majora. Tuo, pater optîme, sumptu  
 Cum mihi Romuleæ patuit facundia linguæ,  
 Et Latii veneres, et quæ Jovis ora decebant  
 Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,  
 Addere suasisti quos jactat Gallia flores,  
 Et quam degeneri novus Italus ore loquelam  
 Fundit, barbaricos testatus voce tumultus,  
 Quæque Palæstinus loquitur mysteria vates.  
 Denique quicquid habet cælum, subjectaque cælo  
 Terra parens, terræque et cælo interfluis aër,  
 Quicquid et unda tegit, pontique agitabile marmor,  
 Per te nôsse licet, per te, si nôsse libebit;  
 Dimotâque venit spectanda Scientia nube,  
 Nudaque conspicuos inclinat ad oscula vultus,  
 Ni fugisse velim, ni sit libâsse molestum.

I nunc, confer opes, quisquis malesanus avitas  
 Austriaci gazas Perüanaque regna præoptas.  
 Quæ potuit majora pater tribuisse, vel ipse  
 Jupiter, excepto, donâsset ut omnia, cælo?  
 Non potiora dedit, quamvis et tuta fuissent,  
 Publica qui juveni commisit lumina nato,  
 Atque Hyperionios currus, et fræna diei,  
 Et circum undantem radiatâ luce tiaram.

70

80

90

100

Ergo ego, jam doctæ pars quamlibet ima catervæ,  
 Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebo;  
 Jamque nec obscurus populo miscebor inertī,  
 Vitabuntque oculos vestigia nostra profanos.  
 Este procul vigiles Curæ, procul este Querelæ,  
 Invidiæque acies transverso tortilis hirquo;  
 Sæva nec anguiferos extende, Cālumnia, rictus;  
 In me triste nihil, fœdissima turba, potestis,  
 Nec vestri sum juris ego; securaque tutus  
 Pectora vipereo gradiar sublimis ab ictu.

110

At tibi, chare pater, postquam non æqua merenti  
 Posse referre datur, nec dona rependere factis,  
 Sit memorâsse satis, repetitaque munera grato  
 Percensere animo, fidæque reponere menti.

Et vos, O nostri, juvenilia carmina, lusus,  
 Si modò perpetuos sperare audebitis annos,  
 Et domini superesse rogo, lucemque tueri,  
 Nec spisso rapient oblivia nigra sub Orco,  
 Forsitan has laudes, decantatumque parentis  
 Nomen, ad exemplum, sero servabitis ævo.

120

## PSALM CXIV.

Ἰσραὴλ ὅτε παῖδες, ὅτ' ἀγλαὰ φύλ' Ἰακώβου  
 Αἰγύπτιον λίπε δῆμον, ἀπεχθέα, βαρβαρόφωνον,  
 Δὴ τότε μῦνον ἦν ὅσιον γένος υἱες Ἰοῦδα·  
 Ἐν δὲ Θεὸς λαοῖσι μέγα κρείων βασιλευεν.  
 Εἶδε καὶ ἐντροπάδην φύγαδ' ἐρρώησε θάλασσα,  
 Κύματι εἰλυμένη ῥοθίῳ, ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἐστυφελίχθη  
 Ἰρὸς Ἰορδάνης ποτὶ ἀργυροειδέα πηγὴν·  
 Ἐκ δ' ὄρεα σκαρθμοῖσιν ἀπειρέσια κλονέοντο,  
 Ὡς κριοὶ σφριγόωντες ἐντραφεῖν ἐν ἀλωῇ·  
 Βαιότεραι δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀνασκίρτησαν ἐρίπναι,



Οἷα παρὰ σύριγγι φίλῃ ὑπὸ μητέρι ἄρνες.  
 Τίπτε σύγ', αἰνὰ θάλασσα, πέλωρ φύγαδ' ἐρρώησας  
 Κύματι εἰλυμένη ῥοθίῳ; τί δ' ἄρ' ἐστυφελίχθης  
 Ἴρὸς Ἰορδάνῃ ποτὶ ἀργυροειδέα πηγὴν;  
 Τίπτ' ὄρεα σκαρθμοῖσιν ἀπειρέσια κλονέεσθε,  
 Ὡς κριοὶ σφριγόντες ἐϋτραφερῶ ἐν ἀλῶῃ;  
 Βαιότεραι τί δ' ἄρ' ὕμμες ἀνασκιρτήσατ' ἐρίπναι,  
 Οἷα παρὰ σύριγγι φίλῃ ὑπὸ μητέρι ἄρνες;  
 Σείεο γαῖα τρέουσα Θεὸν μεγάλ' ἐκτυπέοντα,  
 Γαῖα Θεὸν τρέιουσ' ὕπατον σέβας Ἰσσακίδαο,  
 Ὃς τε καὶ ἐκ σπιλάδων ποταμοὺς χέε μορμύροντας,  
 Κρήνην τ' ἀέναον πέτρης ἀπὸ δακρυόεσσης.

*Philosophus ad Regem quendam, qui eum ignotum et insontem inter  
 reos forte captum inscius damnaverat, τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ πορευ-  
 όμενος, hæc subito misit.*

ὦ ἄνα, εἰ ὀλέσῃς με τὸν ἔννομον, οὐδέ τιν' ἀνδρῶν  
 Δεινὸν ὅλως δράσαντα, σοφώτατον ἴσθι κάοηνον  
 Ῥηϊδίως ἀφέλοιο, τὸ δ' ὕστερον αὖθι νοήσεις,  
 Μαψιδίως δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα τεὸν πρὸς θυμὸν ὀδύρῃ,  
 Τοιόνδ' ἐκ πόλιος περιώνυμον ἄλκαρ ὀλέσσας.

*In effigiei ejus sculptorem.*

Ἀμαθεῖ γεγράφθαι χειρὶ τήνδε μὲν εἰκόνα  
 Φαίης τάχ' ἄν, πρὸς εἶδος αὐτοφυὲς βλέπων.  
 Τὴν δ' ἐκτυπωτὸν οὐκ ἐπιγινόντες, φίλοι,  
 Γελάτε φαύλου δυσμίμημα ζωγράφου.

AD SALSILLUM, POETAM ROMANUM, ÆGROTANTEM.  
 SCAZONTES.

O MUSA gressum quæ volens trahis claudum,  
 Vulcanioque tarda gaudes incessu,

Nec sentis illud in loco minus gratum  
 Quam cum decentes flava Dëiope suras  
 Alternat aureum ante Junonis lectum,  
 Adesdum, et hæc s'is verba pauca Salsillo  
 Refer, 'Camœna nostra cui tantum est cordi,  
 Quamque ille magnis prætulit immeritò divis.  
 Hæc ergo alumnus ille Londini Milto,  
 Diebus hisce qui suum linquens nidum  
 Polique tractum (pessimus ubi ventorum,  
 Insanientis impotensque pulmonis,  
 Pernix anhela sub Jove exercet flabra)  
 Venit feraces Itali soli ad glebas,  
 Visum superbâ cognitas urbes famâ,  
 Virosque, doctæque indolem juventutis,  
 Tibi optat idem hic fausta multa, Salsille,  
 Habitumque fesso corpori penitùs sanum ;  
 Cui nunc profunda bilis infestat renes,  
 Præcordiisque fixa damnosum spirat ;  
 Nec id pepercit impia quòd tu Romano  
 Tam cultus ore Lesbium condis melos.  
 O dulce divum munus, O Salus, Hebes  
 Germana! Tuque, Phœbe! morborum terror,  
 Pythone cæso, sive tu magis Pæan  
 Libenter audis, hic tuus sacerdos est.  
 Querceta Fauni, vosque rore vinoso  
 Colles benigni, mitis Evandri sedes,  
 Siquid salubre vallibus frondet vestris,  
 Levamen ægro ferte certatim vati.  
 Sic ille charis redditus rursum Musis  
 Vicina dulci prata mulcebit cantu.  
 Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos  
 Numa, ubi beatum degit otium æternum,  
 Suam reclivis semper Ægeriam spectans;  
 Tumidusque et ipse Tibris, hinc delinitus,

10

20

30

Spei favebit annuæ colonorum ;  
 Nec in sepulchris ibit obsessum reges,  
 Nimiùm sinistro laxus irruens loro ;  
 Sed fræna meliùs temperabit undarum,  
 Adusque curvi salsa regna Portumni. '

40

## MANSUS.

Joannes Baptista Mansus, Marchio Villensis, vir ingenii laude, tum literarum studio, nec non et bellicâ virtute, apud Italos clarus in primis est. Ad quem Torquati Tassi Dialogus extat de Amicitia scriptus ; erat enim Tassi amicissimus : ab quo etiam inter Campaniæ principes celebratur, in illo poemate cui titulus GERUSALEMME CONQUISTATA, lib. 20.

Fra cavalier magnanimi e cortesi  
 Risplende il Manso . . . .

Is authorem, Neapoli commorantem, summâ benevolentia prosecutus est, multaque ei detulit humanitatis officia. Ad hunc itaque hospes ille, antequam ab eâ urbe discederet, ut ne ingratum se ostenderet, hoc carmen misit.

HÆC quoque, Manse, tuæ meditantur carmina laudi  
 Pierides ; tibi, Manse, choro notissime Phœbi,  
 Quandoquidem ille alium haud æquo est dignatus honore,  
 Post Galli cineres, et Mccænatis Hetrusci.  
 Tu quoque, si nostræ tantum valet aura Camœnæ,  
 Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebis.

Te pridem magno felix concordia Tasso  
 Junxit, et æternis inscripsit nomina chartis.  
 Mox tibi dulciloquum non inscia Musa Marinum  
 Tradidit ; ille tuum dici se gaudet alumnum,  
 Dum canit Assyrios divûm prolixus amores,  
 Mollis et Ausonias stupefecit carmine nymphas.  
 Ille itidem moriens tibi soli debita vates  
 Ossa, tibi soli, supremaque vota reliquit :  
 Nec Manes pietas tua chara fecellit amici ;  
 Vidimus arridentem operoso ex ære poetam.

10

Nec satis hoc visum est in utrumque, et nec pia cessant  
 Officia in tumulo; cupis integros rapere Orco,  
 Quà potes, atque avidas Parcarum eludere leges:  
 Amborum genus, et variâ sub sorte peractam 20  
 Describis vitam, moresque, et dona Minervæ;  
 Æmulus illius Mycalen qui natus ad altam  
 Rettulit Æolii vitam facundus Homeri.

Ergo ego te, Cliûs et magni nomine Phœbi,  
 Manse pater, jubeo longum salvere per ævum,  
 Missus Hyperboreo juvenis peregrinus ab axe.  
 Nec tu longinquam bonus aspernabere Musam,  
 Quæ nuper, gelidâ vix enutrita sub Arcto,  
 Imprudens Italas ausa est volitare per urbes.  
 Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos 30  
 Credimus obscuras noctis sensisse per umbras,  
 Quà Thamesis latè puris argenteus urnis  
 Oceani glaucos perfundit gurgite crines;  
 Quin et in has quondam pervenit Tityrus oras.

Sed neque nos genus incultum, nec inutile Phœbo,  
 Quà plaga septeno mundi sulcata Trione  
 Brumalem patitur longâ sub nocte Booten.  
 Nos etiam colimus Phœbum, nos munera Phœbo,  
 Flaventes spicas, et lutea mala canistris,  
 Halantemque crocum (perhibet nisi vana vetustas) 40  
 Misimus, et lectas Druidum de gente choreas.  
 (Gens Druides antiqua, sacris operata deorum,  
 Heroum laudes imitandaque gesta canebant.)  
 Hinc quoties festo cingunt altaria cantu  
 Delo in herbosâ Graiæ de more puellæ,  
 Carminibus lætis memorant Corinëida Loxo,  
 Fatidicamque Upin, cum flavicomâ Hecaërge,  
 Nuda Caledonio variatas pectora fuco.

Fortunate senex! ergo quacunque per orbem  
 Torquati decus et nomen celebrabitur ingens, 50

Claraque perpetui succrescet fama Marini,  
 Tu quoque in ora frequens venies plausumque virorum,  
 Et parili carpes iter immortale volatu.

Dicetur tum sponte tuos habitâsse penates

Cynthius, et famulas venisse ad limina Musas.

At non sponte domum tamen idem et regis adivit

Rura Pheretiadæ cælo fugitivus Apollo,

Ille licet magnum Alciden suscepit hospes;

Tantum, ubi clamosos placuit vitare bubulcos,

Nobile mansueti cessit Chironis in antrum,

60

Irriguos inter saltus frondosaque tecta,

Peneium prope rivum: ibi sæpe sub ilice nigrâ,

Ad citharæ strepitum, blandâ prece victus amici,

Exilii duros lenibat voce labores.

Tum neque ripa suo, barathro nec fixa sub imo

Saxa stetere loco; nutat Trachinia rupes,

Nec sentit solitas, immania pondera, silvas;

Emotæque suis properant de collibus orni,

Mulcenturque novo maculosi carmine lynces.

Diis dilecte senex! te Jupiter æquus oportet

70

Nascentem et miti lustrârit lumine Phœbus.

Atlantisque nepos; neque enim nisi charus ab ortu

Diis superis poterit magno favisse poetæ.

Hinc longæva tibi lento sub flore senectus

Vernat, et Æsonios lucratur vivida fusos,

Nondum deciduos servans tibi frontis honores

Ingeniumque vigen, et adultum mentis acumen.

O mihi si mea sors talem concedat amicum,

Phœbæos decorâsse viros qui tam bene nôrit,

Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,

80

Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,

Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ

Magnanimos Heroas, et (O modò spiritus adsit)

Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!

Tandem, ubi, non tacitæ permensus tempora vitæ,  
 Annorumque satur, cineri sua jura relinquam,  
 Ille mihi lecto madidis astaret ocellis;  
 Astanti sat erit si dicam, 'Sim tibi curæ';  
 Ille meos artus, liventi morte solutos,  
 Curaret parvâ componi molliter urnâ: 90  
 Forsitan et nostros ducat de marmore vultus,  
 Nectens aut Paphiâ myrti aut Parnasside lauri  
 Fronde comas; at ego securâ pace quiescam.  
 Tum quoque, si qua fides, si præmia certa bonorum,  
 Ipse ego, cælicolûm semotus in æthera divûm,  
 Quò labor et mens pura vehunt atque ignea virtus,  
 Secreti hæc aliquâ mundi de parte videbo  
 (Quantum fata sinunt), et totâ mente serenûm  
 Ridens purpureo suffundar lumine vultus,  
 Et simul æthereo plaudam mihi lætus Olympo. 100

EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS.

ARGUMENTUM.

THYRSIS et DAMON, ejusdem viciniae pastores, eadem studia sequuti, a pueritiâ amici erant, ut qui plurimum. THYRSIS, animi causâ profectus, peregrè de obitu DAMONIS nuncium accepit. Domum postea reversus, et rem. ita esse comperto, se suamque solitudinem hoc carmine deplorat. DAMONIS autem sub personâ hîc intelligitur CAROLUS DEODATUS, ex urbe Hetruriæ Lucâ paterno genere oriundus, cætera Anglus; ingenio, doctrinâ, clarissimisque cæteris virtutibus, dum viveret, juvenis egregius.

HIMERIDES Nymphæ (nam vos et Daphnin et Hylan,  
 Et plorata diu meministis fata Bionis),  
 Dicite Sicelicum Thamesina per oppida carmen:  
 Quas miser effudit voces, quæ murmura Thyrsis,  
 Et quibus assiduis exercuit antra querelis,  
 Fluminaque, fontesque vagos, nemorumque recessus,

Dum sibi præreptum queritur Damona, neque altam  
Luctibus exemit noctem, loca sola pererrans.

Et jam bis viridi surgebat culmus aristâ,

Et totidem flavas numerabant horrea messes,

10

Ex quo summa dies tulerat Damona sub umbras,

Nec dum aderat Thyrsis; pastorem scilicet illum

Dulcis amor Musæ Thuscâ retinebat in urbe.

Ast ubi mens expleta domum pecorisque relictæ

Cura vocat, simul assuetâ seditque sub ulmo,

Tum verò amissum, tum denique, sentit amicum,

Cœpit et immensum sic exonerare dolorem:—

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.

Hei mihi! quæ terris, quæ dicam numina cælo,

Postquam te immiti rapuerunt funere, Damon?

20

Siccine nos linqvis? tua sic sine nomine virtus

Ibit, et obscuris numero sociabitur umbris?

At non ille animas virgâ qui dividit aureâ

Ista velit, dignumque tui te ducat in agmen,

Ignavumque procul pecus arceat omne silentûm.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.

Quicquid erit, certè, nisi me lupo antè videbit,

Indeplorato non comminuere sepulchro,

Constabitque tuus tibi honos, longûmque vigebit

Inter pastores. Illi tibi vota secundo

30

Solvere post Daphnin, post Daphnin dicere laudes,

Gaudebunt, dum rura Pales, dum Faunus amabit;

Si quid id est, priscamque fidem coluisse, piumque,

Palladiasque artes, sociumque habuisse canorum.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat; agni.

Hæc tibi certa manent, tibi erunt hæc præmia, Damon.

At mihi quid tandem fiet modò? quis mihi fidus

Hærebit lateri comes, ut tu sæpe solebas,

Frigoribus duris, et per loca foeta pruinis,

Aut rapido sub sole, siti morientibus herbis,

40

Sive opus in magnos fuit eminùs ire leones,  
Aut avidos terrere lupos præsepibus altis?  
Quis fando sopire diem cantuque solebit?

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
Pectora cui credam? quis me lenire docebit  
Mordaces curas, quis longam fallere noctem  
Dulcibus alloquiis, grato cum sibilat igni  
Molle pirum, et nucibus strepitat focus, at malus Auster  
Miscet cuncta foris, et desuper intonat ulmo?

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni. 50  
Aut æstate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,  
Cum Pan æsculeâ somnum capit abditus umbrâ,  
Et repetunt sub aquis sibi nota sedilia Nymphæ,  
Pastoresque latent, stertit sub sepe colonus,  
Quis mihi blanditiasque tuas, quis tum mihi risus,  
Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
At jam solus agros, jam pascua solus oberro,  
Sicubi ramosæ densantur vallibus umbræ;  
Hic serum expecto; supra caput imber et Eurus 60  
Triste sonant, fractæque agitata crepuscula silvæ.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
Heu! quam culta mihi priùs arva procacibus herbis  
Involvuntur, et ipsa situ seges alta fatiscit!  
Innuba neglecto marcescit et uva racemo,  
Nec myrteta juvant; ovium quoque tædet, at illæ  
Moerent, inque suum convertunt ora magistrum.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
Tityrus ad corylos vocat, Alphesibœus ad ornos,  
Ad salices Ægon, ad flumina pulcher Amyntas: 70  
‘Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco,  
Hic Zephyri, hic placidas interstrepit arbutus undas.’  
Ista canunt surdo; frutices ego nactus abibam.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.



Mopsus ad hæc, nam me redeuntem fortè notârat  
 (Et callebat avium linguas et sidera Mopsus),  
 ‘Thyrsi quid hoc?’ dixit; ‘quæ te coquit improba bilis?  
 Aut te perdit amor, aut te malè fascinat astrum;  
 Saturni grave sæpe fuit pastoribus astrum,  
 Intimaque obliquo figit præcordia plumbo.’

80

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Mirantur nymphæ, et ‘Quid te, Thyrsi, futurum est?  
 Quid tibi vis?’ aiunt: ‘non hæc solet esse juventæ  
 Nubila frons, oculique truces, vultusque severi:  
 Illa choros, lususque leves, et semper amorem  
 Jure petit; bis ille miser qui serus amavit.’

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Venit Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Ægle,  
 Docta modos, citharæque sciens, sed perdita fastu;  
 Venit Idumanii Chloris vicina fluenti:

90

Nil me blanditiæ, nil me solantia verba,  
 Nil me si quid adest movet, aut spes ulla futuri.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Hei mihi! quam similes ludunt per prata juvenci,  
 Omnes unanimi secum sibi lege sodales!

Nec magis hunc alio quisquam secernit amicum  
 De grege; sic densi veniunt ad pabula thoes,  
 Inque vicem hirsuti paribus junguntur onagri:  
 Lex eadem pelagi; deserto in littore Proteus  
 Agmina phocarum numerat: vilisque volucrum  
 Passer habet semper quicum sit, et omnia circum  
 Farra libens volitet, serò sua tecta revisens;  
 Quem si sors letho objecit, seu milvus adunco  
 Fata tulit rostro, seu stravit arundine fossor,  
 Protinùs ille alium socio petit inde volatu.

100

Nos durum genus, et diris exercita fâtis  
 Gens, homines, aliena animis, et pectore discors;  
 Vix sibi quisque parem de millibus invenit unum;

Aut, si sors dederit tandem non aspera votis,  
Illum inopina dies, quâ non speraveris horâ,  
Surripit, æternum linquens in sæcula damnum. 110

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
Heu! quis me ignotas traxit vagus error in oras  
Ire per aëreas rupes, Alpemque nivosam?  
Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam  
(Quamvis illa foret, qualem dum viseret olim  
Tityrus ipse suas et oves et rura reliquit),  
Ut te tam dulci possem caruisse sodale,  
Possem tot maria alta, tot interponere montes,  
Tot silvas, tot saxa tibi, fluviosque sonantes? 120  
Ah! certè extremùm licuisset tangere dextram,  
Et bene compositos placidè morientis ocellos,  
Et dixisse ‘Vale! nostri memor ibis ad astra.’

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
Quamquam etiam vestri nunquam meminisse pigebit,  
Pastores Thusci, Musis operata juvenus,  
Hic Charis, atque Lepos; et Thuscus tu quoque Damon,  
Antiquâ genus unde petis Lucumonis ab urbe.  
O ego quantus eram, gelidi cum stratus ad Arni  
Murmura, populeumque nemus, quâ mollior herba, 130  
Carpere nunc violas, nunc summas carpere myrtos,  
Et potui Lycidæ certantem audire Menalcam!  
Ipse etiam tentare ausus sum; nec puto multùm  
Displicui; nam sunt et apud me munera vestra,  
Fiscellæ, calathique, et cerea vincta cicutæ:  
Quin et nostra suas docuerunt nomina fagos  
Et Datis et Francinus; erant et vocibus ambo  
Et studiis noti, Lydorum sanguinis ambo.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
Hæc mihi tum læto dictabat roscida luna, 140  
Dum solus teneros claudebam cratibus hædos.  
Ah! quoties dixi, cum te cinis ater habebat,

'Nunc canit, aut lepori nunc tendit retia Damon;  
 Vimina nunc texit varios sibi quod sit in usus;  
 Et quæ tum facili sperabam mente futura  
 Arripui voto levis, et præsentia finxi.  
 'Heus bone! numquid agis? nisi te quid fortè retardat,  
 Imus, et argutâ paulùm recubamus in umbrâ,  
 Aut ad aquas Colni, aut ubi jugera Cassibelauni?  
 Tu mihi percurres medicos, tua gramina, succos, 150  
 Helleborumque, humilesque crocos, foliumque hyacinthi,  
 Quasque habet ista palus herbas, artesque medentûm.  
 Ah! pereant herbæ, pereant artesque medentûm,  
 Gramina, postquam ipsi nil profecere magistro!  
 Ipse etiam—nam nescio quid mihi grande sonabat  
 Fistula—ab undecimâ jam lux est altera nocte—  
 Et tum fortè novis admôram labra cicutis:  
 Dissiluere tamen, ruptâ compage, nec ultra  
 Ferre graves potuere sonos: dubito quoque ne sim  
 Turgidulus; tamen et referam; vos cedite, sylvæ. 160

"Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
 Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes  
 Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,  
 Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,  
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;  
 Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iögernen;  
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlöis arma,  
 Merlini dolus. O, mihi tum si vita supersit,  
 Tu procul annosâ pendebis, fistula, pinu  
 Multùm oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata Camœnis 170  
 Brittonicum strides! Quid enim? omnia non licet uni,  
 Non sperâsse uni licet omnia; mî satis ampla  
 Merces, et mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in ævum  
 Tum licet, externo penitûsque inglorius orbi),  
 Si me flava comas legat Usa, et potor Alauni,  
 Vorticibusque frequens Abra, et nemus omne Treantæ,

Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, et fusca metallis  
Tamara, et extremis me discant Orcades undis.

“Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.  
Hæc tibi servabam lentâ sub cortice lauri, 180  
Hæc, et plura simul; tum quæ mihi pocula Mansus,  
Mansus, Chalcidicæ non ultima gloria ripæ,  
Bina dedit, mirum artis opus, inirandus et ipse,  
Et circum gemino cælaverat argumento.  
In medio Rubri Maris unda, et odoriferum ver,  
Littora longa Arabum, et sudantes balsama sylvæ;  
Has inter Phœnix, divina avis, unica terris,  
Cæruleum fulgens diversicoloribus alis,  
Auroram vitreis surgentem respicit undis;  
Parte aliâ polus omnipatens, et magnus Olympus: 190  
Quis putet? hic quoque Amor, pictæque in nube pharetræ,  
Arma corusca, faces, et spicula tincta pyropo;  
Nec tenues animas, pectusque ignobile vulgi,  
Hinc ferit; at, circum flammantia lumina torquens,  
Semper in erectum spargit sua tela per orbes  
Impiger, et pronos nunquam collimat ad ictus:  
Hinc mentes ardere sacræ, formæque deorum.

“Tu quoque in his—nec me fallit spes lubrica, Damon—  
Tu quoque in his certè es; nam quò tua dulcis abiret  
Sanctaque simplicitas? nam quò tua candida virtus? 200  
Nec te Lethæo fas quæsisisse sub Orco;  
Nec tibi conveniunt lacrymæ, nec flebimus ultra.  
Ite procul, lacrymæ; purum colit æthera Damon,  
Æthera purus habet, pluvium pede reppulit arcum;  
Heroumque animas inter, divosque perennes,  
Æthereos haurit latices et gaudia potat  
Ore sacro. Quin tu, cæli post jura recepta,  
Dexter ades, placidusque fave, quicumque vocaris;  
Seu tu noster eris Damon, sive æquior audis  
DIODOTUS, quo te divino nomine cuncti 210

Cælicolæ nôrint, sylvisque vocabere Damon.  
 Quòd tibi purpureus pudor, et sine labe juvenus  
 Grata fuit, quòd nulla tori libata voluptas,  
 En! etiam tibi virginei servantur honores!  
 Ipse, caput nitidum cinctus rutilante coronâ,  
 Lætaque frondentis gestans umbracula palmæ,  
 Æternùm perages immortales hymenæos,  
 Cantus ubi, choreisque furit lyra mista beatis,  
 Festa Sionæo bacchantur et Orgia thyrsos."

Jan. 23, 1646.

## AD JOANNEM ROUSIUM,

OXONIENSIS ACADEMIÆ BIBLIOTHECARIUM.

*De libro Poematum amisso, quem ille sibi denuo mitti postulabat, ut cum aliis nostris  
 in Bibliothecâ Publicâ reponeret, Ode.*

Ode tribus constat Strophis, totidemque Antistrophis, unâ demum Epodo clausis; quas, tametsi omnes nec versuum numero nec certis ubique colis exactè respondeant, ita tamen secuimus, commodè legendi potius quam ad antiquos concinendi modos rationem spectantes. Alioquin hoc genus rectius fortasse dici *monostrophicum* debuerat. Metra partim sunt *κατὰ σχέσιν*, partim *ἀπολελυμένα*. Phaleucia quæ sunt spondæum tertio loco bis admittunt, quod idem in secundo loco Catullus ad libitum fecit.

### STROPHE I.

GEMELLE cultu simplici gaudens liber,  
 Fronde licet geminâ,  
 Munditieque nitens non operosâ,  
 Quam manus attulit  
 Juvenilis olim  
 Sedula, tamen haud nimii poetæ;  
 Dum vagus Ausonias nunc per umbras,

Nunc Britannica per vireta lusit,  
Insons populi, barbitoque devius  
Indulsit patrio, mox itidem pectine Daunio 10  
Longinquum intonuit melos  
Vicinis, et humum vix tetigit pede :

## ANTISTROPHE.

Quis te, parve liber, quis te fratribus  
Subduxit reliquis dolo,  
Cum tu missus ab urbe,  
Docto jugiter obsecrante amico,  
Illustre tendebas iter  
Thamesis ad incunabula  
Cærulei patris,  
Fontes ubi limpidi 20  
Aonidum, thyasusque sacer,  
Orbi notus per immensos  
Temporum lapsus redcunte cælo,  
Celeberque futurus in ævum ?

## STROPHE 2.

Modò quis deus, aut editus deo,  
Pristinam gentis miseratus indolem,  
(Si satis noxas luimus priores,  
Mollique luxu degener otium)  
Tollat nefandos civium tumultus,  
Almaque revocet studia sanctus, 30  
Et relegatas sine sede Musas  
Jam penè totis finibus Angligenûm,  
Immundasque volucres  
Unguibus imminentes  
Figat Apollineâ pharetrâ,  
Phineamque abigat pestem procul amne Pegaseo ?

## ANTISTROPHE.

Quin tu, libelle, nuntii licet malâ  
 Fide, vel oscitantiâ,  
 Semel erraveris agmine fratrum,  
 Seu quis te teneat specus,  
 Seu qua te latebra, forsâ unde vili  
 Callo tereris institoris insulsi,  
 Lætare felix ; en ! iterum tibi  
 Spes nova fulget posse profundam  
 Fugere Lethen, vehique superam  
 In Jovis aulam remige pennâ :

40

## STROPHE 3.

Nam te Roüsîus sui  
 Optat peculî, numeroque justo  
 Sibi pollicitum queritur abesse,  
 Rogatque venias ille, cujus inclyta  
 Sunt data virûm monumenta curæ ;  
 Teque adytis etiam sacris  
 Voluit reponi, quibus et ipse præsidet  
 Æternorum operum custos fidelis,  
 Quæstorque gazæ nobilioris  
 Quam cui præfuit Ion,  
 Clarus Erechtheides,  
 Opulenta dei per templa parentis,  
 Fulvosque tripodas, donaque Delphica,  
 Ion Actæâ genitus Creusâ.

50

60

## ANTISTROPHE.

Ergo tu visere lucos  
 Musarum ibis amœnos ;

Dianque Phœbi rursus ibis in domum  
 Oxoniâ quam valle colit,  
 Delo posthabitâ,  
 Bifidoque Parnassi jugo ;  
 Ibis honestus,  
 Postquam egregiam tu quoque sortem  
 Nactus abis, dextri prece sollicitatus amici.  
 Illic legeris inter alta nomina  
 Authorum, Graiæ simul et Latinæ  
 Antiqua gentis lumina et verum decus.

70

## EPODOS.

Vos tandem haud vacui mei labores,  
 Quicquid hoc sterile fudit ingenium,  
 Jam serò placidam sperare jubeo  
 Perfunctam invidiâ requiem, sedesque beatas  
 Quas bonus Hermes  
 Et tutela dabit solers Roüsî,  
 Quò neque lingua procax vulgi penetrabit, atque  
     longè  
 Turba legentûm prava facesset ;  
 At ultimi nepotes  
 Et cordatior ætas  
 Judicia rebus æquiora forsitan  
 Adhibebit integro sinu.  
 Tum, livore sepulto,  
 Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet,  
 Roüsio favente.

80



## IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM.

QUIS expedit Salmasio suam *Hundredam*,  
Picamque docuit verba nostra conari?  
Magister artis venter, et Jacobæi  
Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.  
Quòd, si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,  
Ipse, Antichristi qui modò primatum Papæ  
Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,  
Cantabit ultrò Cardinalitium melos.

## IN SALMASIUM.

GAUDETE, scombri, et quicquid est piscium salo,  
Qui frigidâ hieme incolitis algentes freta!  
Vestrum misertus ille Salmasius Eques  
Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat;  
Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos  
Vobis cucullos, præferentes Claudii  
Insignia, nomenque et decus, Salmasii;  
Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum  
Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium  
Cubito virorum, et capsulis, gratissimos.

## NOTES TO PARADISE LOST.



## PREFACE TO THE NOTES.

THE chief commentators and annotators on *Paradise Lost* have been mentioned in our Introduction to the Poem ; but it may be well here to present a conspectus of them :—

1695. P. H. φιλοποιήτης : i.e. PATRICK HUME (see Introd. p. 21).

1712. ADDISON, in the *Spectator* (see Introd. p. 21).

1732. BENTLEY (see Introd. pp. 24—27).

1733. DR. PEARCE (see Introd. p. 28).

1734. The two JONATHAN RICHARDSONS (father and son), in their *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Paradise Lost, with a Life of the Author, &c.* (see Introd. p. 76, with note there).

1744. JAMES PATERSON, M.A., in *A Complete Commentary, with Etymological, Explanatory, Critical, and Classical Notes on Paradise Lost. London.* The commentary, which is largely philological, occupies 512 pages small 8vo, and is not accompanied by the text of the poem.

1749. DR., afterwards BISHOP, NEWTON (see Introd. pp. 31, 32). Newton's edition contained, in addition to his own notes, and selections from notes previously published, notes furnished by DR. GREENWOOD, DR. PEARCE, WARBURTON, JORTIN, DR. HEYLIN, MR. THYER, and others.

1750. JOHN CALLANDER, in an edition of the First Book of *Paradise Lost*, published this year by Robert and Andrew Foulis of Glasgow. Callander, who was a Scottish laird, scholar, and antiquary, born about 1721, not only annotated the First Book for that Glasgow edition, but prepared, or compiled, voluminous Notes to the whole Poem. "The labour of many of the best years of my life," he styles them in one of his letters ; so that, as he had published a portion of them in 1750, he may have continued the work till 1760 or later. He lived till 1789 but, though he had published several antiquarian books and papers in the interval, he appears to have regarded his Commentary on *Paradise*

*Lost* with peculiar satisfaction, and to have been anxious for its preservation. Accordingly, in 1781, he had presented it to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, of which he was a fellow ; and it is still in the possession of that Society in nine thin folio MS. volumes. A report on it, and especially on the amount of Callander's indebtedness to his predecessor and compatriot, Patrick Hume, was drawn up in 1826 by Mr. David Laing, and is printed in the Society's Transactions : vol. iii. part 1. Mr. Laing's conclusion was that Callander had undoubtedly used Hume's Commentary, helping himself to what he liked in it, just as Bishop Newton had done, though not with such direct acknowledgment, and that he had also helped himself in the same way to matter from other commentators, especially Bishop Newton, but that, after all, he could not be called "a servile copier," but on the contrary impressed one with respect for his "erudition and judgment," and his laborious devotedness to his task.

1751. JOHN MARCHANT (see Introd. pp. 32, 33). Text of the Poem ; with Footnotes, chiefly selected from previous commentators.

1763. JOHN WESLEY, the famous divine, in an edition of the Poem put forth on a very peculiar principle. "This inimitable work, amidst all its beauties," he said, "is unintelligible to abundance of readers, the immense learning which he [Milton] has everywhere crowded together making it quite obscure to persons of a common education. This difficulty, almost insuperable as it appears, I have endeavoured to remove in the following Extract—first by omitting those lines which I despaired of explaining to the world without using abundance of words ; and, secondly, by adding short and easy notes."

1773. JAMES BUCHANAN, in *The First Six Books of Paradise Lost, rendered into Grammatical Construction, &c., with Notes*. This publication was posthumous ; and I have not seen a copy.

1788. DR. JOHN GILLIES (see Introd. p. 34).

1792-3. CAPEL LOFFT (see Introd. p. 34).

1796. WILLIAM HAYLEY (slightly), in the *Life, &c.* prefixed to Boydell and Nicol's edition of Milton's Poetical Works (see Introd. p. 34).

1801, 1809, 1826, and 1842. TODD, in the four successive editions, published in his life-time, of Milton's Poetical Works (see Introd. pp. 34, 35). In these various editions, Todd, besides giving a most copious collection of notes from his predecessors in this list, so far as printed, and adding many of his own, incorporated suggestions received

from many quarters. With reference to *Paradise Lost*, he mentions particularly his obligations to a stock of MS. notes by DUNSTER (see Introd. p. 39), and to similar MS. notes by JOHN BOWLE, the editor of Cervantes (1725—1788), and BENJAMIN STILLINGFLEET, grandson of Bishop Stillingfleet (1702—1771). These last had been prepared with a view to publication about 1745, but the author had been stopped in his intention by Newton's edition of Milton in 1749. Todd also acknowledges some use, in his second and later editions, of "a small interleaved copy of *Paradise Lost*" that had been lent him, containing memoranda for notes, and some complete notes, by MR. CALLANDER (see previous article in this conspectus). He was not aware till after 1826 of the larger commentary that had been left by Callander; but the occasional specimens he gives from the memoranda in the interleaved copy were found by Mr. David Laing to agree pretty closely with the corresponding notes in the larger Callander commentary.

1831 and 1851. JOHN MITFORD (see Introd. p. 35).

1836. SIR EGERTON BRYDGES (see Introd. p. 35).

1840. J. PRENDEVILLE, B.A., in an edition of the Poem, with notes, partly original.

1843. The REV. DR. J. R. MAJOR, in an edition for schools, with notes.

1853. CHARLES DEXTER CLEVELAND, in an edition of the Poetical Works at Philadelphia, U.S.; re-issued in London 1865 (see Introd. p. 36).

1859. KEIGHTLEY (see Introd. pp. 35, 36).

To these may be added MR. R. C. BROWNE, M.A., in his edition of the *English Poems of John Milton*, for the Clarendon Press Series (1870), and MR. JOHN M. ROSS, in an edition for schools of a selection of Milton's Poems, including Books I.—IV. of *Paradise Lost*, with Life and Notes (1871). To comments on *Paradise Lost*, or on passages in it, to be found dispersed among the writings of English and Scottish critics of the last and the present century, from Monboddo and Blair to Coleridge, Landor, De Quincey, and others yet more recent, it is needless here to make more than a general reference.

On the vast accumulation of notes represented by the foregoing conspectus, and the extent to which they have been consulted and used by the present editor, the following remarks may be necessary:—(1.) A very large proportion of the notes, repeated, with or without variation of

expression, by editor after editor, are such as any editor would inevitably make for himself who should address himself to his task with any proper degree of attention. Unusual words or constructions have to be pointed out; passages of difficult meaning have to be unravelled; texts of Scripture that were in the poet's mind have to be discovered and cited; his numerous mythological, geographical, and historical allusions have to be explained, wherever they pass the bounds of the knowledge that may be taken for granted in every reader; all that *learning* of which the poem is so full has to be detected, and elucidated for the majority of readers by the information they cannot be supposed to have directly at hand. Now, in such a process, every painstaking editor, even if he should go through it absolutely for himself, will necessarily stop, in most instances, at the very lines and passages at which previous commentators have stopped; and, in his notes on these lines and passages, suggested by his own study of the text, or prepared by due consultation of dictionaries, concordances, and other works of reference, he will necessarily say very much the same things as have been said at the same places by previous commentators. A glance or two into any of the more copious commentaries in succession will verify this remark. No commentator on *Paradise Lost* has surpassed the first one—Patrick Hume, φιλοποιήτης—in the industry with which he traversed the whole ground, and offered explanations, according to his lights, of all that seemed to require explanation; and, though there have been acuter and finer critics of the Poem since, a great part of the body of the notes that fill all the chief editions may be regarded as a kind of common property, appertaining, so far as the intrinsic matter is concerned, to no editor in particular, but rather to that very business and tradition of Milton editorship which Hume began. The notes of previous commentators are, in short, in many cases, mere indications to a new editor of the points at which annotation is desirable; and he may either give, within quotation marks, a selection of such notes as he likes best, retaining the words of the particular commentators who furnished them, or try to re-express the essence of all the previous comments, so as to omit nothing of value, adding touches of his own, and perhaps by the very mode of expression adapting old information to modern needs and tastes. This last has been, on the whole, the plan adopted in the notes for the present edition. Seldom, by merely quoting the notes of a previous commentator, or even several such notes by different commentators, could I feel that I

did justice to the passage, or to the total commentation that had been bestowed upon it; and I have generally preferred, therefore, to digest all that seemed to me of value, sometimes condensing, sometimes expanding, and always adding where I thought there might be increased precision or emphasis. It has been my principle, however, consistently with this plan, to recognise as constantly and minutely as I could the duty of ascribing to preceding commentators all that belongs to them. Wherever a comment has seemed to me peculiarly good or happy, I have cited it or quoted it *verbatim*, in connexion with the commentator's name; and in no case have I consciously suppressed the name of a previous commentator, while appropriating any observation of his to which, on any ground whatsoever, I thought credit could be attached. I hope, indeed, it will be found that I have erred by excess and scrupulousness of acknowledgment, rather than by the opposite. (2.) A class of Notes in respect of which acknowledgment of the work of previous commentators is particularly due consists of those in which Milton's reminiscences of Greek and Latin authors, or of Italian authors, or of English authors preceding himself, or contemporary with himself, are traced and verified by actual quotations of the passages he had in his memory, or in which passages of his text where no such conscious borrowing on his part can be alleged are yet illustrated by the quotation of parallel passages from Greek, Latin, Italian, or English poets. Of the commentators known to me those who have done most in this style of annotation are Patrick Hume, Bentley, Bishop Newton and his coadjutors, Todd and his coadjutors, Mr. Keightley, and Mr. Browne; and, in citing, after them, parallel passages which Milton must have had in recollection, or which are interesting as coincidences with his text, I have tried, even in cases where the passages might be considered stock-quotations familiar to all scholars, to ascribe each reference to the critic who first made it. On the whole, however, thinking that this style of annotation has been considerably overdone, and that many of the so-called parallel passages cited by Hume, Newton, and Todd, are very far-fetched, and illustrate nothing specifically relating to Milton, but only a certain community of ideas and phraseology among all poets (see *Introd.* p. 56), I have put limits to my reproduction of matter of this kind. In cases of clear reminiscence or appropriation, or of very close and interesting parallelism, I have generally quoted the parallel passage textually; but, where the resemblance is more vague and general, or



where the parallel passage is in a book easily accessible, I have contented myself (as in most citations of passages of the Bible) with a simple reference to the place. In not a few instances, I have added parallel or illustrative passages, more particularly from English authors, to those cited by previous editors. (3.) In some editions, intended for scholastic use, there has been a multiplication of minute philological, and especially minute etymological, notes. Even in such editions I doubt the necessity or propriety of incessant and miscellaneous annotation of the merely etymological kind. In reading Milton, or any other English author, the student ought surely to have an English dictionary beside him; and why should he be saved the wholesome trouble of looking up any ordinary word about the derivation of which he may be uncertain? Enough, at all events, in an edition like the present, if unusual words are duly noted, and also all peculiarly Miltonic grammatical forms and constructions. Care has been taken of this in the individual Notes; and an effort has been made to systematize the results in the General Essay on Milton's English and Versification. (4.) On the whole, more duty has remained for me in the way of new annotation, both hermeneutical and exegetical, than I should have anticipated. Even in the particular of the detection of wrong readings that had crept into the text, something has been gleaned by comparison of the later texts with those of Milton's own editions; while, in the larger matters of the interpretation of difficult passages and the full exposition of others in connexion with Milton's life and with his general philosophy, I found a great deal that had been missed or had been but imperfectly treated. Again and again, for example, I have had to illustrate afresh the significance of particular phrases and passages in connexion with that Miltonic cosmology, or deliberate scheme and meaning of the Poem as a whole, which has been expounded so far, and in part put into diagram, in the Introduction.

## NOTES TO PRELIMINARY MATTER.

### I. COMMENDATORY VERSES PREFIXED TO THE SECOND EDITION.

*Latin Verses by S. B., M.D.*—The author, according to Toland,<sup>\*</sup> was Dr. Samuel Barrow, a physician. He has been identified with a Dr. Samuel Barrow who was principal physician to the army of General Monk in December 1659, when Monk was negotiating for the Restoration, and who was afterwards Judge Advocate-General of the Army, and Physician in Ordinary to Charles II. The most exact account of him I have found is in Lysons's *Environs of London*, Vol. II., p. 371; where, after describing a handsome monument in Fulham Church ("the work of the celebrated Grinling Gibbons, and said to have cost £300") to the memory of "Dorothy, Lady Clarke, daughter of Thomas Hylliard, Esq., and wife, first, of Sir George Clarke, Knt., Secretary at War to Charles II., and, secondly, of Samuel Barrow, M.D., Physician to Charles II. and Judge Advocate," Lysons continues:—"On a slab at the foot, enclosed within iron rails, is the following inscription to the memory of Dr. Barrow, who wrote the Latin verses prefixed to Milton's *Paradise Lost*: 'P. M. S. Samuelis Barrow, M.D., ex vetustâ in agro Norfolk. prosapiâ, Caroli II. Medici Ordinarii, Advocati Generalis et Judicis Martialis per annos, plus minus, viginti; quæ munera jussu regio suscepit quod Albemarlum secutus optatum Caroli reditum suis maturavit consiliis. Uxorem duxit unicam, relictam Gul. Clarke Eq. aurat.; cujus felicissimi paris (cum sexdecim annos rarum amoris conjugalis exemplum præbuisset), quæ sola potuit, mors fregit consortium, 12 Kal. Aprilis, A.D. 1682, infracto adhuc manente superstitis amore. Ob. æt. 57.'" ("Sacred to the pious memory of Samuel Barrow, M.D., of an ancient family in the county of Norfolk, Physician in Ordinary to Charles II., and Advocate-General and Judge-Martial for 20 years, more or less; which offices were conferred on him by the King's order because, as a follower of Albemarle, he helped by his counsels to bring about the desired return of Charles. He married, for his sole wife, the widow of Sir William [George?] Clarke, Knt., from the society of which most happy mate, after he had for sixteen years exhibited a rare example of conjugal love, Death,

"which alone had the power, tore him away March 21, 1681-2, the "love of the survivor remaining yet unbroken. He died aged 57.") From this it would appear that Barrow had been born about 1625, and was Milton's junior by about seventeen years. From 1671 onwards to his death in 1682 I find him mentioned in Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia* as one of the "Principal Physicians who now practise in London" and one of the Licentiates of the Royal College of Physicians. All in all, in 1674, when Barrow's verses were prefixed to the Second Edition of *Paradise Lost*, he must have been a man of considerable note in London and of intimate Court connexions; and it is interesting to find among Milton's greatest admirers at that date so eminent a Restorationist. Several of Milton's best-known friends, it may be noted, were physicians; and Barrow had probably the liberality of mind natural to his profession, and had moreover been an army-physician and associate of Cromwellians in the Commonwealth time. He survived Milton more than seven years; and his widow, who appears to have erected the slab to his memory in Fulham Church, survived him till 1695, when the fine monument to her described by Lysons was put up in the same church.—The verses prove that Barrow must have been a diligent and intelligent reader of *Paradise Lost*, and are altogether creditable. As Todd has pointed out, he has taken the liberty, in the title to his verses, and in the first line, of making *Paradisus* feminine, whereas the Greek and Latin writers make the word masculine. In this he has been followed, however, by some of the translators of parts of the Poem into Latin. In the last four lines Barrow may have had in recollection the eulogies by Salzilli and Selvaggi prefixed to Milton's Latin Poems in the editions of 1645 and 1673.

*English Verses by A. M. (i.e. Andrew Marvell).*—When these verses appeared, Marvell was about fifty-four years of age, had been M.P. for Hull for about fourteen years, and was a marked man both for his political honesty and for his literary ability. The last he had recently exhibited, with much popular effect, in his celebrated satire, *The Rehearsal Transposed* (1672-3), directed against Dr. Samuel Parker, who, after a youth of peculiarly strict Puritan professions, had turned renegade at the Restoration, was receiving ecclesiastical promotion on his way to the Bishopric of Oxford, and had published several works of a notoriously time-serving character. For Marvell's intimacy with Milton, and official connexion with him before this date, see Introd. to *Paradise Lost*, pp. 57, 58, and Introd. to the Lines *Ad Christinam* among the Latin Poems (Vol. II. pp. 343—352). *The Rehearsal Transposed* contains proof that the intimacy had not ceased in 1672. Milton is mentioned with great respect in one passage in the second Part, in which Marvell thus addresses Parker, with reference to allusions he had made to Milton: "At his Majesty's happy return J. M. did partake, "even as you yourself did, of his regal clemency . . . and has ever "since expiated himself in a most retired silence. It was after that, I

“well remember it, that, being one day at his house, I there first met  
 “you and accidentally. . . . But then it was, when you, as I told you,  
 “wandered up and down Moorfields, astrologizing on the duration of  
 “his Majesty’s Government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly, and  
 “haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used  
 “he is too generous to remember.” Marvell, we may add, promised  
 Aubrey, after Milton’s death, to write his recollections of Milton for the  
 use of Wood in his *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses*; but he himself died in  
 August 1678, four years after Milton, without having performed his  
 promise. The present verses on *Paradise Lost* and the mention in the  
*Rehearsal Transposed* are, therefore, the chief extant tributes by Marvell  
 to his friendship with Milton.——There is a curious and subtle connexion  
 between the verses and the *Rehearsal Transposed*. When Marvell  
 adopted this title for his prose attack on Parker, he had in view the  
 famous burlesque called *The Rehearsal*, by Villiers, Duke of Buckingham,  
 acted in 1671, and published in 1672. As Buckingham had there  
 burlesqued Dryden, under the name of Bayes, so, under the same nick-  
 name of Bayes, was Parker ridiculed in Marvell’s ‘transposed’ adapta-  
 tion. But in these verses on *Paradise Lost* Marvell reverts to the  
 original *Rehearsal* and to the Bayes of that burlesque—i.e. to Dryden.  
 See the story of Dryden’s application to Milton for leave to turn his  
*Paradise Lost*, or part of it, into a rhymed drama, *Introd.* pp. 14, 15;  
 and read lines 17—30 and lines 45—54 of Marvell’s present piece in  
 connexion with the details of that story. The full significance of  
 Marvell’s reference to Dryden and his rhyming will then be felt, and it  
 will be seen that Milton must have talked with Marvell about Dryden’s  
 odd proposal, and reported to Marvell his answer of grim civility:  
 “Yes, Mr. Dryden, you may tag my verses if you please.”——Dryden,  
 it is to be remembered, had been, since the Restoration, the champion  
 of Rhyme, and especially of the Rhymed Drama. In his *Essay on*  
*Dramatic Poetry* (1663) he had discussed the question, and given the  
 preference to Rhyme; and his practice had in the main corresponded.  
 But, at the time with which we are now concerned, he was being beaten  
 on the question. The popular taste had revolted from his efforts to  
 establish a Drama of Rhymed Declamation in England, and was calling  
 loudly for a return to the Elizabethan Blank Verse for lofty subjects and  
 Prose for others. Thus in the Epilogue to Buckingham’s *Rehearsal*:—

“Wherefore, for ours, and for the Kingdom’s peace,  
 May this prodigious way of writing cease!  
 Let’s have, at least once in our lives, a time  
 When we may hear some Reason, not all Rhyme.  
 We have for ten years felt its influence;  
 Pray let this prove a year of Prose and Sense.”

Now, Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, published in 1667, and introducing  
 Blank Verse for the first time on a large scale into English Poetry for

epic or narrative purposes, must have been an innovation discomposing to Dryden, as helping to turn the scale against his own advocacy of Rhyme. Hence perhaps, with all his admiration of Milton, his proposal to try the effects of a Rhymed Drama founded on *Paradise Lost*. Hence, on the other hand, Marvell's contemptuous notice of that experiment. For, though all Marvell's own poetical attempts had been in rhyme, he here confesses himself a convert to Milton's *Paradise Lost*, not only in respect of the author's success with so stupendous a subject (the possibility of which he had at first doubted), but also in respect of the new metrical form adopted. Blank Verse, he now admitted, was the proper kind of verse for so sublime a subject. Let Bayes and the rest of the town-poets write their verses, spelling words all the while in search of rhymes, and, like pack-horses, unable to get on unless they heard the tinkle of the bells attached to their harness! Milton was not to be bound by such mechanism, and might despise such aid! So Marvell would assert; and yet in asserting it, such was the force of custom, he could not help showing his own slavery to Rhyme! Observe the lines—

“ I too, transported by the mode, offend,  
And, while I meant to *praise* thee, must *commend*.”

They may be explained thus:—“In this kind of verse, which I am now writing, and which is Dryden's favourite kind, you see how the necessity of finding a rhyme to *offend* forces me to end the next line with *commend*, though it is a weaker and less natural word than the one that might otherwise have suggested itself. Generalize this one instance sufficiently, and the superiority of Milton's unrhymed verse for all great purposes will be apparent.”

## II. AUTHOR'S PREFACE CONCERNING THE VERSE.

This Preface, it is to be remembered, had not been originally prefixed to the First Edition, but, with the Prose Argument, was an after-thought in 1668, for insertion into the copies of the First Edition that still remained to be bound. (See *Introd.* pp. 8, 9.) Many readers had “desired” a Prose Argument as a directory to the Poem; and the publisher Simmons, having applied to Milton for such an Argument, had obtained from him also “a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem rimes not.” Had Dryden been among those who were stumbled? Milton's protest for Blank Verse was, at all events, dead against the teachings and practice of Dryden, and is perhaps the most thoroughgoing declaration on that side of the question yet to be found in the language. It calls Rhyme “the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre,” and speaks of it as “a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no musical delight,” consisting



merely in "the jingling sound of like endings," and in fact "a troublesome and modern bondage" to poets. Though this is said of it more especially in relation to "longer works," the application is hardly limited to them, but is extended even to shorter works, save in so far as one might be weak enough to yield to custom in their case.

This is not the place to discuss the question of theory so raised, about which a great deal might be said for Rhyme that is left unsuggested in Milton's brief decision. It is more relevant to glance at Milton's sketch of the history of the question:—Rhyme, he truly says, had been utterly unrecognised, if it was not even systematically discountenanced, in Greek and Latin poetry. It was a mere invention of the Middle Ages, he adds, without inquiring, as later research has done, whether its origin was Celtic or Oriental, or to what natural causes its origin among the races that first used it, and its rapid adoption everywhere in the vernacular poetry of modern Europe, are to be attributed. The fact of such universal adoption, sanctioned by the example of the first famous poets of the different nations, he admits—not caring, apparently, to qualify the admission by any reference to the Anglo-Saxon Alliterated Rhythm which persisted some time among the English in competition with the Rhymed Metres of Chaucer and others, and which had its analogues among other Northern nations. At length, however,—*i.e.* in the sixteenth century—there had been an awakening on the subject. "Some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note" had rejected Rhyme both in longer and shorter works. Among the Italian poets whom Milton may have had in view in this reference Todd and other commentators recognise these—Trissino (1478—1550), Rucellai (1415—1525), Alamanni (1495—1556), and Tasso (1544—1595). The use of *versi sciolti*, or blank verse, among the Italians may be traced far per back than any of these; but all of them had stamped that kind of verse with their approval in at least portions of their writings—Tasso, for example, in his *Sette Giornate del Mondo Creato*. Among the first noted Spanish writers of blank verse Bowle and Todd mention Aldana, in a translation of Ovid's Epistles, Gonsalvo Perez, in a translation of the Odyssey, Boscan (1500—1544), and Garcilasso de la Vega (1503—1536). Milton takes no notice of early French attempts in Blank Verse; nor does he notice Surrey's memorable first introduction of the same into English in his translation of the Second and Fourth Books of the *Æneid*, written before 1547, though not published till 1557. He passes over likewise Surrey's immediate English successors in the practice of Blank Verse even in non-dramatic subjects, to note more expressly the remarkable phenomenon of the sudden adoption of Blank Verse for English Tragedy by Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, in 1561, and the general persistence in that form by all the subsequent Elizabethan dramatists. But, though citing this prevalence of Blank Verse in English Dramatic Poetry for nearly a century past as a precedent in his favour, and though doubtless aware that there had been stray specimens of

English non-dramatic poetry in blank verse subsequent to Surrey's, he closes his Preface, truly enough, with a claim for his own *Paradise Lost* "to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming." In other words, Milton regarded himself as the first to apply English Blank Verse to a great epic subject and to show how the music of Blank Verse might be modified for epic purposes.

I have said that this Preface of Milton to his *Paradise Lost* is perhaps the most thoroughgoing invective against Rhyme to be found in the English language. Nearly a hundred years before, however (1570), Roger Ascham had written against Rhyme more at length and as strongly. The passage is in his *Schoolmaster*, and must have been known to Milton. "This matter," says Ascham, after expressing his opinion that the verse of Plautus and Terence and of the oldest Latin poets generally is very poor and crude, "maketh me gladly remember  
 "my sweet time spent at Cambridge, and the pleasant talk which I had  
 "oft with M. Cheke and M. Watson of this fault not only in the old  
 "Latin poets, but also in our new English rhymers at this day. They  
 "wished, as Virgil and Horace were not wedded to follow the faults of  
 "former fathers (a shrewd marriage in greater matters), but by right  
 "imitation of the perfect Grecians had brought Poetry to perfectness also  
 "in the Latin tongue, that we Englishmen likewise would acknow-  
 "ledge and understand rightfully our rude beggarly Rhyming, brought  
 "first into Italy by Goths and Huns when all good verses and all good  
 "learning too were destroyed by them, and after carried into France  
 "and Germany, and at last received into England, by men of excel-  
 "lent wit indeed, but of small learning and less judgment in that behalf.  
 "But now, when men know the difference, and have the examples both  
 "of the best and of the worst, surely to follow rather the Goths in  
 "rhyming than the Greeks in true versifying were to eat acorns with  
 "swine when we may freely eat wheat bread amongst men. . . . Some  
 "that make Chaucer in English and Petrarch in Italian their gods in  
 "verses, and yet be not able to make a true difference, what is a fault  
 "and what is a just praise in these two worthy wits, will much mislike  
 "this my writing. But such men be even like followers of Chaucer and  
 "Petrarch as one here in England did follow Sir Tho. More: who,  
 "being most unlike him in wit and learning, nevertheless, in wearing his  
 "gown awry upon the one shoulder, as Sir Tho. More was wont to do,  
 "would needs be counted like unto him. This misliking of Rhyming  
 "beginneth not now of any newfangle singularity, but hath been long  
 "misliked of many, and that of men of greatest learning and deepest  
 "judgment. . . . The noble Lord Th. Earl of Surrey, first of all  
 "Englishmen, in translating the Fourth Book of Virgil, and Gonsalvo  
 "Perez, that most excellent man and Secretary to King Philip of Spain,  
 "in translating the Ulysses of Homer out of Greek into Spanish, have  
 "both, by good judgment, avoided the fault of Rhyming; yet neither of

"them hath fully hit the perfect and true versifying. . . . The  
 "spying of this fault now is not the curiosity of English eyes, but even  
 "the good judgment also of the best that write in these days in Italy ;  
 "and namely of that worthy Felice Figlinecio, who, writing upon  
 "Aristotle's Ethics so excellently in Italian as never did yet any one in  
 "mine opinion either in Greek or Latin, amongst other things doth most  
 "earnestly inveigh against the rude rhyming of verses in that tongue :  
 "and, whensoever he expresseth Aristotle's precepts with any example  
 "out of Homer or Euripides, he translateth them not after the rhymes of  
 "Petrarch, but into such kind of perfect verse, with like feet and quantity  
 "of syllables, as he found them before in the Greek tongue—exhorting  
 "earnestly all the Italian nation to leave off their rude barbarousness in  
 "rhyming, and follow diligently the excellent Greek and Latin examples  
 "in true versifying."

Milton's invective against Rhyme, I suspect, is to be received *cum grano*. He was probably provoked to strength of statement by having heard of the "stumbling" of many of the first readers of *Paradise Lost*, and perhaps of the outcry of some critics, at the novelty of the verse. Meaning mainly to defend his choice of Blank Verse for a poem of such an order, he may have let his expression sweep beyond the exact bounds of his intention. For, though he had used Blank Verse in his own earlier poetry, as in *Comus*, had not the bulk of that poetry been in rhyme? Nay, though he was to persist in Blank Verse, with fresh liberties and variations, in the two remaining poems of his life—*Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*—was he not, in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*, to revert occasionally to Rhyme, and to use it in a most conscious and most cunningly artistic manner?



## PARADISE LOST.

## NOTES.

## BOOK I.

1—26. “*Of Man’s first disobedience . . . sing, Heavenly Muse,*” &c. There is a characteristic peculiarity in this “Invocation,” with which Milton, following so far the established custom of great poets, has opened his epic. It is expressly the HEBREW Muse that he invokes—the Muse that may be supposed to have inspired the shepherd Moses, either on Mount Horeb, when he was keeping the flocks of his father-in-law Jethro, and the Angel of the Lord appeared to him out of the burning bush (Exod. iii. 1, 2), or at a later date on Mount Sinai, when he was alone with the Lord for forty days, receiving the Law (Exod. xxiv. 12—18). On either of these occasions Milton supposes Moses to have received that inspiration which enabled him to reveal, in *Genesis*, how the Heavens and the Earth were made; and it was the same Heavenly Muse, he assumes, that afterwards, by Siloa’s brook or pool, near the Temple at Jerusalem (Isaiah viii. 6, and Nehem. iii. 15), inspired also David and the Prophets. This Muse, and no other, must inspire the present poet. For the theme that he proposes requires such aid; his song is one that intends to soar *above* the Aonian Mount—*i.e.* above that Mount Helicon, in old Aonia or Boeotia, which, with the neighbouring region, was the fabled haunt of the Grecian Muses. In the end, however, this form of an invocation even of what might be called, by a bold adaptation of classic terms, the true, primeval, or Heavenly Muse (Milton afterwards, *P. L.*, VII. 1, calls her Urania), passes into a direct prayer to the Divine Spirit. Compare the passage from *The Reason of Church Government*, quoted Introd. p. 48. That Milton believed himself to be, in some real sense, an inspired man, admits of little doubt.

6. “*The secret top.*” Some interpret *secret* here in its Latin sense of “separate,” “retired,” or “solitary;” but Milton may have had in view

the "thick cloud" and "smoke" that covered Mount Sinai, and the "glory of the Lord like a devouring fire on the top of the mount," at the giving of the Law to Moses (Exod. xix. 16—18, and xxiv. 15—18). Compare also *Par. Lost*, V. 598.

16. "*Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.*" So, as Bentley pointed out, Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, Cant. i. Stanza 2 :—

"Cosa non detta in prosa mai nè in rima."

*Rime* being the more correct spelling (from the A.-S. *rim*, numbering, not from the Greek ῥυθμός, rhythm), recent editors of Milton have printed the word so in this passage. But Milton's own spelling here is *rhyme*; and, as in his prose preface on "The Verse," he has uniformly spelt the word *rime*, his deviation here must be supposed intentional. Nor is it difficult to see the reason. By *rime* in the prose-preface he means the special kind of verse which consists in "the jingling sound of like endings," whereas here by *rhyme* he means verse in general. So also in the only other passage of his poetry in which the word occurs—*Lycid.*, line 11. There also he means verse in general, and there he spells the word *rhyme*.

19. "*Instruct me, for Thou know'st.*" Newton quotes Theocritus, Idyll xxii. 116 : εἰπὲ θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα. Cf. *Idyll*, *Idyll* 15

21. "*Dove-like sat'st brooding.*" In *Gen.* i. 1, 2, the phrase is "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters;" but "brooded," or "hovered," is said to be a more exact rendering of the Hebrew word than "moved;" and the very comparison "dove-like," to illustrate the meaning of "brooding" in the passage, is said to occur in the Talmudists or Jewish commentators on the Bible. There may be a recollection also of Luke iii. 22. Cf. *Idyll*, *Idyll* 15

27. "*Say first,*" &c. Compared by Hume with *Iliad*, ii. 484-6.

32. "*For one restraint, lords of the world besides.*" Mr. Keightley understands *For* to mean *But for*, and points as if the passage meant "~~being lords of the world besides~~, but for one restraint." But surely the more natural interpretation is, "transgress his will on account of one restraint (though they were) lords of the world besides;" and this is the interpretation suggested by the original pointing.

33, 34. "*Who first seduced them,*" &c. Compared by Hume with *Iliad*, i. 8 :—

• Τίς τ' ἄρ' σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι,  
Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός.

40. "*He trusted to have equalled,*" &c. : Isaiah xiv. 12—14.

46. "*ruin and combustion*." Mr. Dyce found this phrase in a document of the Long Parliament in 1642: "And thereby to bring the whole kingdom into utter ruin and combustion." Mr. Keightley, accordingly, suggests that the phrase may have been a popular one about that time. Milton, however, here uses it with a precise significance—*ruin* referring to Satan's overthrow and expulsion from Heaven, and *combustion* to the flaming track of his descent.

50—53. "*Nine times the space*," &c. Commentators have fancied here a recollection of Hesiod, *Theog.* 722-5, where the poet, describing the defeat of the Titans by Zeus and their confinement in Tartarus, says that Tartarus is just as far below the Earth as the Earth is below Heaven, and that, as it would take a brass anvil nine days and nights to fall from Heaven to Earth, so it would take it nine days and nights more to fall from Earth to Tartarus. But, though Milton afterwards (*Par. Lost*, VI. 871) makes the *fall* of Satan and the other rebel Angels into Hell a matter of nine days, the nine days of the present passage are not those nine days of their *fall*, but nine *subsequent* days, during which he supposes the Angels to have lain in stupor in Hell after their fall. *Nine*, as Hume pointed out, was a mystical number, often used by the ancient poets, by way of a certain for an uncertain time. He gives instances from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the *Æneid*.

57. "*witnessed*," in the sense of "testified" or "exhibited," not in the modern sense of "*saw*."

59. "*as far as Angel's ken*." Printed in the original edition "*as far as Angels kenn*," which, as it was not then the habit to indicate the possessive case by an apostrophe, leaves us uncertain whether *ken* is to be taken as a verb or as a noun. Some editors, accordingly, print "*as far as Angels ken*,"—i.e. as far as Angels extend their gaze or knowledge. With others, I prefer "*as far as Angel's ken*," i.e. to the extent of the ken or gaze of an Angel.

62, 63. "*from those flames no light; but rather darkness visible*," &c. It seems to have been a common idea that the flames of Hell gave no light; and Mr. Keightley quotes from Walker's *History of Independency* (Part I. 1648) this example: "Their burning zeal without knowledge is like Hell-fire without light." Newton quotes from Seneca's description of the grotto of Pausilipo (Epist. lvii.) this coincidence with the phrase "*darkness visible*:" "Nihil illo carcere longius, nihil illis faucibus obscurius, quæ nobis præstant non ut per tenebras videamus, sed ut ipsas."

66, 67. "*hope never comes*," &c. A recollection of the famous inscription, in Dante (*Inf.* iii. 9), over the gate of Hell:—

"Lasciate ogni speranza voi che entrate."

73, 74. "*As far removed,*" &c. This passage has already been cited (Introd. p. 86) as fixing the distance down in Chaos where Hell proper, in Milton's imagination, is supposed to begin. "The centre" is the Earth, or the Earth's centre: "the utmost pole" is not the Earth's pole, but the pole of the entire Starry Universe. Homer (*Iliad*, viii. 16) makes Tartarus just as far beneath Hades as Earth is beneath Heaven; and so also Hesiod (see previous note, 50—53). Virgil (*Æn.* vi. 577) doubles the distance; and Milton, in his different cosmological scheme, keeps Virgil's proportions, making the distance from Heaven to Hell equal to three times the radius of the Starry Universe.

75. "*Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell.*" Not unlike one of the phrases in that passage of Cædmon's Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase which some suppose Milton to have consulted in the edition of Cædmon, with a Latin version by Francis Junius, published at Amsterdam in 1655 (see Introd. p. 39). Satan's soliloquy in Hell after his Fall opens thus in Cædmon:—

" Is þes ānga stede ungelic sviðe  
þam ððrum þe ve ær cūðon  
heán on heofonrice ;

modernized by Mr. Thorpe thus:—

" This narrow place is most unlike  
That other that we once knew  
High in Heaven's kingdom."

80, 81. "*Long after known in Palestine, and named Beelzebub.*" The word "Baal," meaning "Lord," was a general name for "god" among the Semitic nations; and their different Baals or gods were designated by names compounded of this word and others either indicating localities or signifying qualities: as Baal-Gad, "the God of Gad;" Baal-Berith, "the God of Treaties;" Baal-zebub, or Beelzebub, means literally "the God of Flies." This particular deity was worshipped at Ekron in Palestine, where the plague of flies or insects which afflicts hot countries seems to have been particularly felt (2 Kings i. 2, 3); and that he was an important deity of Palestine may be gathered from his being referred to afterwards (Matthew xii. 24) as "Beelzebub, the prince of the devils," really applied to Beel-zebub, 'lord of the heaven & height'.

81, 82. "*the Arch-Enemy, and thence in Heaven called Satan.*" Satan, in Hebrew, means "Enemy." Cædmon also makes "Satan" a new name given by God to the chief of the rebel Angels after his fall.

84, 85. "*Oh, how fallen, how changed from him !*" &c. A coagulation, as Newton pointed out, of phrases from Isaiah xiv. 12: "How art thou fallen from Heaven !" and Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 274, "Quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore qui," &c. See the description of Cain, p. 305. P.L.

84—124. The syntax of this whole first speech of Satan to Beelzebub is very abrupt and irregular—approaching here and there the figures of speech known in books on Rhetoric as *Anacolouth* (unfinished clause or sentence), and *Synathræsmus* (hubbub). In this the reader will discern a poetical fitness. From this involved construction of the passage, however, results some uncertainty here and there as to the punctuation.

86. "*didst. outshine.*" The more usual construction would be "*did outshine.*"

87—91. "*whom mutual league, &c. joined with me once, now misery hath joined in equal ruin.*" Expression and syntax modelled, as Bentley pointed out, on Ovid, *Met.* i. 351-3 :

"O soror, O conjux, O foemina sola superstes,  
Quam commune mihi genus et patruelis origo,  
Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipsa pericula jungunt."

94—98. "*Yet not for those, &c. do I repent,*" &c. Here, and in the sequel of Satan's speech (110—114), there are traces of the bold words of defiance to Zeus uttered by Prometheus in his dialogue with Hermes in the *Prometheus Vincit* of Æschylus, 991 *et seq.*

109. "*And what is else not to be overcome?*" Todd and most of the editors print this not as an interrogation, but as a clause in continuation of the four preceding. But, in the original editions, and in all till Bishop Newton's in 1749, there is a distinct point of interrogation at the end of this verse, and it is disconnected from the preceding clauses by a colon. A clear enough meaning, indeed, may be got by the other reading. "All is not lost," Satan is then made to say; "the unconquerable will, the study of revenge, immortal hate, and courage never to submit or yield, *and whatever else in a being like me is not to be overcome.*" But the meaning thus given to the last clause is languid compared with any one of those meanings which it will bear if the original punctuation is preserved. "All is not lost," Satan then says; "the unconquerable will &c. . . . and courage never to submit or yield: *and what else is there that is not to be overcome?*" or "*and what is there that else (i.e. without the fore-mentioned qualities) is not to be overcome?*" or "*and in what else does not to be overcome (i.e. invincibility) consist?*"

[ 116, 117. "*by Fate,*" &c. Satan here assumes the necessary, or at least, by decree, indestructible, existence of himself and the Angels. —"*Empyrean,*" made of the element of fire.

125. "*Eternal Providence.*" In the First Edition the phrase runs "*assert th' eternal Providence;*" but there is a direction among the Errata to delete *th'*.

128. "*throned Powers,*" i.e. those of the Angels that sat on thrones or had kingly rank in Heaven, as distinct from the multitude of the Seraphim.



152. "*gloomy Deep*." Deep is one of Milton's synonyms in the poem for Chaos. So is Abyss.

167. "*if I fail not*," i.e. "if I am not mistaken." The common Latin phrase, *ni fallor*.

176. "*his shafts*." For "*its shafts*." See subsequent note, line 254.

180. "*yon dreary plain*," &c. Imagine that Satan here sees at some distance a dark plain or extent of smoking ground (afterwards described more particularly), lying out of the burning and flaming element in the midst of which they still are.

198. "*Titanian or Earth-born, that warred on Jove*." The Titans were the progeny of Ouranos (Heaven) and Ge (Earth), who made war on their father and had possession of Heaven for a time, but were at length defeated and expelled by Zeus after a ten years' war. By the "Earth-born" Milton seems to mean the Giants, a different brood from the Titans, though often confused with them; represented by some as savage autochthones of certain volcanic countries, and by others as the offspring of Tartarus and Ge. They also assailed Heaven, and had to be put down by Zeus and the other Gods.

199. "*Briareos or Typhon*," &c. Briareos, in the Greek mythology, though not expressly named as a Titan, was of their race, being a hundred-handed, fifty-headed monster, son of Heaven and Earth. He aided Jupiter against a conspiracy of the Titans, but afterwards fought with the Giants in their war against him. Typhon, or Typhœus, a hundred-headed monster, son of Tartarus and the Earth, also warred against the Gods for their destruction of the Titans: he had his den, according to Pindar, in Cilicia, of which Tarsus was a city.

201—208. "*Leviathan*," &c. Milton clearly had in view some of the published stories of whales or other sea-monsters found in the Scandinavian seas; and Todd quotes a passage in point from Olaus Magnus, telling how the whale has such a rough skin that, when he raises his back above the sea, sailors sometimes mistake it for a small island, land upon it, light their fires, and cook their food, till the pain wakes the sleeping beast, and down he dives.

202. "*Created hugest that swim the Ocean-stream*:" a line purposely of difficult sound. Either the third foot must be read as an *anapæst*, or the word "hugest" must be pronounced as one syllable, "hug'st." As in the original text this word is spelt fully and not with the apostrophe, the first is probably the right way of reading. "*Ocean-stream*" is a phrase from the ancient geography, which supposed a sea flowing round and round the habitable circle of Earth.

204. "*night-foundered*." Milton has this exact word once besides—*Comus*, 483: "*Some one like us night-foundered here*." In both places

he uses the word in the same sense, *i.e.* brought to a stand by the coming on of night. The usual meaning of the word is to sink, or go to the bottom (*fundus*); but one can see the idea of the metaphor—swallowed up and lost in the darkness.

207. "*under the lee*," *i.e.* on that side of the monster which was protected from the wind. *E. 1511*

224. "*i' the midst*." The contraction of *in* occurs in the original edition, and for obvious reasons ought to be retained. Indeed, Milton prints "*i' th' midst*." *E. 1511*

232. "*Pelorus*:" "One of the three great promontories of Sicily, now called Cape Faro, not far from mount Ætna."—TODD.

235. "*Sublimed with mineral fury*." Sublimation, in chemistry, is properly the conversion of solid substances by heat into vapour, in order that, in cooling, they may become solid again in a purer form. Thus, when crude sulphur is heated, the vapour adheres to the walls of the chamber and forms there the fine powder called Flower of Sulphur, or sublimed sulphur. Milton's use of the term seems proper enough.

242—244. "*Is this the region . . . that we must change for Heaven?*" An unusual order in English, but occasional in Latin—the thing received in exchange being put first.

254. "*The mind is its own place*," &c. This is a memorable line for grammatical as well as for other reasons—being one of the only three places in all Milton's poetry (according to the original text) in which, as far as yet detected, he has used the word *its*. The other two places are *Par. Lost*, IV. 813, and *Qde. on the Nativity*, 106. On the history of the word *its*, and Milton's use of it, and of *his* and *her*, in his poetry, see our *Essay on Milton's English*.

257. "*And what I should be, <sup>Nearly equal to</sup> all but less than he*": a phrase of difficult construction: meaning either "And what I should be—viz. all but just next to him," &c.; or "And what I should be, all but (except) that I am less than he," &c. Were it safe to propose emendations (which it is not), one might suggest that Milton dictated *albeit*.

259, 260. "*hath not built here for his envy*," &c. Hath not built here in such a manner as to make the place an object for his envy.

266. "*oblivious pool*": *i.e.* pool causing oblivion. Compare *Par. Lost*, II. 73, 74. Hume quotes *Æn.* vi. 714: "*Lethæi ad fluminis undam*." *E. 1511* "oblivious pool". *Store notes on Livy*

279—281. "*though now they lie . . . as we erewhile*": Satan and Beelzebub are on the solid plain beside the burning lake; but all the rest of the Angels are still in the lake.

282. "*pernicious highth*." Though meaning originally, "*hurtful*," "*destructive*," *pernicious* seems to have come to mean also "*extreme*," "*excessive*," in our old writers. Thus *Henry VIII.*, II. i. :—

"All the Commons  
Hate him perniciously."

284. "*Was moving toward the shore*," i.e. Satan began to move back on foot over the solid plain towards the verge of the burning lake—Beelzebub gazing after him or following at a distance.

285. "*ethereal temper*": i.e. of *ethereal temper or nature (temperies)*: a curious ellipsis.

286—293. "*The broad circumference*," &c. In the two similes in this passage—the comparison of Satan's shield to the moon and of his spear to a pine-tree—may be marked, as in many others of the similes of Milton, the habit, natural to the poetic mind, of pursuing a comparison, once suggested, beyond the mere limits of illustrative likeness, for the sake of a rich accumulation of circumstance beautiful in itself. Spenser (*F. Q.* v. 5, 3) compares the shield of Radigund, "on the shoulder hung," to the full moon.

288—290. "*Through optic glass the Tuscan artist . . . top of Fesolè, or in Valdarno*." The Tuscan artist is Galileo, who first turned the "*optic glass*" or telescope to account for astronomical purposes. Fesolè or Fiesole is a hill close to Florence, the seat of the ancient Etruscan city of Fæsulæ; Valdarno is the valley of the Arno, in which Florence itself lies. Milton, who had been four months in Florence (1638-39), knew the spots well, and had seen Galileo, then old and blind, in his villa near Florence. It was at Padua in the Venetian states that Galileo had first (1609) turned his telescope to the moon; but he was a Tuscan by birth, and the greater part of his life after 1610 was spent in or near Florence.

294. "*some great ammiral*." The word "*ammiral*" or "*amiral*," now corrupted into *Admiral*, is from the Arabic *amir* or *emir*, meaning "lord;" the final *al* being probably the Arabic definite article *al*, as it would occur, after the noun, in such phrases as *emir al moslemin*, "commander of the faithful." It came into use in the European tongues, through the Spanish, and was generally applied, as now, to the chief commander of a fleet. But it was also used in English books, about and before Milton's time, as the name for any large ship.

296. "*marle*," i.e. soil. The word generally means fat or rich earth.

299. "*Nathless*," i.e. "ne (or not) the less," "nevertheless."

303. "*Vallombrosa*." Literally "*the shady valley*"—a beautiful valley, about eighteen miles from Florence, doubtless visited by Milton in the autumn of 1638. There is a tradition that he spent some days there. See Wordsworth's verses, "*At Vallombrosa*."



304—307. “*scattered sedge . . . the Red-Sea coast . . . Busiris and his Memphian chivalry.*” Sedge is sea-weed, with which the Red Sea so abounds that it was called by the Hebrews the “Sea of Sedge.” “*Busiris*” is a special name given, on speculation, to the Pharaoh who chased the children of Israel; and the Egyptian horsemen and charioteers are called “*his Memphian chivalry*,” from Memphis, one of the great cities of ancient Egypt. *Busiris* figures in Greek legends as a king of Egypt noted for his persecution of foreigners; and Raleigh, in his *History of the World*, expressly argues that he was “the first oppressor of the Israelites.” Milton follows Raleigh.—*which is a fact.*

305. “*Orion armed.*” The constellation Orion was supposed to bring stormy weather at his rising and setting. Thus, as noted by Mr. Browne, Horace (*Od.* i. 28, 21-22):—

“Me quoque, devexi rapidus comes Orionis,  
Illyricis Notus obruit undis.”

And again (*iii.* 27, 17-18):—

“Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu  
Pronus Orion.”

He is called “armed” because of his sword, belt, and club. Hume quotes from Virgil (*Æn.* iii. 517): “*Armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona;*” and Todd refers to “*Orione armato*” in Petrarch, Sonnet 23.

339. “*Amram’s son,*” i.e. Moses. See Exod. vi. 16—20; also Exod. x. 12—15. *At the same time, Genesis (12:1)*

341. “*warping,*” i.e. working themselves forward, or moving in a fluctuating manner. *uncommonly, but in the sense of the word.*

350. “*On the firm brimstone.*” Here we have the colour of the plain hinted—sulphury and yellow, at least on its shore towards the lake.

353. “*Rhene or the Danaw,*” i.e. the Rhine (Latin *Rhenus*), or the Danube (German *Donau*). *cf. 11, 27, 12, 10, 14, 10.*

355. “*Beneath Gibraltar,*” &c., i.e. south of Gibraltar, into Africa.—Dunster has a good note, in which he calls attention to the three different similes used by Milton, within so brief a space as from line 300 to line 355, to suggest the vast number of the Angels. First, in their supine state on the lake, they are compared to the dead leaves lying in heaps in Vallombrosa, or to the masses of floating sea-weed on the Red Sea; next, when on wing from the lake to the solid plain at their leader’s call and signal, they are like the cloud of locusts coming over Egypt at the summons of Moses’s rod; but, finally, when they alight on the plain and fill it, they are like the Northern hordes that, bursting the boundaries of the Rhine and the Danube, overran the Roman Empire.

361—375. "*Though of their names in Heavenly records now be no memorial . . . Nor had they yet . . . Got them new names; till,*" &c. This passage is very noteworthy. The notion that the various gods of the different forms of heathenism were the devils or degraded angels of the Scriptural dispensation belonged to the common Christian theology of mediæval Europe. But Milton gives this common mediæval belief an ingenious poetic turn. (The Rebel Angels, before their fall, had glorious names, by which they were known in Heaven; but, after their rebellion, those names were blotted out from the celestial records, so that no whisper of them has survived.) It was not till, in the course of ages, roving from Hell, they had realized their new and accursed existence as the idols and false gods of deceived mankind, that they "got them new names." It is by these names only—their names as the idols of the various Polytheisms—that they are now known; and it is by these names that they must, though by anticipation, be called in the poem!

376. "*who first, who last*" : as in *Iliad*, v. 703 : τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον.

381—505. "*The chief were,*" &c. to "*worse rape.*" Milton cannot name all, or even the thousandth part, of those gods of the subsequent Polytheisms whom he is now regarding at that point in their existence when they were but newly fallen Angels and as yet anonymous. But he will name their chiefest chiefs—those who were next in rank to Satan and Beelzebub. And who were these? They were, Milton virtually says, the spirits afterwards known as the chief gods of the Semitic nations—of the nations surrounding the Jews—and of which, and their transactions with the Jews, we hear so much in the Bible. Accordingly, in this splendid passage of 125 lines, we have a poetical enumeration of the principal Semitic idols referred to in Scripture as worshipped round about the Israelites, and sometimes luring the Israelites themselves from the worship of Jehovah. See 2 Kings xxi. 5; Jeremiah vii. 30; Ezek. xlii. 8.

392—405. "*First, Moloch, horrid king,*" &c. For the Scriptural accounts of Moloch (meaning "king" in Hebrew), worshipped by various Semitic nations, but here represented as more particularly the god of the Ammonites, see Levit. xviii. 21; 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Sam. xii. 26—29: see also Judges xi. 12—18. The "*opprobrious hill*" is the Mount of Olives, on which Solomon built a temple to Moloch (1 Kings xi. 7, and 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14). The "*pleasant valley of Hinnom*" (*Ghe-Hinnom*: see Jerem. vii. 31, 32), was on the east side of Jerusalem; here was *Tophet*, supposed to mean "the place of timbrels." The word "*Gehenna*," now "the type of Hell," or a synonym for Hell, is borrowed from the name of this valley, which, originally the most beautiful valley about Jerusalem, and containing the royal music-garden, was afterwards, in consequence of its having been polluted by the worship of Moloch

and other idols, degraded by the pious kings, and converted into a receptacle for all the filth of the city, and a place of abhorrence. Here, it is said, the Jews latterly buried their criminals.

406—418. "*Next Chemos,*" &c. For references to this god of the Moabites and to the places mentioned in the passage, see 1 Kings xi. 7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; Numb. xxi. 25—29, xxv. 1—9; Deut. xxxii. 49; Isaiah xv. 1, 2, 4, 5, and xvi. 2, 8, 9; and Jerem. xlviii. 1—47. Chemosh or Chemos is supposed to be identical with Baal-Peor, which is a name of associations like those with Priapus. The "*Asphaltic Pool*" is the Dead Sea.

419—437. "*With these came they who,*" &c. Here, after Moloch and Chemos, are suggested, under the general names of Baalim and Ashtaroth, a number of the miscellaneous gods, male and female, of various parts of Syria, from the Euphrates to Egypt. The appended observation as to the pliability of the physical form of the Spirits is worthy of attention, as preparing for much that follows in the poem. The dilatibility or compressibility of the Spirits at will is a postulate for the whole action of *Paradise Lost*. *Voltaire, in his *Traité de l'âme*, dit qu'il n'y a point*

437—446. "*With these, in troop, came Astoreth,*" &c. : i.e. Along with the miscellaneous gods of Syria came that Astoreth who was more particularly the goddess of the Phœnicians. See Jer. vii. 18; 1 Kings xi. 4, 5; and 2 Kings xxiii. 13. The effigy of this goddess is found on coins of the ancient Phœnician city of Sidon.

446—457. "*Thammuz came next,*" &c. Thammuz, a Syrian love-god, originally of the parts about Lebanon. The legend was that he was killed by a wild boar in Lebanon; and the phenomenon of the reddening at a particular season every year of the waters of the Adonis, a stream which flows from Lebanon to the sea near Byblos, was mythologically accounted for by supposing that the blood of Thammuz was then flowing afresh. There were annual festivals at Byblos in Phœnicia in honour of Thammuz, held every year at the season referred to. Women were the chief performers at these festivals—the first part of which consisted in lamentations for the death of Thammuz, and the rest in rejoicings over his revival. The worship spread over the East, and even into Greece, where Thammuz became the celebrated Adonis, the beloved of Venus. See Ezek. viii. 12—14.

457—466. "*Next came one who mourned in earnest,*" &c. : i.e. Dagon, the god of the Philistines, whose cause for mourning, as related 1 Sam. v. 1—9, was more real than that of Thammuz. "*Azotus*" is the Ashdod of this passage. "*Grunsel,*" i.e. "ground-sill" or "threshold."

467—476. "*Him followed Rimmon,*" &c. Rimmon, another Syrian god, worshipped at Damascus. The "leper" whom he lost is Naaman (see 2 Kings v.); for his gaining of King Ahaz, see 2 Kings xvi. 10—20.

476—489. "*After these appeared a crew . . . Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train.*" Here we have the gods of Egypt, who were represented in all manner of grotesque animal forms, and supposed even to inhabit or protect living animals—oxen, calves, rams, &c. Hence the phrases "wandering gods" and "bleating gods."—"Borrowed gold": It is with the gold borrowed from the Egyptians (Exod. xii. 35) that the Israelites are supposed to have made the golden calf (Exod. xxxii.). The "rebel king" who doubled that sin is Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 26—33). See also Psalm cvi. 19, 20.

490—505. "*Belial came last,*" &c. Next to the first place in such a procession the last place is, at least in poetic custom, the post of honour; hence Belial, who closes the procession, is a hardly less important personage than Moloch who led it. He is, moreover, the exact opposite of Moloch in character—Moloch, defiant, fierce, and bloody; Belial, soft, effeminate, and persuasive. According to Milton, he was not a local god; but, wherever there was Atheism and utter profligacy, there Belial had his sons. See Deut. xiii. 13; 1 Sam. ii. 12.

502. "*flown with insolence,*" &c.: *i.e.* flowed, flooded, flushed. Mr. Keightley quotes the phrase "overflown with wine" from a pamphlet by Nash.

503—505. The allusions here are to the narratives in Gen. xix. 8 and Judges xix. 22, 28. In the first edition the text stood thus:—

"Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night  
In Gibeah, when hospitable doors  
Yielded their matrons, to prevent worse rape."

These words not being in strict accordance with the narratives referred to, Milton, for subsequent editions, altered the text to what it now is.

506—521. "*These were the prime in order and in might:  
The rest were long to tell,*" &c.

Having concluded his list of those great leading Spirits who afterwards became the chief gods of the Semitic nations, Milton does not think it necessary to mention those other inferior, though still not unimportant, Spirits, also holding commands in the rebel Host, who, contenting themselves afterwards with the meaner and more distant parts of the Earth for their prey, became the gods of the motley Polytheisms that surrounded and stretched away from the sacred circle of the Biblical lands. Even what we should now call the various Indo-European Polytheisms are tacitly assumed as the work of Spirits who, at the time of this first muster of the Fallen Angels in Hell, took but junior rank, as compared with the mighty leaders fore-mentioned. But at one of these Indo-European Polytheisms Milton, both on account of its renown, and also perhaps on account of his own fondness for it, cannot help glancing—that which

bloomed out into the great Hellenic or Classic Mythology. Hence, in a few lines, we have the genealogy of "the Ionian gods"—of those gods, confessedly of later development, who were worshipped by the issue of Javan, the fourth son of Japheth, and the progenitor more particularly of the Gentiles of the Isles (Gen. x. 2—5). This theogony, however, is rapidly disposed of. Titan is named as the earliest supreme god; superseded by Saturn; who, in his turn, is dethroned by Zeus—the final expansion of the Greek mythology in its richest or Jovian stage being left to the imagination, helped by the mere mention of Crete, Ida, Olympus, Delphi, and Dodona. Observe too that the original theogonies of the lands west of Greece—Italy, Spain, Gaul, and the British Islands—are represented as branching off from the Grecian theogony in its Saturnian stage. This branching off is connected with the legend of the flight of Saturn into Italy, as in the passage (*Æn.* viii. 319-20) quoted by Hume:—

"Primus ab æthereo venit Saturnus Olympo,  
Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exul adeptis."

The "*Hesperian Fields*" are Italy and Spain; "*the Celtic*" (understand "region") is mainly Gaul; "*the utmost Isles*" are Britain, &c.—The Scandinavian and Slavonian mythologies, it will be seen, are not even named, any more than those of the Mongolian (Turanian) and Negro races—the devils to whom these are to be attributed being (so the silence must be construed) as yet individually obscure.

530. "*Their fainting courage.*" In the First Edition "fainted"; altered in the Second into "fainting," for "fainting."

534. "*Azazel.*" The name, according to Hume, signifies in Hebrew "the scape-goat" (Levit. xvi.); but Newton translates it "brave in retreat."

543. "*reign of Chæos,*" i.e. kingdom (*regnum*) of Chaos. Newton quotes Spenser (*F. Q.* ii. 7. 21), "Pluto's grisly rayne."

546. "*orient colours.*" Mr. Browne notes thus: "*Orient* in Milton's poems has three meanings: (1) 'rising,' *Par. Lost*, IV. 644; (2) 'eastern,' *Par. Lost*, VI. 15, *Nat. Od.*; (3) 'bright,' as here, and at *Com.* 65, *Par. Lost*, III. 507, IV. 238."

548. "*serried shields*": i.e. close-locked (Fr. *serrer*, to press close).

550. "*perfect*": so spelt here, though Milton generally prefers "*perfet*." "*Dorian mood*," i.e. the Doric or grave style of music, as distinct from the Lydian or Phrygian. Compare *Alleg.* 136.

551. "*flutes and soft recorders.*" According to *Chambers's Cyclop.*, *recorder* was the name of a musical instrument, "somewhat like a flageolet, but with the lower part wider than the upper, and a mouth-



piece resembling the beak of a bird. Its pitch was an octave higher than the flute, and it had a pleasing tone." Richardson (*Dict.*) quotes Bacon's *Nat. Hist.*: "The figure of recorders and flutes and pipes are straight, but the recorder hath a less bore and a greater, above and below." See also *Hamlet* iii. 2, where "re-enter the Players with recorders," and Hamlet draws a humorous moral from one of the instruments.

565. "*with ordered spear and shield*:" a phrase of drill in Milton's time as in ours—"order pikes" being then the equivalent of our "*order arms*"; on which word of command soldiers stand with their weapons resting perpendicularly by their sides, the butts on the ground. When soldiers halt from any movement, as in the text, arms are always "ordered" without word of command.

572. "*his strength*." We should now write *its*. See note *antè*, line 254.

573. "*since created Man*," i.e. "*since man was created*"—a Latin form of expression: *Post urbem conditam*, &c. Cf. *Sam. vii. 65* "Since the city was built."

575, 576. "*that small infantry warred on by cranes*," i.e. the fabulous Pygmies, or nation of Indian or Ethiopian dwarfs, who were said to have to fight with cranes that annually invaded their country. The name Pygmy is from the Greek *πυγμή*, the length of the fore-arm.

576—587. "*all the giant brood of Phlegra, &c. . . . Fontarabbia*." Milton here connects together the great wars of the most famous epic legends, ancient and modern—the primeval wars of the Giants against the Gods, which were fought at Phlegra in Macedonia, Hercules assisting the Gods; the wars of Troy and Thebes; the wars of the British hero Arthur, "Uther's son"; and those combats and joustings, all along the Mediterranean, between the Saracens and the Christian heroes of France and Spain, which are the theme of so many mediæval romances. The legends of Charlemain and his Paladins—one of the most famous of which tells of their defeat, and of the death of Roland, at Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees, not far from Fontarabia and Bayonne—have little to do with the true history of Charlemagne.

592. "*All her original brightness*": her where we should now use *its*. See note *antè*, line 254.

609, 610. "*amerced of Heaven*," i.e. "punished with the loss of Heaven." The word "to *amerce*" (noun *amercement* or *amerciament*) was an old law term, meaning "to punish by a fine at the discretion of the Court," and derived from the French phrase *à merci*. For certain offences the penalty was *être mis à merci* (the Latin equivalent being *poni in misericordia*); and a person so punished was said to be *amercié* or *amerced*. Thus, in a passage quoted in Richardson's *Dict.* from Rastall's *Abbrevia-*

*cion of Statutes* (1520): "Then al the articles of every hundred shal be delivered to the 12 jurors of the countie, and then time shall be appointed them to give their verdictes upon paine of the king's *mercie*. And, if they give not their verdictes, they shall bee *amerced* as to the justices shall seeme best." Shakespeare (*Rom. and Jul.* iii. 1) has—

"But I'll *amerce* you with so strong a fine  
That you shall all repent the loss of mine."

Though the French phrase *être mis à merci* and the Latin phrase *poni in misericordiâ* meant the same thing in old law-language, it is not to be assumed that the French word *merci* and the English *mercy* are derived from the Latin *misericordia*, "pity," or *misereor* or *miseresco*, "I pity." This, indeed, used to be asserted in Dictionaries, and with some plausibility. But the truer derivation of *mercy* is from the Latin *merx*, merchandise or purchase, or *merces*, pay, compensation, reward; whence the Low Latin *merciare* or *amerciare*, to put to recompense. When a prisoner "*cried mercy*," what was originally meant was that he implored his captor to grant him his life for a compensation or ransom; and, when the captor *merciéd* him, he assented. To be at a person's *mercy* was to hang on his decision whether he would kill or accept a pecuniary ransom; and Richardson quotes from Minshew the old phrase "to be in *grievous mercie* of the king," i.e. "to be in hazard of a grievous penalty." The *merciful* spirit, therefore, was, in strict etymology, the willingness to accept ransom or compensation; but, as this depended on pitifulness or graciousness of disposition, it is easy to see how *mercy* and *misericordia* would come to be identified. On the one hand, the Latin *misericordia*, really meaning "tender-heartedness," was degraded to mean "right to impose fines," as in a charter of Edward I., quoted by Wedgwood (*Dict., Amercement*), where the abbot and monks of a certain Abbey are, by way of privilege, exempted "*de omnibus misericordiis in perpetuum*" (from all *mercies* for ever); and, on the other hand, the word *mercy*, meaning "exaction of fine or ransom," was elevated into the sense of "tender-heartedness." Hume notes another etymological curiosity in connexion with the word *amerced*. Quoting Homer's line (*Od.* viii. 64)—

"Ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἠδεῖαν ἀοιδήν,"

he points out the odd fact that the Greek *ἄμερσε* here, the same in sound as *amerce*, has also much the same meaning; insomuch that the line might be translated—"The Muse *amerced* him of his eyes, but gave him the faculty of singing sweetly." There may be more than odd coincidence in this: there may be radical far-back identity. The Greek *ἀμείρω*, of which *ἄμερσε* is a part, means literally to deprive of one's share (*a prîn*, and *μέρος* a share, or part); and *μέρος* and *merx* are probably one at root.

611. "*yet faithful how they stood.*" The construction refers back to the verb "behold" in line 605.

616—618. "*whereat their doubled ranks they bend,*" &c. A true description of a military movement; as if from Milton's actual recollections of parades he had seen in the time of the Civil Wars. If a commanding officer now desired to address his battalion when standing in line, he would first wheel its two extremities, or the ends of the two wings, inwards, so as to form three sides of an oblong enclosing himself and his staff. But Satan's troops, we have been told, had been all brought into line with ordered arms (see verses 562—565)—a "front of dreadful length," but still such that, with reference to the range of Satan's vision, Milton calls it but a battalion (verse 569). Milton pushes his military exactness still farther. A company or battalion of soldiers, listening to an address from their commander, would stand in the attitude called *Attention*; and Milton seems to have had this in his mind in the phrase "*Attention held them mute,*" though the fine poetical wording half disguises the technicality.

619, 620. "*Thrice he assayed,*" &c. A recollection, Bentley thought, of Ovid, *Met.* xi. 419: "*Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit.*"

632, 633. "*whose exile hath emptied Heaven.*" An oratorical exaggeration; for the computation afterwards is, even by Satan himself, that a third part only of the heavenly host had joined him in his revolt (Book II. 692, V. 710, and VI. 156). This seems to have been a common belief, suggested by the text Rev. xii. 4; where the tail of the Great Dragon draws down "the third part of the stars of Heaven." This note is from Hume and Newton.

650—656. "*Space may produce new Worlds,*" &c. Notice here the first suggestion, and by Satan himself, of the precise scheme of diabolic action of which the whole poem is a development.

668. "*Clashed on their sounding shields.*" It was the custom of the Roman soldiers, says Bentley, to applaud by smiting their shields with their swords. One might have guessed as much.

669. "*Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.*" Mr. Keightley thinks Milton here "forgets that the scene is in Hell, not upon Earth." Milton forgets nothing of the kind. The expression is in perfect consistency with his imagination of the whereabouts of the Fallen Angels. They are down in Hell; above them and Hell is Chaos or the Abyss, as Satan has just hinted (line 658); and above that is Heaven. In their defiance they look upwards to Hell's roof, as if to send their defiance *through* intervening Chaos, to the Heaven they have left and are still thinking of. You can hurl defiance "toward" a place without seeing it.

670. "*There stood a hill not far,*" &c. Here we have another feature suggested in the physical configuration of Hell. We have already had



the burning lake, and the yellow or dark mainland bordering it; and now, on this mainland, we have to conceive a hill with burning summit, and sides glossy with lava.

673. "*his womb*," i.e. the hill's. We should now, undoubtedly, say *its*. See note *antè*, line 254.

673, 674. "*metallic ore, the work of sulphur*." Perhaps Hume's note on this passage, just because of its quaint old chemistry, is as good as any:—"The work of sulphur: the offspring and production of sulphur, that *vivum et fossile*, as Celsus calls it, which, as it were *solis pater*, the subterranean fire concocts and boils up the crude and undigested Earth into a more profitable consistence, and, by its innate heat, hardens and bakes it into metals." In old chemistry, indeed, sulphur figured prodigiously. "The nature of sulphur or brimstone is most wonderful, being able as it is to tame and consume the most things that be in the world," says Pliny, as translated by Philemon Holland; and the science of the Middle Ages, inherited by Paracelsus, based itself on a doctrine that sulphur and mercury were the two all-pervading substances or agencies in nature (unless salt was to be taken as a third), generating all things between them. The doctrine appears often in Bacon's scientific writings. Thus (*Nat. Hist.*): "There be two great families of things. You may term them by several names—sulphureous and mercurial, which are the chemist's words (for, as for their *salt*, which is their third principle, it is a compound of the other two); inflammable and not inflammable; mature and crude; oily and watery. . . . Mercury and sulphur are principal materials of metals." Again (*History of Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt*): "Sulphur and mercury, in the sense in which I take them, I judge to be the most primæval natures, the most original configurations of matter, and among the forms of the first class almost the principal. But these terms of sulphur and mercury may be varied and receive various denominations—as the oily, the watery; the fat, the crude; the inflammable, the non-inflammable; and the like. For they appear to be these two enormous tribes of things which occupy and penetrate the universe. In the subterranean world we find sulphur and mercury, as they are called; in the animal and vegetable world we find oil and water; in pneumatical bodies of the lower order we find air and flame; in the celestial regions we find starry body and pure ether." Again (*Phænomena Universi*), the phrase occurs: "*Sulphur, quem patrem metallorum esse communis est opinio, licet a peritioribus fere repudiata*:" "Sulphur, commonly thought to be the father of the metals, though that opinion is almost given up by the more skilful."—In the present passage, therefore, Milton adopts, and expresses poetically, the popular chemical belief of his time. If anywhere that belief might be true, and sulphur might be the generator of metals, surely it might be in Hell. Observe, too, that Milton speaks of metallic *ores*, and that in fact many such ores are in the form of sulphurets of metals.

675. "*brigad*." So spelt in Milton's editions, and the accent on the first syllable. *cf. Tennysonian use of "Decad" instead of "Decade"*

676. "*pioneers*": spelt "*Pioners*" in Milton's editions, and perhaps pronounced so. *An extension of Pion, from a foot soldier.*

678. "*Mammon led them on*." The name Mammon, says Bishop Newton, is Syriac, and signifies *Riches*. Milton, following Scripture, personifies him, as the god of riches, as Spenser had already done—bringing him forward, for special reasons, out of the promiscuous host of demons, whom he had left unnamed in the first muster. He identifies him in the sequel (738—751) with Mulciber or Vulcan of the classic mythology.

686. "*Ransacked the Centre*." The centre or interior of the Earth, say the commentators unanimously. Not so. Centre here is the Earth itself as a whole, not its interior merely. In old literature the Earth, as the supposed centre of the Universe, was frequently called "*the centre*" *par excellence*. Thus Shakespeare (*Troil. and Cres.* I. iii.):

"The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre,  
Observe degree, priority, and place."

Milton's meaning is that it was the same Mammon whom he as looking for gold even in Heaven, and as now beginning metallurgy in Hell, that afterwards taught mining on Earth.

688. "*treasures better hid*." See Horace, *Od.* iii. 3, 49.

703. "*founded the massy ore*." This is the reading in the First Edition. In the Second, and in all subsequent editions, till Bentley's in 1732, the reading is "*found out the massy ore*." *Buckingham says it is clearly a blunder, commentators say that it is the correct reading that "found" stands for "found out."*

708, 709. "*As in an organ*," &c. Mr. Browne quotes from Professor Taylor a note on the exactness of this image. "The wind produced by the bellows [in an organ] is driven into a reservoir called the wind-chest, above which is placed the sound-board, and then by intricate contrivances conveyed to each row of pipes."

710—717. "*a fabric huge rose like an exhalation, &c. . . . golden architrave*," &c. It has been suggested that Milton may here have had in recollection some of the gorgeous machinery used in the Masques so common in the reign of Charles I. The architectural terms used are exact. Pilasters are square pillars, generally sunk in the wall; Doric pillars are plain columns of the Doric order; architrave, frieze, and cornice are the successive parts of the entablature between the capital of the column and the roof—the frieze often bearing sculptured figures in relief.

718. "*Great Alcairo*." Milton, as Hume noted, uses this modern name for old Memphis, the capital of Egypt.

720. "*Belus or Serapis*." The *a* of Serapis is usually long; but instances in which it is made short, as here, are quoted from the later Latin poets.

728. "*blazing cressets*." A *cresset* was any open vessel, jar, or cage, in which tarred ropes or the like could be burnt by way of beacon-lights; hence such lights themselves were also called *cressets*. Wedgwood connects the word etymologically with the English *crock* or *cruise*, a pitcher or jar (German *krug*, Dutch *kruycke*, French *cruche*), and so with *cruet* and *crucible*. Shakespeare, as Newton observed, has the word *cressets* in the sense of "blazing lights" (*Hen. IV.* Part I. iii. 1); and Todd quotes it from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

739, 740. "*in Ausonian land men called him Mulciber*," i.e. in Italy men worshipped him as Vulcan, one of whose names was Mulciber (the Softener).

746, 747. "*Thus they relate, erring*," i.e. the old poets who had related the fall of Vulcan from Heaven when flung out by Zeus—Homer (*Iliad*, i. 590), &c. In Milton's persistent identification of Mammon with Vulcan is there any secret reference to the money-making spirit as the mother of metallurgy and the engineering arts?

752. "*Haralds*." In the First and Second Editions this word is spelt so (Italian *Araldo*); but in the Third Edition (1678) it is *Heralds*, as now. *Skat-dennan* it þar-O.H.G. for *Har-wald* = *Army-sk.* 17.

756. "*At Pandemonium*." Here we have a name given to the palace, or range of palaces in Hell, which *Mammon* had just built, and which was situated on *the plain* between the hill and the lake. "*Pandemonium*" means "the home or hall of all the Demons," and is a word formed on the analogy of "*Pantheon*," the hall of all the gods. Milton, if not the actual inventor of the word, was the first who gave it currency

760. "*With hundreds*," so spelt in the original edition; but in the Errata of that edition there is a direction for this passage, "*For hundreds read hunderds*," as if Milton preferred the second pronunciation. In the Second Edition it is "*hunderds*"; but in the Third "*hundreds*" is restored. *But the O. Sc. form is 'hunderd'*

768—775. "*As bees*," &c. See *Iliad*, ii. 87.

774. "*with baim*," spelt "*baume*" in the First Edition.—"*expatiate*," i.e. walk about. *no. 22. 2. usually, in the 15<sup>th</sup> & 16<sup>th</sup> c.*

780. "*that pygmean race*." See note on lines 575, 576.

789—792. "*Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest shapes*," &c. See note 419—437. There is a quaint ingenuity in the present application of Milton's postulate as to the expansibility or compressibility of the forms of the Spirits. The committee of leaders remaining in their own gigantic dimensions far within, it is only by some such reduction of the general body as in the text that the imagination can conceive the hall holding all the vast multitude.

## BOOK II.

2, 3. "*Ormus and of Ind . . . gorgeous East*," &c. *Ormus*, more properly Hormuz, an island at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, once giving its name to an Asiatic kingdom; *Ind*, India; *the gorgeous East*, probably the remoter lands of Asia.—"*Showrs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold*": either a bold poetical expression, or an allusion to the actual Eastern custom of pouring pearls and precious stones over the heads and feet of princes on great state occasions.

9. "*by success untaught*." The word 'success' is here used not in the ordinary sense of 'good fortune,' but as equivalent merely to 'event' or 'issue.'

41, 42. "*Whether of open war*," &c. Todd compares *Faery Queene*, vii. 6. 21.

50. "*thereafter*," i.e. accordingly. '

64—70. "*when*," &c. Todd compares *Æschyl. Prom.* v. 920.

70—81. "*But perhaps the way seems difficult . . . sunk thus low*." It is the *physical* reascent through the superincumbent Chaos that Moloch has here in view; and, to persuade the Angels that this might not be so difficult, he bids them remember their sensations during their descent—how they had not fallen or sunk, as if in obedience to a natural law of gravitation, but had been driven or pushed down through a resisting medium, in which, but for this force, they would have risen by native buoyancy. "*Descent and fall to us is adverse*" is therefore here a proposition respecting the physical nature of Angels, and not respecting their moral nature, as some have supposed.

81—85. "*The ascent is easy, then: the event is feared . . . destroyed*." Moloch does not here speak in his own person, but anticipates a second objection that the Angels might make, if he had satisfactorily disposed of the first.

91, 92. "*the torturing hour calls us to penance*." "Milton here supposes," says Hume, "the sufferings of the damned Spirits not to be always alike intense." The phrase "torturing hour," in a somewhat different connexion, occurs in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V. Sc. i. where Theseus says,

"Is there no play  
To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?"

97. "*this essential*," i.e. this essence, or this essential being.

100, 101. "*we are at worst on this side nothing*." This is sometimes printed, "*we are, at worst, on this side nothing*;" which spoils the

meaning. Moloch means, "We are now already at the worst that is possible on this side of total annihilation."

104. "*his fatal throne*," i.e. upheld by fate.

113, 114. "*make the worse appear the better reason*." A literal translation, as Bentley points out, of the Greek phrase describing the profession of the ancient Sophists, τὸν λόγον τὸν ἥττω κρείττω ποιεῖν. The phrase occurs in Plato's *Apology of Socrates*.

123. "*the whole success*." See note, line 9.

134—142. "*Or, could we . . . purge off the baser fire, victorious*." Belial, who keeps replying closely, throughout his speech, to the arguments just urged by Moloch, here refers to Moloch's expectation as expressed in lines 60—70.

141. "*Her mischief*." See note, Book I., line 254.

146—151. "*Sad cure!*" &c. Here Belial differs from Moloch, in thinking annihilation undesirable, even were it possible. Todd aptly compares the famous passage in *Measure for Measure* (III. i): "Ay, but to die," &c.

156. "*Belike*," i.e. "as it were."

159. "'Wherefore cease we, then?' say they who," &c. Here Belial begins to answer that part of Moloch's speech where he maintained that they were already at the worst on this side annihilation (100, 101). See note on the passage.

165. "*strook*." So the word occurs in the original editions; and previous editors have acted improperly in converting it into the more usual form "*struck*." For, though the form "*struck*," both for the preterite tense and the passive participle did exist in Milton's time, and he has himself used it, he seems to have preferred "*strook*" for musical reasons, and to have always used it except where some particular modification of those reasons recommended "*struck*." Here is one instance from his prose: ". . . how the bright and blissful Reformation, by Divine Power, strook through the black and settled night of Ignorance," &c. (*Of Ref. in England*); and other instances might be found. Again, in his poetry there are just (if the verbal indexes have guided us properly) *five* passages, in addition to the present, where the word in either form occurs; and in three of these instances, as here, we have, in the original editions, "*strook*": thus—

"The monstrous sight  
Strook them with horror backward."

*Par. L.* VI. 863.

"So strook with dread and anguish fell the Fiend."

*Par. Reg.* IV. 576.

". . . by mortal finger strook."

*Ode Nat.* 95.



In this last instance the word rhymes to "*took*." The other two instances are as follows:—

“Satan had not to answer, but stood struck.”

*Par. Reg.* III. 146.

“And with blindness internal struck.”

*Sams. Ag.* 1686.

In the former of these “struck” seems to have been chosen to avoid such a recurrence of sound as “stood strook”; and in the second “struck,” as the final word, better conveys the sense of abruptness. There is also one passage (*Par. Lost*, IX. 1064) where we have the form “*strucken*.”

170. “*What if the breath*,” &c. Newton quotes Isaiah xxx. 33.

174. “*His red right hand*.” Bentley quotes Horace, *Od.* i. 22 *rubente dextera*.

175. “*Her stores*,” i.e. Hell’s; the pronoun here preceding the noun.

181—186. “*Each on his rock transfix’d*,” &c. The anticipation of some such form of increased torment in Hell had already occurred to Satan: see Book I. 325—330.

205. “*venturous* :” spelt *vent’rous* in Milton’s editions.

220. “*this darkness light*.” It has been doubted whether “light” is here a substantive or an adjective; but the substantive gives the stronger meaning.

227. “*ignoble ease*.” Virgil’s *ignobilis oti*, *Georg.* iv. 564 (Newton).

233. “*Chaos judge the strife*.” It has been doubted whether the strife in which Chaos is here to act as judge is that just imagined between Fate and Chance, or that also imagined between the Almighty and the Fallen Angels. The former seems decidedly the true meaning. Chaos is the residence of Chance (see line 965 of this Book); and the victory of Chance over Fate would be the triumph of Chaos.

249. “*Let us not then pursue*.” “Pursue” means here “to seek after,” and the object of the sentence is “our state of splendid vassalage.”

263—267. “*How oft amidst*,” &c. Newton and Todd quote Ps. xviii. 2, Ps. xcvi. 2, and 1 Kings viii. 12.

278. “*The sensible of pain*,” i.e. either the sensible property of pain (*τὸ sensible*, as Hume puts it), or the sensibility to pain.

282. “*Of what we are and where*.” Such is the reading of the First Edition; but in the Second, Third, and subsequent editions, it is “*Of what we are and were*.” Tickell (1720) restored “*where*.”

285—290. "*as when hollow rocks,*" &c. Hume compares Virgil, *Æn.* x. 98, and Todd compares Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 144.

299—309. "*Which when Beelzebub perceived,*" &c. Observe how, in the account of the Infernal Council, Milton reserves the decisive speech for the great angel, Beelzebub, not absolutely the chief of the host, but nearest to the chief, and in private possession of his plans. He does not speak till the subject has been discussed on different sides by three preceding speakers, and he can observe the state of feeling produced. Moloch, the fierce and defiant, has advised open war; he is reckless of all farther consequences, and would brave even annihilation. Belial, the plausible and effeminate, is for submission and passive endurance. Mere existence has charms for him; anything is better than annihilation; and he suggests that in the mere lapse of time changes for the better may occur, and that, at all events, there will be an accommodation to circumstances. Mammon, in the main, or in the negative part of his advice, agrees with Belial; but, being a more inventive and architectonic spirit, he throws a positive element into his counsel—to wit, that, while accepting present circumstances, they should make the best of them by industry and ingenuity, and so develop the material and economic resources of Hell. There can be no doubt that Milton, in these three speeches, had in view a kind of poetic representation of three very common types of human and national statesmanship—types which he might have found about him in the political world of England while he was writing. In most emergencies men may be distinguished as taking—some the Moloch view of affairs, which recommends action at all hazards; others the Belial view, which recommends slothful epicureanism; and others the Mammon view, which recommends material thrift and the accumulation of wealth at whatever abandonment of antecedents, enterprises, and higher ends. It is while the infernal assembly are under the influence of Mammon's speech, and are clearly more disposed to go with him and Belial than with Moloch, that a greater statesman than all three rises—greater in his very look of grave thought and majesty, and greater also in what he has actually cogitated and means to propose. For the proposition which Beelzebub rises to submit differs, it will be found, from the previous advices precisely in this, that it is *specific*—a definite plan, adapted to the exigency. In its nature it is a compromise between Moloch's policy and the other; but it is so far on Moloch's side that it does contemplate action—not, however, the blundering action into which that hot spirit would have rushed, but a course of action subtle and well-considered.

310—340. "*Thrones and Imperial Powers,*" &c. This part of Beelzebub's speech, and, indeed, the whole of it, so far as controversial, is mainly a reply to Mammon, whose counsel at that moment had met with general approbation. In the very act of opening his address to the Angels by their titles of dignity, Beelzebub grapples with the pre-

vailing sentiment. "Thrones and Imperial Powers, offspring of Heaven," he begins, "or rather shall I now call you Princes of Hell, since so the vote seems to be going, and ye are pleased with Mammon's picture of the Empire that, by industry and art, ye may build up in Hell? O, doubtless! a fine vision, but for one little consideration which ye have not taken into account." He then goes on to show that Mammon's scheme proceeds on the supposition of a total disconnexion between the realm in which they now are and Heaven. But, that supposition being wrong—Hell, though so far separated from Heaven, being still within Heaven's jurisdiction, and the Almighty not having given it up to the outcast Angels as a waste world of which they may make the best they can, unnoticed and unregulated, but meaning still to rule there with his iron sceptre, as in Heaven with his golden one—Mammon's scheme is robbed of its feasibility. He wants to do what he likes with his own; but what if it be not his own?

332. "*voutsafed*." So the word is generally spelt by Milton, perhaps to avoid the disagreeable sound of *ch* before the *s*.

332—336. "*what peace . . . but custody severe . . . what peace . . . but hostility and hate*." Richardson notes the violent construction of *but* here, and quotes, as analogous, the phrase "*Ei liberorum, nisi divitiæ, nihil erat*," from the *Menæchmi* of Plautus.

344—378. "*What if we find some casier enterprise? There is a place*," &c. Having disposed of Mammon's project, and having also glanced, but only slightly, at Moloch's blustering alternative, Beelzebub now develops his own practical proposition. The whole passage is an important one in the plan of the Poem.

351—353. "*so was His will*," &c. Heb. vi. 17; with a recollection also, as Hume noted, of *Iliad*, i. 528, and *Æn.* ix. 104.

367. "*puny*." Perhaps, as Newton suggested, in its etymological sense of *puis né*, after-born, or later-born.

378—380. "*Thus Beelzebub pleaded his devilish counsel—first devised by Satan, and in part proposed*." See Book I. 650—656, and the note there. Milton, it will be seen, is careful to remind his readers that Beelzebub's proposition was not original on his part, but only a development of an idea which had been already suggested to all the Angels by their supreme chief on their first muster out of the Burning Lake. Beelzebub may have meanwhile ruminated the idea; or he and Satan may have discussed it between themselves, and the chief may have delegated the exposition of it to his minister, reserving his own appearance for the final act.

387. "*States*," *i.e.* Estates, as in the phrases "States of the Realm," "Estates of Parliament," "the Third Estate."



388, 389. "*with full assent they vote.*" We must suppose here some brief act of voting, by gesture and acclamation, on the part of the whole assembly—Beelzebub pausing in his speech to permit it to be made, but still standing.

390—416. "*Well have ye judged,*" &c. Assuming that all are agreed and that the debate is now ended, Beelzebub, before he sits down, broaches the all-important matter that yet remains—who shall go as emissary in search of the new World. We may suppose that here too Beelzebub speaks as had been arranged between him and Satan. He does not name Satan, and seems as ignorant as any who shall be chosen for the mission; but his representation of its difficulties and dangers is evidently calculated to discourage inconvenient volunteers.

395. "*with neighbouring arms,*" *i.e.* with our forces then conveniently near.

402. "*her balm*": see note, Book I. 254.

410. "*The happy Isle,*" *i.e.* "the Earth hanging in the sea of air," say the commentators, after Bishop Newton, who quotes an exactly similar expression for the terrestrial globe from Cicero. But this interpretation must be wrong. The Angels know nothing as yet of the Earth or the nature of its environment; they know only vaguely of some kind of starry world then about to be created, and probably at that moment newly-created in the central part of infinite space where Chaos adjoins Heaven. It is this world, which they cannot figure exactly, but which they can fancy as an azure sphere or round, insulated between Heaven and Chaos, that is "the happy isle." To a voyager arriving in it after toiling upward through Chaos it would indeed be an island or insulated world.

412. "*senteries,*" *i.e.* *sentries*. The common derivation of this word and of its other form, *sentinel*, is from the Latin *sentire*, to perceive; but Wedgwood derives both from the old French *sente* (now *sentier*), a path, through its diminutives *senteret*, and *sentine* or *sentelle*, a little path. The sentry or sentinel is the man who walks up and down in a little path.

414. "*we now no less*"; so spelt in the original edition; but there is a direction among the Errata to change "*we*" into "*wee*," showing that Milton meant the word to be pronounced emphatically here.

417, 418. "*expectation held his look suspense*": *i.e.* As he sat, he still kept his look ranging or suspended over the assembly, as if uncertain from what quarter there might be a response.

429. "*unmoved*": possibly "undisturbed by the dangers in prospect," but rather, I think, "unsolicited," "of his own accord."

432—444. "*Long is the way,*" &c. In these twelve lines, we have, from Satan's lips, a farther general sketch of the Miltonic zones or divisions of infinite Space, taken in ascending series. First there is Hell, or the huge convex of fire in which the speaker and his hearers are; when that is burst and the adamantine gates overhead are passed, Chaos is reached; and somewhere over Chaos is the unknown new Starry World. Milton is careful again and again to impress, as occasion offers, this distinct diagram of Universal Space as he requires the readers of his poem to conceive it.

434. "*convex.*" The commentators suggest that *concave* would have been the proper word from Satan's point of view; but might he not be imagining Hell from the outside?

439. "*unessential Night*": *i.e.* having no real substance or existence, —a kind of vast Non-entity or abortion of Being.

445. "*I should ill become,*" &c. Hume compares Sarpedon's speech, *Iliad*, xii. 310, &c.

450—456. "*Wherefore do I assume . . . High-honoured sits?*" A sentence of very close and gnarled structure. "*Refusing to accept*" is equivalent to "were I to refuse to accept," or "were I one refusing to accept." "*Of hazard as of honour, due alike to him who reigns,*" &c.: *i.e.* which two things are equally due to him who reigns. "*And so much more,*" &c.: *i.e.* "as these two things are equally due to a ruler, there ought to be an increase of the one (hazard) assigned him in exact proportion to the amount he has of the other (honour)."

452. "*refusing,*" *i.e.* if I should refuse.

457—488. "*intend at home . . . what best*": *i.e.* "study" or "attend to"—an old, but perfectly exact usage of the word "*intend*," which means literally "to stretch or bend over."

482, 483. "*for neither do the Spirits damned lose all their virtue.*" A remarkable saying, of which, as is well known, Milton claims ample benefit throughout his Poem. The connecting word "*neither*" is of some importance here, as showing that the poet, while describing the reverent demeanour of the Angels to Satan and their praises of his magnanimity and disinterestedness, is already thinking of similar traits of nobleness to be found in bad men. "Let not bad men," he says, "set much store by those casual acts of seeming nobleness to which glory or ambition may doubtless spur even the worst of them; for neither have that other class of evil beings, the irretrievably damned, lost such virtue as this."

486—495. "*Thus they . . . ended . . . as, when from mountain tops,*" &c. The construction and meaning are intricate, but may be rendered thus:—"Thus they ended their consultations, which had begun so darkly, in a common feeling of joy and admiration of their chief; just as, at the end

of a gloomy day—when the dusky clouds, ascending from the mountain-tops during a lull of the North-wind, have overspread Heaven's cheerful face, [and] the louring element has been scowling snow or shower over the darkened landscape—if by chance the setting sun shoot a beam over the scene, then all brightens and revives." Thyer found the exact phrase, "Heaven's cheerful face," in Spenser (*F. Q.* ii. 12. 34); and Newton and others find traces of *Iliad* v. 522—526 and other passages in the whole simile. Mr. Keightley quotes Spenser's 40th Sonnet.

491. "*Scowls o'er the darkened landskip snow or shower.*" A bold metaphor; for, unless we enclose the words "snow or shower" between two commas (which would violate the original pointing), we must understand the "louring element" to be "scowling snow or shower over the landscape." "*Landskip*," spelt "*lantskip*" in the original text.

496, 497. "*Devil with devil damned firm concord holds.*" Todd quotes from the *Contemplations* of Milton's great opponent, Bishop Hall (Book IV.), a very similar saying: "Even evil Spirits keep touch within themselves." Is this saying of the Bishop's also a metaphor from military drill, where all precision of corporate movement depends on each man "keeping the touch" with his individual neighbour? Milton might have borrowed the phrase. We shall find that he *had* the idea.

512. "*A globe of fiery Seraphim.*" This is explained to mean "a battalion in circle," and Bishop Newton quotes a passage from Virgil (*Æn.* x. 373) in which such is the sense of "globus." But here in Milton the globe may be a solid globe or sphere; for the Angels, unlike men, being capable of vertical motion as well as of horizontal, may form themselves in solids—in cubes as well as squares, and in spheres as well as circles. See *Par. Reg.* IV. 581-2.

513. "*horrent*": *i.e.* bristling.

517. "*sounding alchymy*": *i.e.* trumpet; this use of "*alchymy*" for any metal being not uncommon in poets.

518. "*By harald's voice explained.*" An official proclamation by voice follows the trumpet blast, explaining its meaning.

527. "*his great chief.*" So in the First Edition, but in the Second and others "*this great chief.*"

530—532. "*As at the Olympian games,*" &c. Newton refers to *Iliad* ii. 773; and Hume to *Æn.* vi. 642, as well as to the phrase "*metaque fervidis evitata rotis*" in Horace (*Od.* i. 1, 5), evidently recollected here by Milton.—*brigads*: see note, Book I. 675.

533—538. "*As when, to warn . . . welkin burns.*" Though printed in the original editions, and in most still, as a separate and complete sentence, these lines are, in syntax, but a prolongation of the foregoing. A comparison suggests itself of the wheelings and brigadings of the

Angels just spoken of to the Aurora Borealis ; and then the poet pursues the description of that phenomenon for its own sake, first the appearance of streamers or spears shooting out singly, and again that of dense legions closing till there is a perfect flickering arch in the northern sky.

539. "*Typhæan*." See note, Book I. 199.

542—546. "*As when Alcides . . . the Euboic sea*." Alcides is Hercules ; and the allusions are to the legend of his death, as told by Ovid, *Metam.* ix. Returning from a victorious expedition into Æchalia in the Peloponnesus, accompanied by his love Iole, daughter of the king of Æchalia, Hercules goes to Æta, a mountain between Thessaly and Macedonia, to sacrifice to Jupiter. His wife Dejanira sends him, by his servant Lichas, the poisoned shirt which she had received from the centaur Nessus, and which, if worn by her husband, was to have the effect, Nessus had made her believe, of recovering his lost affection. Hercules puts it on ; then, in the agony of his pain, tears up pines, and hurls Lichas into the Eubœan sea, where he is changed into a rock ; and finally, causing a funeral pile to be raised on Æta, lays himself on it and is burnt to ashes. In the First Edition "Æchalia" is mis-spelt "Æalia ;" but this is corrected in the Second Edition.

556. ("*For Eloquence the Soul, Song charms the Sense*.") A distinction is here drawn between Eloquence, or the free form of prose discourse, addressing itself to the intellect, and Song or Lyric Poetry, the effects of which are more purely sensuous.

570. "*Another part*," &c. This is the fourth (or, if we count differently, the sixth) of the great divisions of the Angels whose divers recreations or modes of occupying themselves during Satan's absence Milton thinks fit to mention. One portion (subdivided into three) betake themselves to Games, military evolutions, and feats of strength ; a second to Music and Song ; a third to Oratory, Philosophy, and Metaphysics ; and now a fourth, whose occupations are described more at large, devote themselves to adventure and expeditions of discovery. There can be no doubt that Milton, though it is the world of demons he is describing, had in view the ruling passions and chief pastimes of humanity.

577—581. "*Styx . . Acheron . . Cocytus . . Phlegeton*." In enumerating these four rivers of Hell, after the classic mythology, Milton gives the exact significance of their names severally in Greek—*Styx* being connected with a verb meaning "to hate," *Acheron* with a verb meaning "to grieve," *Cocytus* with one meaning "to lament," and *Phlegeton* with one meaning "to burn."

583. "*Lethe*." This name means "Oblivion" in Greek.

589. "*dire hail*." From Horace, *Od.* i. 2. 1-2, "*diræ grandinis*," as Newton pointed out.

591. "*all else*." This is the text in the original editions ; but Todd prints "*or else*," and later editors have followed him. The error almost spoils the meaning of the passage. Milton is here adding to his previous descriptions of Hell. We have already had the Burning Lake, and the solid sulphury plain forming its shore, whereon, between the hill and the lake, Pandemonium has been built. But now we have an extension of the geographical view, if we may so call it, of the infernal world. There are the four rivers flowing into the Lake ; along the courses of which the four several bands of Angels pursue their exploring expeditions, from the lake upwards far beyond the horizon of the plain. Beyond even the regions so reached is the great river Lethe ; on the other side of which is a frozen continent—the nearer portion of which is beat with perpetual storms of whirlwind and hail, while all else (*i.e.* all the impenetrable ulterior) is an Arctic solitude of deep snow and ice.

592, 593. "*that Serbonian bog betwixt Damietta and Mount Casius old*." Damietta or Damietta is a town in Egypt close to the easternmost or Damietta mouth of the Nile ; Mount Casius, now Cape Kareroon, is also on the coast of Egypt, farther to the east, towards Syria ; and the Serbonian Bog is the ancient Lake Serbonis in that vicinity, which was said to be sometimes so thickened with sands blown upon it that whole armies marching upon it, and thinking it solid, were engulfed.

595. "*Burns froze*" : *i.e.* "burns frozen ;" *froze* being an old form of our "froze" or "frozen," German *frieren*, *gefroren*.

600—603. "*to starve in ice*," &c. The pain of intense cold seems to have entered most powerfully into the Northern conceptions of Hell, and figures much in the Scandinavian mythology : hence probably the Mediæval theologians allowed it to mingle freely with the more Oriental conception of Hell's torment as consisting in intense heat. Newton aptly quotes Shakespeare's lines in *Measure for Measure* :—

" And the delighted spirit  
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside  
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice."

617. "*Viewed first*" : *i.e.* for the first time.

618. "*No rest*." Dunster cites Matt. xii. 43.

631. "*toward*" in First Edition ; "*towards*" in Second.

634. "*Now shaves with level wing the deep*" : *i.e.* the surface of the Burning Lake and the mainland, forming the floor of Hell. Newton quotes from Virgil (*Æn.* v. 217), "*Radit iter liquidum*," &c.

638, 639. "*from Bengala, or the isles of Ternate and Tidore*." Bengala, or Bengal, was not in Milton's time so familiar to his readers as now when it is part of the British Empire ; Ternate and Tidore are two of the Moluccas, still retaining those names.



641, 642. "*Through the wide Ethiopian*": i.e. through the Indian Ocean on its African side; "*to the Cape*," i.e. to the Cape of Good Hope; "*ply stemming nightly toward the pole*," i.e. towards the South Pole, till they round the Cape—the word "nightly" suggesting the Southern Cross that would then be directing their course.

648—673. "*Before the gates there sat on either side a formidable Shape. The one*," &c. Here begins Milton's famous Allegory of Sin and Death, on which there has been so much comment. To some the introduction of such an Allegory at all, mixing merely Metaphysical Beings, or Personified Abstractions, with what may be called in a sense the Real or Historical persons of the Epic, has appeared in questionable taste; while some of the particulars of the Allegory in the sequel have seemed to not a few little short of disgusting. It may be said that Milton, for the action of his poem, *required* Sin and Death to be Personages, and had a view to the subsequent use of them as such; and also that, if they were to be so introduced and to have corporeal form and a genealogy, the disgusting was inevitable and was even to be studied. Leaving such criticism, and accepting what Milton has given us as done deliberately in thorough poetic conviction, we may inquire with interest into the sources from which he drew particulars for his Allegory. The whole passage, as the commentators have pointed out, may be considered as a paraphrase of the Scriptural text (James i. 15), "Then, when Lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth Sin; and Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth Death;" but in Milton Lust, as the Father of Sin, is identified with Satan, who thereafter, in union with his own daughter, Sin, begets Death—this confused relationship of the three Entities being still farther complicated by the marriage of Death with his mother Sin. The commentators also cite passages from previous poets which Milton may have had in view, and some of which (so close is the imitation) he *must* have had in view, in his description of Sin. See particularly Spenser's personification of Error in the *Faery Queene*, Book i. canto i., stanzas 14, 15; and Phineas Fletcher's description of Hamartia or Sin in the *Purple Island*, xii. 27. Here, as through all Milton's poetry, we see shreds and recollections of his varied readings rising accurately to his memory, and coming forth fused and incorporate with the stream of his own language.

654. "*A cry of Hell-hounds*," the word "*cry*" here meaning "pack." Todd quotes "a cry of hounds" in the same sense, from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*; and Mr. Keightley "You common cry of curs" from Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, III. iii.

659—661. "*Far less abhorred*" (i.e. "to be abhorred") "*than these vexed Scylla*." The legend, as told in Ovid, was that Circe, being jealous of the nymph Scylla, beloved by Glaucus, poured poisonous juice into the waters where she bathed, so that, when the nymph touched them, all her body beneath the waist was changed into hideous barking

dogs.—“*The sea that parts Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore.*” Scylla, after her metamorphosis, threw herself into the sea between the Calabrian coast of Italy and the island of Sicily, one of the names for which was Trinacria. Here she was changed into the famous rock bearing her name.

662—666. “*the night-hag,*” &c. Having given one simile from the Classic mythology, Milton gives another from the Scandinavian; in which night-hags, riding through the air, and requiring infants’ blood for their incantations, are common, and Lapland is their favourite region. “*Labouring moon*” is classical—“*lunæque labores*” for eclipses, Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 478; and “*laboranti lunæ,*” Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 443. Hume quotes this last.

672. “*his head.*” See note Book I. 254. Here, if anywhere, we might have expected Milton to use the rare form *its*, seeing that he has twice in the sentence used the nominative *it*, and seems to be purposely avoiding for the moment any distinct masculine name for the monster.

673. “*a kingly crown.*” Job xviii. 14; Rev. vi. 2.

678. “*God and his Son except,*” &c. A curious construction, inasmuch as, taken exactly, it would include God and his Son among “created things.” But there are examples of this sort of construction elsewhere in Milton, and in other poets.

692. “*the third part,*” &c. See note, Book I. 632-3.

693. “*Conjur’d*”: *i.e.* *conjuratos*, banded by oath.

709. “*Ophiuchus,*” called also Anguitenens, or Serpentarius (all which names mean “the serpent-bearer”), a large constellation in the northern heaven stretching forty degrees.

715. “*Heaven’s artillery.*” Todd cites the phrase from Crawshaw, Habington, and Shakespeare (*Tam. of Shrew*, I. ii.); but Hume had quoted substantially the same from Juvenal—“*armamentaria cæli*” (*Sat.* xiii. 83).

716. “*Over the Caspian.*” This sea is chosen either merely for the sake of a name, or because it is “remarkably tempestuous.”

721, 722. “*For never but once more . . . so great a foe*”: *i.e.* Christ, who is to destroy both Death and the Devil (see 1 Cor. xv. 26, and Heb. ii. 14).

730. “*And know’st for whom*”: printed in some editions with a point of interrogation; but wrongly. Death did know for whom, as his previous speech shows; and the meaning is “though thou knowest for whom.” There is a semicolon only in the original editions.

752—758. "*All on a sudden,*" &c. An adaptation of the Grecian myth of the birth of Minerva or Athene; who was delivered, with birth-pains, from the head of Jupiter. The allegory here, if translated, would mean that Sin first came into being in the mind of Satan when he conceived his rebellion—the Universe till then having known no such thing.

795—802. "*These yelling monsters,*" &c. So far as this part of the allegory is explicable, Mr. Keightley's explanation is certainly sound. He says, "These are the mental torments that are the consequences of sin, and they are rendered more grievous by the idea of death."

814. "*Save He*" : an unusual construction.

830—837. The construction is intricate; and the passage may be pointed in different ways, each giving a consistent meaning. By the pointing I have adopted (which seems to be that suggested by the original text) the phrase "*a place foretold should be*" (i.e. foretold as about to be) is complete in itself, ending emphatically in the word "be;" and the words "*and, by concurring signs, ere now created vast and round*" are a parenthetical guess thrown in before further description of the place. But the parenthesis might end after the words "*ere now;*" in which case "*now*" would be emphatic, and "*should be*" would run on with "*created.*" Still other readings might be proposed.

833. "*purlicus*" : spelt "*pourlieuss*" in the original editions, and meaning "suburbs." *Purlicu*, say some, was originally the outskirt of a forest "free from trees" (*pur lieu*); but others derive it from "*pour aller,*" space to walk in.

842. "*buxom air.*" "*Buxom,*" now meaning "handsome," meant originally "flexible" or "easily bowed," and is from the A.-S. *beogan*, to bow. Hume quotes the exact phrase from Spenser (*F. Q.* i, xi. 37); and it is, as Mr. Keightley notes, a kind of translation of Horace's "*cedentem aera*" (*Sat.* ii. 2. 13).

855. "*by living might*" : so in the First Edition and the Second; but the Third (1678) reads "*wight.*"

868. "*The gods who live at ease.*" "Word for word from Homer, θεοὶ δῆτα ξῶντες."—*Bentley*.

880. "*With impetuous recoil and jarring sound.*" A line of purposely anomalous metre. But in all this passage there is a studied harmony of sound with the thing signified.

881, 882. "*on their hinges grate harsh thunder*" : "*great*" in the First Edition, corrected into "*grate*" in the Second.

891—916. "*the hoary Deep, a dark illimitable ocean,*" &c. Every part of this description of the Deep of Chaos, as seen upwards from Hell-gates,



is minutely studied and considered. "*The hoary Deep*" is from Job (xli. 32). The denial to the contents of Chaos of bound, dimension, length, breadth, height, time and place, gives as it were a sudden wrench or shock to the imagination ; inasmuch as, at the very moment when the poet is compelling his readers vividly to fancy the upward darkness as a vast material deep, he snatches from them those very qualities which are inseparable from the thought of matter, and which, by the structure of our minds, constitute conceivability. Then, in the phrase "*eldest Night and Chaos, ancestors of Nature*," there is also a dense compost of difficult conceptions ; for "*Nature*" here is used in the sense of "Creation" or "the created Universe in all its parts," and there is a reference to Night and Chaos as preceding all Creation, and as being that out of the stuff and in the very body of which Creation, in its two then existing dominions (Hell beneath and the Starry Universe in the centre), had been cut or generated. Again, in the struggle of the four champions, Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, for the mastery of the atoms of Chaos, and in the momentary sovereignty of each, according to the momentary majority of his adherent atoms, there is a reference to the old Physical and Physiological system, which accounted for changes in nature and in the human body by the doctrine of four principles or humours—Heat, Cold, Moisture, and Drought—contending with each other and causing combinations. Farther on we have introduced, also from the obsolete schools of physical science, the four elements—Sea (*i.e.* Water), Shore (*i.e.* Earth), Air, and Fire—with the assertion that Chaos did not consist of these or of any of them, but of the seeds or "pregnant causes" of them all intermixed. In the same sentence we have two additional suggestions, calculated to stun the mind, already perplexed enough—the one, that possibly the Creator may yet form more worlds out of the chaotic stuff, and so extend "*Nature* ;" the other that, as all Nature, extant or future, is from the womb of Chaos, so perhaps all will relapse into Chaos again. Altogether it would be difficult to quote a passage from any poet so rich in purposely accumulated perplexities, learned and poetical, or in which such care is taken, and so successfully, to compel the mind to a rackingly intense conception of sheer Inconceivability.

899. "*mastery*" : in the original "*maistrie*."

921, 922. ("*to compare great things with small*." ) A phrase, as Hume noted, from Virgil, *Parvis componere magna* (Ec. i. 24).

922. "*Bellona*" : the goddess of War.

924—927. "*or less than if this frame of heaven (i.e. the sky of our Universe) were falling, and these elements in mutiny (i.e. the four elements losing their balance) had*," &c.

927 "*vans*" : *i.e.* "fans," wings.

928—942. “*surging smoke . . . cloudy chair*.” We have already been told (888, 889) that, on the opening of Hell-gates, there was a sudden upward rush of flame and smoke into Chaos. On this gust Satan is for a while borne aloft vehemently. Its force spent, he begins to fall, till another explosion carries him again up. “*That fury stayed*”: i.e. the force of this explosion ending—“*quenched*” (a fit word for a fiery explosion) “*in a boggy Syrtis*,” &c.—he is able by toil of wing and foot to continue the ascent. The Syrtés were two quicksands on the African coast of the Mediterranean.

933. “*fathom*”: in the original “*fadom*.”

943—947. “*As when a gryphon . . . pursues the Arimasbian*,” &c. Explained by Bishop Newton as follows: “Gryphons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower resembling a lion, and are said to guard gold mines. The Arimaspians were a one-eyed people of Scythia, who adorned their hair with gold (see Lucan’s *Pharsal*. III. 280). Herodotus and other authors relate that there were continual wars between the gryphons and the Arimaspians about gold; the gryphons guarding it, and the Arimaspians taking it whenever they had opportunity (see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 2).”

944. “*moory dale*”: in the original “*moarie*.”

956. “*the nethermost Abyss*”: the lowest portion of the Abyss. Satan had already ascended far, and was now at least half through the Abyss (see lines 1007, 1008); but he may be supposed not to have known that.

959—967. “*the throne of Chaos*,” &c. Here we have another cluster of what may be called metaphysical Entities, placed by Milton in or near the heart of Chaos—*Chaos* himself, personified as King of the Abyss; his consort, *Night*; and around their throne *Orcus* and *Ades* (two vague names for Pluto, or his realm, among the ancients), *Rumour*, *Chance*, *Tumult*, *Confusion*, and *Discord*, together with “*the dreaded name of Demogorgon*.” This last awful personage, it is said, is first distinctly named in the Christian writer Lactantius, who lived in the beginning of the fourth century. But, in so naming him, Lactantius is believed to have broken the spell of a great mystery. For, though never named by the ancients, he was known to them. “Lucan’s famous witch Erectho,” says Bentley, “threatens the Infernal Powers that were slow in their obedience to her, that she could call upon some being at whose name the Earth always trembled.” Now this being, of whose tremendous powers other ancient poets besides Lucan make mention, though they also abstain from the name, is supposed to be the Demogorgon of Lactantius. He is, accordingly, included among the ancient gods by later writers on Mythology; and Milton himself speaks of him in one of his Latin prose-writings as a primeval or ancestral god of the Classic

mythology, probably the same as Chaos. Boccaccio mentions Demogorgon (and, indeed, Bentley supposes Boccaccio to have first coined the word); so do Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser. Thus Spenser, speaking of Night—

“ O thou, most auncient grandmother of all,  
More old than Jove, whom thou at first didst breede,  
Or that great house of gods celestiall ;  
Which wast begot in Demogorgon's hall  
And sawst the secrets of the world unmade.”

*F. Q. I. v. 22.*

And again, of the three weird sisters—

“ Doune in the bottom of the deepe Abyesse,  
Where Demogorgon, in dull darknesse pent,  
Farre from the view of gods and Heaven's blisse,  
The hideous Chaos keepes, their dreadfull dwelling is.”

*Ib. iv. ii. 47.*

Milton, therefore, had good authority for placing Demogorgon in Chaos, and he speaks of him properly as “the dreaded name.”

969. “*this nethermost Abyss.*” See note on line 956.

972. “*The secrets of your realm.*” See the first of the two passages from Spenser in note on lines 959—967.

977—987. “*or, if some other place, from your dominion won . . . mine the revenge.*” The exact meaning of this passage is worth attending to. Satan asks Chaos and Night to direct him the nearest way to Heaven; or, if (as he surmises) the new Universe of which he is in search has by this time been cut or scooped out of the upper part of Chaos immediately under Heaven, then to direct him the nearest way thither. As this new Universe is a space seized and subtracted from the ancient dominion of Chaos,—a bit of upper Chaos, so to speak, forcibly reclaimed by the Deity, organized, and appended to Heaven—Satan naturally appeals to the resentment of the Powers of Chaos, and promises them that, if they assist him, he will do his best to re-conquer the lost territory and reduce it back to Darkness.

984. “*To her original darkness.*” See note, Book I. 254.

998—1009. “*I upon my frontiers here,*” &c. Satan has judged rightly. The old Anarch, the lord of Chaos, is in a state of resentment. He is grieving over the recent curtailment of his ancient Empire, nay, two successive acts of curtailment—first in the conversion of the bottom of Chaos into the new Hell or Infernal World for Satan himself and his fellows; and, next, in the excavation of “Heaven and Earth,” or the new starry Universe of Man, out of Chaos atop. [Notice at Heaven in the phrase “Heaven and Earth” in line 1004 is used

in quite a different sense from that in which it has been mostly used in the poem hitherto, and in which it is immediately afterwards used in line 1006—the “Heaven and Earth” of the former line being actually hung, like a pendent, from the vaster “Heaven” of the latter.] These two excisions from his Empire, below and atop, have left him, he ruefully says, but little now to defend. To defend what *is* left, he is keeping residence on his “frontiers”—*i.e.* on his upper frontier towards the new Universe; for, a few lines on (1007, 1008), he tells Satan that he has not now far to go. As, however, the excavation of the starry Universe had cut down into Chaos on that side, the Court or residence of the Anarch, though now on the frontier of Chaos, may have been still near its original centre; and it may have been the not allowing for this encroachment upon Chaos atop (which had happened since the descent of the Angels through it) that made Satan suppose he was still not more than half through Chaos (see notes, lines 956 and 969) when he was really much farther up.

1001, 1002. “*Encroached on still through our intestine broils weakening,*” &c. So in all the original editions; but Dr. Pearce (1732) proposed “*your*” instead of “*our*,” and most subsequent editors have accepted the emendation as necessary. It is evident, they say, that “*our*” must have been a misprint, because the Anarch did not mean that Chaos was encroached upon through the broils of himself and his companions, but referred to the broils of Satan and the Angels. Notwithstanding this unanimity, I return to the old reading—which I believe to have been Milton’s own. It is really superior to the other. For it would have been not strictly correct, and more than polite, for the Anarch, in addressing Satan here, to have attributed the diminution of his own Empire to intestine broils among those Fallen Angels whom his hearer represented. There *were* no such broils. If, indeed, he spoke to Satan as representing *all* the Angels, celestial as well as fallen, he might then have used the phrase “your intestine broils.” But such a supposition is not needed. “My Empire is being weakened by these intestine broils going on among us” is what the Anarch said and might well say, using a form of speech which implicated all existing beings, and none particularly.

1013. “*like a pyramid of fire*”: a magnificent simile, suggesting the dwindling radiance of the Angel’s bulk as it shoots rapidly upward from the sight through what remains of Chaos.

1017—1020. “*than when Argo*”—*i.e.* the ship in which Jason went to Colchis for the golden fleece, “*passed through Bosphorus*”—*i.e.* through the straits into the Black Sea, “*betwixt the justling rocks*”—*i.e.* betwixt the Symplegades, two rocks at the entrance of the Black Sea; “*or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned Charybdis*”—*i.e.* kept to the left of it, “*and by the other Whirlpool steered*”—*i.e.* by Scylla.

1023—1028. "*But, he once passed . . . a bridge of wondrous length.*" The building of this bridge between Hell and the Human Universe is afterwards described at length (Book X. 235 *et seq.*).

1029, 1030. "*reaching the utmost Orb of this frail World*": *i.e.* not the outermost star or the star nearest Chaos, but the outermost boss or circle of the starry sphere as a whole. This will be explained more clearly farther on. See Book III. 418—420, and note there.

1033. "*God and good Angels.*" Todd quotes the phrase from Shakespeare (*Rich. III.* V. iii.): "God and good angels fight on Richmond's side." Perhaps it was proverbial.

1034—1037. "*But now at last . . . from the walls of Heaven,*" &c. Heaven is here used in its vaster sense, as implying not the heaven of our world, but the pre-existing Infinity of Light over Chaos. It is this that shoots down a glimmering influence through the upper part of the Darkness.

1037. "*Nature.*" See note, lines 891—916.

1038. "*farthest verge*": in the original editions "*fardest.*"

1041—1047. "*That (i.e. So that) Satan with less toil,*" &c. Observe the gradual diminution of density in the element in which Satan is moving as he approaches the light. It is first "*a calmer wave*"—*i.e.* still comparable to a liquid, though a liquid no longer in commotion; but, three lines on, it is "*the emptier (i.e. the more rarefied) waste, resembling air.*"

1047. "*Empyrean*": so always accented in Milton, while the form *Empyréan*, whether as a substantive or as an adjective, is always accented on the penultimate.

1048. "*undetermined square or round.*" The figure of Heaven cannot be determined even by the far-ranging eye of Satan ascending from Chaos; and this either because really it *has* no bounds (though the imagination, compelled to select some figure even for Infinity, generally thinks of it as a sphere), or because, Satan's eye being directed straight upwards, it is but such an undefined portion of the overstretching dome that he sees as might be seen of *our* Heaven by a diver re-ascending through transparent water in mid-ocean.

1051. "*And, fast by*"—*i.e.* fast by Heaven—" *hanging in a golden chain*" (an adaptation, which the poet has already suggested in lines 1005, 1006, of Homer's metaphor of the golden chain fastened to the throne of Zeus, by which he "can draw up the gods and the earth and the sea and the whole universe" when he pleases), "*this pendent World,*" &c.—The reader must be careful not to misunderstand this passage. The "pendent World" is not our planet Earth; and it is not meant that what Satan saw was this planet of ours with the Moon by her side.



- \* This, on a hasty reading, might seem to be the meaning ; and even Addison, in his celebrated criticism of *Paradise Lost*, fell into the error. He speaks of Satan's distant discovery "of the Earth that hung close by the Moon" as a "wonderfully beautiful and poetical" passage. But Milton's notion, in the passage, is very different. Satan as yet knows nothing of our Earth ; nor, at the distance at which he yet is, has the starry Universe resolved itself into its diversity of orbs. Besides, if the Earth was seen "*as a star of smallest magnitude*," the Moon could not be seen along with her ; and the pointing of the original requires the phrase "*as a star of smallest magnitude close by the moon*" to be read continuously and as a simile. The "*pendent World*," in short, is the whole starry Universe as suspended from the Infinite or original Heaven over Chaos ; and its proportions to the eye of Satan as yet are suggested by saying that, if Heaven were represented by the Moon's disc, the pendent Universe seemed but as a small star on the Moon's lower edge. Observe also that it is implied by this image that Satan was approaching the new Universe, and preparing to light upon it, not at its nadir or undermost part, which would have been the part reached first had his ascent from Hell been in a direct line, but somewhere on its upper hemisphere near the zenith, where it was hung from the Empyrean Heaven. This has indeed already been suggested in lines 1034—1039, where Satan is described as having arrived so near the walls of Heaven as to be able to perceive a glimmering dawn of light shooting down into Chaos and making it less turbid—which would not have been the case unless he had by that time made a circuit round the lower half of the outmost shell of the Universe, and come into the angle made by its upper arc and the boundary-line of Heaven. But the present image makes the fact clearer. Only to such a *side-view* of the new Universe as would present it hanging totally clear of the Heaven to which it was mystically suspended would it appear like a star on the full-moon's edge ; and, had Satan been approaching the Universe at or near its nadir, its rotundity would have been between him and Heaven. That this observation is not unimportant will be seen in the sequel. The phrase "pendent World" occurs in Claudio's celebrated speech in *Measure for Measure* (III. i.) ; which, we have already seen, was familiar to Milton.
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### B O O K   I I I .

1—55. "*Hail, holy Light*," &c. A noble passage, which will always be read with peculiar interest as containing Milton's grand lamentation of his own blindness ! But observe, at the same time, how fit is such an opening for the Third Book, and how, while forming a kind of lyric by

itself, it also serves the purpose of the Epic at the point at which it has now arrived. The story having hitherto lain in Hell and in Chaos, it is but natural that the poet and his readers, following Satan in his flight upwards from those lurid and darksome regions, and emerging with him at last into the Upper Universe, brilliant with the light of Heaven, should, ere proceeding farther with the narrative in the new scenes now disclosing themselves, feel the novelty of the blaze, and be delayed by the strange sensation.

2, 3. "*Or of the Eternal coeternal beam may I express thee unblamed?*" *i.e.* may I rather, without blame, call thee the coeternal beam of the Eternal Himself?

3—5. "*since God is light, and never,*" &c. See, for Milton's warrant for these expressions, 1 John i. 5, and 1 Tim. vi. 16. (Hume)

7—12. "*Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream, whose,*" &c. : *i.e.* "dost thou rather prefer to be called the pure Ethereal stream, whose," &c. : a Latinism, of which there are other instances in Milton. "*Matutine Pater, seu Janus libentius audis?*" (Morning Father, or dost thou rather hear Janus? *i.e.* wouldst thou rather be called Janus?) is an example, cited by Bentley from Horace, *Sat.* 2, vi. 20. Uncertain what to call Light, Milton gives the option of three names—the first-born of Heaven; or the eternal effluence and dwelling of Eternal Deity; or, finally, that pure ethereal stream whose origin is unknown, because (according to Genesis, chap. i.) Light preceded our Heavens and the Sun. Hume quotes also Job xxxviii. 19.

11. "*The rising World of waters dark and deep.*" Newton quotes Spenser (*F. Q.* i. i. 39): "And through the world of waters wide and deep."✓

14—18. "*Escaped the Stygian Pool*" (*i.e.* Hell); "*though long detained in that obscure sojourn*" (*i.e.* in Chaos).—"Through utter and through middle Darkness borne": *i.e.* through the two stages of Chaos—the nethermost, before the court and throne of Chaos were reached; and the upper.—"*While . . . with other notes than to the Orphean lyre I sung,*" &c. : *i.e.* "while, under a different inspiration from that which taught Orpheus when he sang his 'Hymn to Night,' and also, as is said, of the creation of the World out of Chaos, I sung," &c.

19. "*Taught by the Heavenly Muse,*" &c. See Book I. 6, *et seq.*

25, 26. "*drop serene . . . or dim suffusion.*" Two phrases from the medical science of Milton's day, when diseases of the eye, as well as other diseases, were supposed to arise from affections of what were called "the humours." *Gutta serena*, or "the drop serene," was that form of total blindness which left the eyes perfectly clear or serene, without outward speck or blemish. Such was Milton's blindness (see his Sonnet to Cyriack Skinner); but, as he was not perfectly certain that his case was one of *gutta serena*, he brings in the other medical term, "dim suffusion."

29. "*Smit with the love*," &c. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 476 : "*percussus amore*." (Hume.)

30. "*the flowery brooks beneath*." Kidron and Siloah. See Book I. 10—12, and the note on that passage. In calling them "flowery brooks" Milton uses his fancy, rather than the strict truth, as to these Eastern scenes.

33—36. "*those other two . . . blind Thamyras and blind Mæonides, and Tiresias and Phineus*." Instead of two, Milton gives us four of his great predecessors in blindness ; but the "two" are the first two—who were poets, whereas the other two were prophets. Mæonides is Homer himself, reputed by some to have been the son of Mæon. Thamyras, or Thamyris, was a mythical poet and musician of Thrace, of whom the story was that he challenged the Muses to a trial of skill, and was struck blind by them for his presumption : he is mentioned several times in Homer. Tiresias, the blind prophet of Thebes, was a great character in the legends of the Greeks, and figures as the oracle of his time in the "*Œdipus Tyrannus*" of Sophocles and in other celebrated dramas. Phineus, a blind king and prophet, is made by some a Thracian, by others an Arcadian, contemporary with the Argonauts. It is notable that Milton, even before his blindness, had a kind of fascination for the instances supplied by legend or history of men of noble intellect suffering under this calamity, and that, next perhaps to Homer, Tiresias was his favourite instance. See the Sixth of his Latin Elegies (lines 67, 68), and his poem *De Ideâ Platonica* (lines 25, 26). ✓

38, 39. "*the wakeful bird (the nightingale) sings darkling*" : *i.e.* in the dark. On the word "*darkling*" Hume noted, "A word by our author coined, and which I have nowhere else met with." It occurs, however, in Shakespeare (*Lear*, I. iv.)—"So out went the candle, and we were left darkling ;" and Richardson, in his *Dict.*, quotes it from Milton's contemporary, Dr. Hammond—"He is fain to go to bed darkling." According to Dr. Morris (*Hist. Outlines of English Accidence*), "there were some adverbs in Old English, originally dative feminine singular, ending in *inga*, *unga*, *linga*, *lunga*," and "a few of these, without the dative suffix," exist still under the form of *ling* or *long* : *e.g.* *sideling*, *sidelong*. *Darkling* is of the same group. In Scotch we have still *darklins*, "in the dark," *backlins*, "in a backward manner," and the like : and this genitive adverbial form, says Morris, is found also in the English of the 14th century.

40—50. "*Thus with the year Seasons return ; but not to me returns*," &c. Compare the longer passage in *Samson Agonistes* (67—109), where Samson laments his blindness.

47—49. "*and, for the book of knowledge fair, presented with a universal blank of Nature's works, to me expunged and rased*." The meaning is :—presented with a universal blank page or surface (*tabula rasa*) of



Nature's works, instead of the matter or printed book. Nay, as "blank," in the original text, is spelt "blanc," there may be a reference to the whiteness of the page. For Milton himself tells us, in a letter written on the subject of his blindness (Epist. Fam. 15; \**Leonardo Philaræ Atheniensi*), that the darkness in which he was involved seemed nearer to whitish or greyish in colour than to absolute blackness. Hume was puzzled by the passage, and suggested "*blot*" for "*blank*," but most needlessly.

50—55. "*So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,*" &c. As Milton, even before his blindness, had a fascination, as if by presentiment, for the subject of blindness, so a very familiar thought with him was of the increase of real insight, and the development of a higher and more prophetic vision, that might come to those to whom terrestrial vision was denied. When he himself became blind, the thought that it might be so in his own case became his constant consolation. See, in addition to the passages from his other works referred to in the immediately preceding notes, a long passage in his *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, in which, in answer to the inhuman jests of his opponents to the effect that his blindness was a judgment upon him for his Regicide opinions, he discusses the whole subject of blindness and its compensations, and enumerates, besides Tiresias and Phineus, many splendid examples of blindness undeserved by crime and ennobled by grand intellectual and moral endowment.

59. "*His own works and their works*" : i.e. "*and the works, or proceedings, of those works.*"

62—64. "*on his right . . . his only Son.*" See Heb. i. 2—9.

70—72, "*and Satan there,*" &c. : i.e. still in the "gulf between," or Chaos, but now in the upper belt of it, coasting the wall of Heaven, on this side of Night or absolute Darkness, in a region as of dun or yellowish brown air.

74. "*On the bare outside of this World, that seemed,*" &c. The meaning here is that Satan was then just alighting on the outer boss or shell of this Universe ; which outer boss, approached from Chaos, seemed like firm land—only not land overhung, as that of our Earth is, by a firmament of stars, but land imbosomed in a gloomier element that might either be water or cloud. In short, let the reader fancy an opaque hollow shell, the interior of which consists of the vast azure space, or telescopic universe, in which all the stars and planets wheel, while its outside rests or moves in a turbid brown, or wine-coloured element, totally starless, and consisting of the matter of Chaos attenuated by approach to Light ; and he will have the poet's idea at this point. Satan is on the outside of the huge sphere, as yet but coming up to it, and, as it were, feeling for it, as a fly or moth (let the distinctness of the illustration excuse its homeliness)

may be seen striking against the glass globe of a lamp. Indeed, if we suppose a lamp-globe not transparent, but of some opaque or dull substance, so that, while there is a bright luminous sphere within, the room outside is dun or darkish, then the image will be exact.

81. "*our Adversary*." See note on Book I. 81, 82.

84. "*interrupt*": the past participle passive (*interruptus*), "thrown ruggedly between."

100, 101. "*Such I created all the Ethereal Powers*," &c. : *i.e.* in this respect there is an identity of constitution between these new creatures, Men, and their predecessors in existence, the Angels.

108. ("*Reason also is Choice*.") Bishop Newton here gives an apt quotation from Milton's *Areopagitica*: "Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose; for *reason* is but *choosing*." In other words, as Stillingfleet points out, Reason is speculative, and Will is practical, choosing. In this whole passage Milton would seem to attach himself rather to the Libertarian than to the Necessitarian side in the great metaphysical controversy.

129. "*The first sort*": *i.e.* the Angels.

153. "*With his own folly* ——" The sentence here breaks off imperfect, by the figure of speech called Aposiopesis. What follows, to the end of line 164, may be considered as matter interjaculated; and the connexion is resumed at line 165. In the original text, indeed, there is a point of interrogation after "*folly*;" with which the sentence may be read as complete. The reading which Milton *intended*, however, is, almost certainly, the other.

153—155. "*That be from thee far*," &c. See Gen. xviii. 25. (Newton.)

168—170. "*O Son*," &c. All the names for Christ here introduced are, as Bishop Newton points out, Scriptural: see Matt. iii. 17, John i. 18, Rev. xix. 13, 1 Cor. i. 24.

176. "*His lapsed powers*": a legal expression.

189. "*What may suffice*": *i.e.* as much as may suffice.

196. "*Light after light well used they shall attain*." The construction is "they shall attain to light after light well used;" and, in reading, this might be indicated by a slight pause before "after," and one after "used."

217. "*all the Heavenly Quire stood mute*." It is noted here, by Bishop Newton, as more than a coincidence, that so the Fallen Angels had "sat mute" in Hell, when the mission was proposed which Satan alone undertook (see Book II. 417 *et seq.*)

231. "*unprevented*": *i.e.* unanticipated.

247—265. "*Thou wilt not,*" &c. Various Scriptural texts are embodied in this passage—such as Psalm xvi. 10, Acts ii. 20, 1 Cor. xv. 55, Psalm lxviii. 18, Coloss. ii. 15, 1 Cor. xv. 26.

281, 282. "*whom thou only canst redeem, their nature,*" &c. The construction is "join to thy nature their nature (*i.e.* the nature of those) whom thou only," &c.

287—289. "*As in him perish,*" &c. See 1 Cor. xv. 22. (Hume.)

317—343. "*All power I give thee,*" &c. Another metrical coagulation of Scriptural texts. See Matt. xxviii. 18, Eph. i. 20, Phil. ii. 9, 1 Thess. iv. 16, Matt. xxiv. 30, 31, Rev. xx. 11, 1 Cor. xv. 51, 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13, Rev. xxi. 1, 1 Cor. xv. 24—28, Psalm xcvi. 7, John v. 23. It is worthy of remark that Milton, in these speeches of the Father and the Son, should have been thus careful to suppress his own invention absolutely, and to keep close to the words of the Bible. This speech is tinged with many texts besides those here cited.

353. "*Immortal amarant,*" &c. Amaranth, which means in Greek "unfading," is the name given by Pliny to a flower, real or imaginary, of purple colour, described as preserving its bloom indefinitely after being plucked. Milton appropriates the name, but makes it that of no earthly flower. There is an order of *Amarantaceæ* or Amaranth, in our present botany, to which "Love-lies-bleeding" and other garden flowers belong.

360. "*With these*": *i.e.* not with the "crowns" or the "amarant and gold" of line 352, but with the "Elysian flowers" mentioned since then.

362—364. "*Now in loose garlands . . . smiled.*" The construction seems to be, "The bright pavement that shone like a sea of jasper" (*i.e.* of different colours, with green predominant) "smiled impurpled with celestial roses" (the red among the forementioned flowers), "now thrown off thick in loose garlands." But the syntax of this whole passage, from line 344 onwards, is very difficult; and it may be pointed several ways.

372—415. "*Thee, Father,*" &c. These forty-four lines represent the choral hymn of the Angels, in honour first of the Father, and then of the Son. Parts of the passage, indeed—particularly from line 384 or line 390 to line 415 inclusively—might be put within inverted commas as the actual words of the Hymn. On the whole, however, it suits the wording and construction best to suppose the passage to be only Milton's report or imagination of the Hymn in his own person—not an actual Chorus, as in the Greek dramas. The original editions do not settle the point for us, as inverted commas are not used in them for indicating the speeches. Among the texts of Scripture fused into the language of the Hymn the commentators have noted Isaiah vi. 2, Col. i. 15, 16, Rev. iv. 14, Heb. i. 3, John i. 9, Micah v. 15.

377. "*but when thou shad'st*": i.e. "except when," &c.

380. "*Dark with excessive bright*," &c. Burke points out that here Milton is scientifically exact. "Extreme light," he says, "by overcoming the organs of sight, obliterates all objects, so as in its effect exactly to resemble darkness." But exactness in all allusions to luminous effects, as well as a habit of recurring to such by way of imagery, was perhaps one of the results of Milton's blindness. See *Introd.* pp. 104—111.

383. "*Thee next they sang*." Here Milton uses what is now the ordinary conjugation of the verb—*sing, sang, sung*. But, in general, he makes *sung* the preterite tense, as well as the past participle; and there is an instance only eleven lines back (line 372), "*Thee, Father, first they sung*." His practice, I believe, varies in the same way with such similar verbs as *Sink, Ring, Drink, Begin*, &c. Our grammarians now point out that, if we were to be rigidly accurate in our use of such verbs according to Anglo-Saxon precedent, we should decline the preterite *sang* thus: "*I sang, Thou sungest, He sang; We sung, Ye sung, They sung*;" changing the *a* into *u* in the second pers. sing. and in all the persons plural—seeing that this change took place in the Anglo-Saxon as an accompaniment to the terminal inflexions which these parts underwent (Thou *sunge*, We *s'ngon*, Ye *sungon*, They *sungon*). In reality, however, our best writers are guided by no such principle, but only by habit and ear. And I see no other principle that guided Milton. His habit was to say *sung* for the preterite; but sometimes, as here, he preferred *sang*.

394, 395. "*that shook Heaven's everlasting frame*": Todd quotes the exact phrase from Fairfax's *Tasso* (ii. 91): "Again to shake Heaven's everlasting frame."

413, 414. "*My song . . . my harp*." Bentley, who treats the passage from line 372 to line 415 as a choral Hymn of all the Angels, points out that "our song" and "our harps" would have been fitter expressions, and thinks that here, as in other parts of the passage, either Milton or his scribe was careless. But the first person singular is frequently used in the Greek choruses, even when many are singing; and Milton might have had that in view. On the whole, however, as has been said, the entire structure of the passage is adverse to the idea of its being the direct chorus of the Angels; and hence we conceive "my song" and "my harp" to be expressions of Milton himself imagining the chorus so vividly as to join in it or feel its influence.—"*Shall be the copious matter of my song*." So, as Todd pointed out, Dante (*Par.* i. 2): "*Sarà ora materia del mio canto*." But Ovid, Spenser, and poets generally, have the phrase.

418—422. "*Meanwhile, upon the firm opacous globe . . . Satan alighted walks*." Satan had been left only approaching the "bare outside" of the World and ready to alight on it (lines 70—76, and



note thereon); but now he *has* alighted. Farther descriptions and circumstances are accordingly brought in, to enable the reader to conceive this globose' exterior surface of our Universe, on which he had his footing. It is firm and opacous; for it is the "first convex"—*i.e.* the outermost shell—of this round World; itself resting or turning in the starless gloom of Chaos, and holding enclosed within it "the luminous inferior Orbs"—*i.e.* that succession of smaller astronomical spheres of which the luminous interior of the World consists. Note carefully that the word *Orb* is here again used not in the sense of a single star or luminary, but as the name for one of those vast imaginary spheres of space—one lying within another, as in the curious nests of ivory balls made by the Chinese—by whose supposed motions, in part common and in part mutually independent, the ancient astronomers accounted for all the celestial phenomena. Respecting these Milton is to say more presently.

427—429. "*Save on that side,*" &c. Round the whole of that outer shell of the Cosmos, the globularity of which Satan could see as he approached it, but which, now that he is on it, seems a vast-stretching continent, Chaos blusters; but, naturally, the environment is milder on its upper boss, down upon which some glimmer from the overhanging Heaven or Empyrean may be supposed to descend. It is on this upper boss that Satan has alighted. See note, Book II. 1051 *et seq.*

430. "*Here walked the Fiend at large in spacious field*": *i.e.* on the outer surface of the Universe, as (to revert to our former homely image a fly might walk on the outer surface of a thick and rather opaque lamp-globe, on the whole tending to the top, nearer the orifice of the light.

431—441. "*As when a vulture,*" &c. Milton's figure for the motions of the Fiend on the outside of the Universe is far more poetical than that just suggested; and its significance is more moral than physical, though still physical too. "As when a vulture," he says, "bred on Imaus (*i.e.* on the Himalayas, which word means "snowy countries"), leaving the remoter regions of Asia, makes for the springs of the Ganges or of the Hydaspes (*i.e.* the Jhelum, one of the tributaries of the Indus), in search of the prey to be found there, but, in his way, lights on the barren plains of Sericana (an indefinite tract east of India—including part of what is now South-eastern Thibet and South-western China—inhabited, according to the ancient geographers, by a nation called the Seres, from whom came "Sericum" or Silk); so the Fiend, coming from Hell and Chaos, and seeking to gain admission into the inside of the starry Universe, where his prey is to be found, is detained for the present on its bleak outside." It has been pointed out that Milton's recollection of maps must have become hazy when he made Sericana or any part of China lie between Imaus and the springs of the Ganges and the Hydaspes. But it may be answered that, though he makes the

vulture "bred on Imaus," he does not necessarily make it *come* from Imaus in this flight. In any case, if his geography is wrong, the passage affords proof of his readings in geographical books. In the succinct Latin account of China and the Chinese accompanying the map of China in the pretty little Atlas of P. Bertius, with maps by Hondius, published at Amsterdam in 1616, the following sentence occurs: "They have invented chariots which they drive over the plains with spread sails without the help of cattle;" and the same account is repeated in the Cosmography of Milton's contemporary Heylin. Milton's 'accurate imagination, or his reading in some book where the account was more minute, suggested the phrase "their cany waggons light"—which would so vividly bring the probable Chinese mechanism before us, even if we were not told by recent travellers that the mechanism still exists in China and that the waggons are of bamboo. The lightness of the waggons and their being driven by wind are circumstances that help out the analogy between barren Sericana and the bleak outside of the World.

440. "*this windy sea of land*": a phrase suggesting the struggle of three of the elements—the globose shell itself firm, but like a sea in its immensity, and blown upon by winds from Chaos.

444—497. "*None yet; but store hereafter,*" &c. These fifty-four lines form altogether one of the most extraordinary passages in the poem—extraordinary both for the wild vastness of the conception, and for the grim humour discernible through it:—Satan, walking up and down on the windy outside of this Universe, finds not a creature on it but himself. But this was not long to be the case. In the course of time, this outside of the World was to be turned to sufficient account, and was to receive an ample population both of men and things. For it is this comfortless outside of the World as a whole, rolling in Chaos and blown upon from Chaos, that is the true "Limbo of Vanity," or "Paradise of Fools." The Roman Catholic Church had recognised, under the name of "*Limbus Patrum*," or the "Limbo of the Fathers," a certain region on the edge or border of Hell (*limbus*, "a hem"), set apart for the souls of such of the patriarchal Israelites and of such of the virtuous Heathen as could not be admitted into Heaven on account of the false hopes to which they had trusted for Salvation, but could not well be sent to Hell. Some had fancied, with Ariosto, that the Moon was such a Limbo, or receptacle of human delusions and fallacies and of those who believed in them. But no! The beautiful satellite of our Earth had, perhaps, its inhabitants; but they must be Saints or Semi-angelical beings, such as fitted those silver fields! The true "Limbo of Vanity," to which all the nonsense and vain enthusiasms of the Earth and of man tended, and where they would arrive at last, was not any place within the whole visible starry sphere, but was actually the outside surface of that sphere—the bleak outside shell of the Universe as bounded by Chaos. But

how do vanities, false enthusiasms, and their believers arrive there from the Earth? This also Milton explains; and, in doing so, he necessarily gives, by anticipation, a sketch of the *interior* constitution of that Universe the outside of which only is yet known to the Fiend of the story. Especial attention must be paid to this portion of the text, thus incidentally and almost parenthetically introduced (lines 463—497, and more particularly lines 481—489), as it involves Milton's Astronomical scheme of "Nature," or the organized Universe proper, as distinct from Infinite Heaven and Hell and Chaos. This is one of the passages, in short, in which Milton most explicitly avows that the Cosmology in which he believed, or which at least he had thought it proper to adopt for his poem, was not our present Cosmology, but the pre-Copernican, Ptolemaic, or Alphonsine Cosmology, which supposed our Universe to consist of a succession of spheres of space wheeling with various motions round our Earth as their stationary centre. See a detailed explanation of this Ptolemaic system in connexion with the scheme of *Paradise Lost* in the Introd. (pp. 89—96).

Observe how Milton uses the Ptolemaic doctrine in the passage under notice. Satan is on the outside of the Tenth Sphere or Primum Mobile; which *is* of firm opacous substance, though the inferior Orbs which it encloses are invisible or of transparent azure. There is nothing as yet on the outside of this shell of the Universe towards Chaos; but ere long it becomes the Limbo of Vanity for the Earth—the suitable receptacle or lumber-room for all Earth's vain theories, vain enthusiasms, bubble-projects, utopias, and the authors and dupes of such after they are dead. But how do they arrive there? How do these productions of the Earth, which is the central ball of the Universe, reach this distant outside of the Universe's outmost sphere? In this manner, according to Milton:—Although the outmost Sphere is a firm opacous shell, there is one opening in it at least—a break or round hole at that topmost point of the shell where it is in near contact with, and as it were hangs from, the Eternal or Empyrean Heaven. This point, of course, is exactly at the upper pole of the starry Universe, where its axis ends in the Empyrean—for, as the shell is rotating, only at the pole could an opening be constant at the same place. In other words, if we adapt the notion to our own vision, and the up and down of our maps, this open spot in the outer shell of our Universe at which the whole hangs pendent from the Empyrean as if by a golden chain, and through which there is a communication between the Empyrean and all the azure sphere of stars and worlds, lies beyond and behind our north Pole-star. Situated at that open termination of the axis of the Universe, vision would look down, as from the zenith, or an orifice in the dome, of all Nature, and behold all the stars and other luminaries performing their mazy courses in the azure sphere underneath, with the minute Earth exactly in the centre of all, right underneath the orifice. Whatever, therefore, would reach the Empyrean Heaven from Earth must do so by ascension right upwards to this polar orifice in the

Primum Mobile, so as to pass through it. By this way, as we shall see, pass the spirits of the Just, ascending to Heaven's Gate and the Eternal mansions. To the same orifice, and by the same mode so far of ascension from the Earth through the intermediate spheres, tend also the vain enthusiasms and aspirations of men and the spirits that have been puffed up by them. For it is to be noted that the instances that Milton selects to illustrate the sort of men and things destined for his Limbo of Fools (lines 467—480) are all of men and things that sought to get to Heaven on false pretences—the giants before the Flood (Gen. vi. 1—4); the builders, after the Flood, of that tower of Babel on the plain of Shinar or Sennaar, whose top was to reach to Heaven (Gen. xi. 1—9); Empedocles, the Greek philosopher of Sicily, who was said to have thrown himself into the crater of Ætna, that by the disappearance of his body it might be thought he had been taken up as a god, and whose expectations in that respect were disappointed by the discovery of his iron sandal flung up from the crater; Cleombrotus, the Ambracian youth, who was so ravished by Plato's discourse on the immortality of the soul that he threw himself into the sea in his haste to realize the promised Elysium; and, lastly, the mediæval hermits, pilgrims to the Holy Land, &c., together with the Friars—Carmelite, Dominican, and Franciscan,—whose pretensions to sanctity were such that at last it became a belief that even laymen, if they died in friars' robes, would be passed into Heaven. These, and all such, says Milton, ascend from the Earth in the direction of their wishes—*i.e.* towards the orifice leading to the Empyrean. They pass the Planets seven; they pass the Fixed, *i.e.* the Firmament or the Sphere of the Fixed Stars; they pass the Ninth Sphere, "whose balance weighs the trepidation talked"—*i.e.* the sphere whose libration or swaying motion accounts for the precession of the Equinoxes so much talked of—here called also the "Crystalline" sphere in deference to the notion, which theologians had contributed to the Ptolemaic astronomy, that this Ninth Sphere must be the place of those "waters above the firmament" which God on the second day of creation (Gen. i. 6, 7) had divided from the "waters under the firmament;" nay, finally, they pass the outermost sphere, the *Primum Mobile*, "that first moved." Thus they are in the very gap or orifice pointing to the gate of the Empyrean. They think they see St. Peter at his wicket; they lift their feet to ascend the celestial stair leading to the wicket; when lo! cross gusts of those winds of Chaos which bluster all round the Universe, and do not cease even at this its axis towards the Empyrean, blow them, right and left, them and all their trumpery, "over the backside of the World," ten thousand leagues away into the Limbo prepared for them.

There are Limbos in other poets—in Dante, in Ariosto, &c.; but Milton's Limbo, which seems to be a conception of his own, beats them all. A grave humour, as we have said, runs through the whole passage. Meanwhile the Fiend is still on the outside of the Universe—the fly on the dark lamp-globe.



498—539. “*All this dark globe the Fiend found . . . till at last a gleam of dawning light turned thitherward in haste (i.e. in the direction of the gleam) his travelled (perhaps travailed) steps.*” The meaning is that Satan, after much walking on the dark outside of the World, catches a glimpse of the light streaming down at the polar orifice towards the Empyrean described in the preceding note. He makes towards this spot, which is then more minutely described, in terms and with circumstances which fully bear out the anticipations in that note. In the wall of Heaven, or the Empyrean above, Heaven’s Gate is visible ; and ascending to this Gate is a structure of stairs or steps, each of mystic or symbolical meaning, like that which Jacob saw in his dream (Gen. xxviii. 10—19) ; which stairs are now let down as if to dare the Fiend, or aggravate him with the thought of his exclusion from Heaven ; though sometimes they are drawn up out of sight. Underneath these stairs is a bright sea of jasper or pearl, which Saints from Earth, whether like the beggar Lazarus (Luke xvi. 22) or like the prophet Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11), have to cross on their way to glory ; which sea—as the poet in his Argument prefixed to this Book has identified it with “the waters above the firmament”—must be supposed to be a segment or arc of the Ninth or Crystalline Sphere, visible through the orifice in the Primum Mobile. As to that orifice we are left in no doubt. It opens direct under or against the Gate of Heaven, and is continued in the direction of the axis of the Universe straight down to the Earth in the centre, over the seat of Paradise. This passage or shaft from the Empyrean down to Earth is wider far than that which afterwards opened into the starry Heaven above God’s holy mountain of Sion, or even than that over the whole Land of Palestine from Paneas (or Dan) to Beersheba, when the ether above all that sacred region rustled with the wings of Angels carrying God’s messages to His favoured people ; for now the whole Earth enjoyed those regards which were afterwards so concentrated. Finally, round the opening or passage bounds are set to Darkness or Chaos, which is there circularly shoved back.

555—563. “*Round he surveys,*” &c. This is the Fiend’s first glimpse of the World he has come to ruin. He is standing on the lower stair of the flight ascending to the Gate of the Empyrean, and gazing down through the opening into the vast blue Universe of stars and rolling luminaries. As the circling canopy of Night does not extend to where he is (by Night here is to be understood not Chaos, as in so many passages hitherto, but the ordinary Night of our Universe, or the moving shadow of the Earth cast by the Sun in his diurnal revolution), he can behold all at once. He takes two glances—one longitudinal, *i.e.* from East to West, or (as Milton particularly expresses it in language the astronomical accuracy of which will appear to any one who may consult a celestial globe) from the constellation Libra at one point of the celestial equator to that fleecy star Aries at the opposite point which seems to be drawing the neighbouring constellation Andromeda westward with it ;

the other in the direction of depth or latitude ("breadth"), *i.e.* from the pole at which he stands right through to the opposite pole. In the very act of taking the second glance he plunges down precipitate through the open shaft. Observe the poet's skill in making the plunge take place in the same sentence and clause with the downward glance—nothing stronger than a comma between.

563—565. "*winds with ease through the pure marble air his oblique way amongst innumerable stars.*" Satan's first plunge was perpendicular. This perpendicular plunge has carried him right through the World's "first region," *i.e.* to within the Ninth or Crystalline sphere; but now that he has got to the Eighth sphere, or firmament of the fixed stars, he flies obliquely—*i.e.* keeps in the arc of that sphere—descending through the "marble" air (*i.e.* glistening air) towards the equator, but winding about among the stars, in case one of them should be his object. Though the Earth which he seeks is in the centre of the starry sphere, he does not yet know that; nor in his glance from the pole aloft does he seem to have noticed the central ball at all—probably from its minuteness at that distance. On the phrase "amongst innumerable stars," Mr. Keightley notes: "He here seems to quit the Ptolemaic for the Copernican astronomy, for according to the former they were all fixed in the face of one sphere, so that he could not well be said to wind his way *among* them." But in the Ptolemaic system, or at least in the later form of it, the stars do not seem to have been supposed as all fixed in absolutely the outermost superficies of one sphere, and therefore at the same distance from the Earth, but to have been studded in banks in a spherical revolving shell of some thickness, some nearer the Earth and others more remote. See the diagram at p. 94 of *Introduction*, taken from an astronomical woodcut of 1610. Thus there would be plenty of room for Satan to wind his oblique way *amongst* the stars. Milton held his conceptions too firmly to make such a slip as is suggested.

571—573. "*above them all* ("above" in the sense of "more than, not in the sense of "overhead of,") *the golden Sun . . . allured his eye.*" Though the Sun in the old astronomical system was but one of the seven planets, yet it was supposed to be the luminary of greatest mass and splendour in the whole starry sphere. Thus Shakespeare speaks (*Troilus and Cressida*, I. iii.) of "the glorious planet Sol;" and Milton, farther on in this poem, describes the Sun as containing embodied in his single globe a large proportion of the light of the Universe. Attracted by the Sun's surpassing splendour, Satan makes towards it.

574—576. ("*but up or down, by centre or eccentric, hard to tell, or longitude.*") Whether "up or down,"—one or other it would be, according as he had descended past the Sun's place or was still above it when he made for it; "by centre or eccentric," *i.e.*, as we understand, by spiral motion round the centre or spiral motion inwards, on one side of the centre; "or longitude," *i.e.* motion eastwards or westwards.

588--590. "*a spot like which*," &c. Spots on the Sun were first observed with the telescope by Galileo in 1611.

592. "*metal*." In the original editions this word is printed "*medal*."

597. "*to the twelve that shone in Aaron's breast-plate*." "To the twelve" here seems to mean "and the rest of the twelve." For the twelve stones in Aaron's breast-plate, see Exod. xxviii. 17--20.

602, 603. "*they bind volatile Hermes*": *i.e.* solidify fluid mercury or quicksilver.

603, 604. "*call up unbound . . . old Proteus . . . drained through a limbec to his native form*." Whoever wished to consult the oracular sea-god Proteus had great difficulty in fixing him in his native shape, as he would assume a hundred forms ere he could be bound (*Odys.* iv. 405 *et seq.*, and *Georg.* iv. 444 *et seq.*). But Proteus here stands for the "elementary matter" or prime substance which the Alchemists sought in their transmutations. They tried to get at it by distilling substances in *alembics* or chemical vessels.

607, 608. "*elixir pure . . . potable gold . . . the arch-chemic Sun*." One of the quests of the Alchemists was after an *elixir vitæ*, or liquid to preserve and prolong life, and *aurum potabile*, or potable gold, was an ideal form of this rarity, or something analogous. Newton quotes from Shakespeare (*King John*, III. i.):—

"The glorious Sun  
Stays in his course, and plays the alchemist."

616--619. "*But all sunshine, as when his beams at noon culminate from the equator, as they now shot upward still direct, whence*," &c. The recurrence of the word "as" here makes some difficulty. The meaning is: "Where Satan was—*i.e.* on the Sun itself—all was sunshine without visible shadow, just as, on Earth at the equator at noon, the Sun's beams striking vertically downwards, in the self-same manner that they were now shooting directly upwards, cause opaque objects to have no slanting shadow round them."

622. "*Saw within ken*," &c. At a good distance off from the point of the Sun's surface where he had landed, and, as it were, across a shining plain, Satan sees the glorious Angel.

623. "*The same whom John saw*." See Rev. xix. 17.

627. "*fledge with wings*": *i.e.* feathered or plumed with wings. We now use the form *fledged* (past part. of the verb *to fledge*, meaning either "to grow feathered" or "to feather"); but the adjective *fledge* is found in old writers, *e.g.* in Holland's *Pliny*: "the young cuckoo being once fledge" (*Rich. Dict.*). Milton repeats the word (*Par. Lost*, VII. 420); and it occurs in his prose.

643. "*succinct*": girt up.

648—650. "*The Archangel Uriel, one of the seven,*" &c. The Jews believed that there were seven Archangels, exalted in dignity above all the rest of the Heavenly Host; and there is a recognition of this belief in the Apocalypse (Rev. i. 4, v. 6, and viii. 2). Three of these seven, according to theological and poetical tradition, founded on passages of Scripture or of the Apocrypha, were Michael (Dan. x. 13, Jude 9, and Rev. xii. 7), Gabriel (Dan. viii. 16, ix. 21, and Luke i. 19 and 26), and Raphael (Book of Tobit, xii. 15). To these three poetic tradition has ascribed a kind of pre-eminence even among the Archangels. They are the three Archangels who sing the song of the Elements in the Prologue to Goethe's *Faust*. Uriel, whom Milton here makes one of the seven, is mentioned as an Archangel in the 2nd Book of Esdras, and recognised in Rabbinical writings as a fourth Archangel, standing, with the other three, near to the throne of Deity. Five other great Angels are specifically named by Milton, on his own or on Rabbinical authority, in the course of *Paradise Lost*—Abdiel, Ithuriel, Zophiel, Uzziel, and Zephon; but which of these were the three Archangels remaining to make up the seven is not suggested. It seems to have been Milton's wish that his readers should consider Satan before his fall to have been an Archangel coequal with Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, if not even above them (see Book V. 658—661); and I am not quite sure but he means to hint (Book VI. 29—43) that Abdiel received promotion in Heaven after Satan's rebellion for his peculiar fidelity in the midst of it.

658. "*Where all his Sons thy embassy attend.*" The meaning is that Uriel, as one of the greatest seven, was wont to hear the Deity's will in the inmost Court of Heaven, and then to carry it to where (or to the more general Court where) the multitude of Angels waited to hear it announced.

668. "*these shining orbs.*" "Orbs" now used in our present sense.

690, 691. "*Uriel, though Regent of the Sun,*" &c. The name Uriel signifies in Hebrew "God's light" or "God is my light," and Uriel was considered the Angel of Light. Hence he is Regent of the Sun in Milton; and hence the expectation that he in especial would be clear-sighted.

693. "*In his uprightness,*" &c. Todd quotes Job xxxiii. 3.

710, 711. "*Confusion heard his voice,*" &c. See Book II. 959—967.

712—721. "*at his second bidding,*" &c. : *i.e.* at the fiat "Let there be light;" which, in Genesis i. 1—5, may be read as a second bidding on the first Day of Creation.

716. "*this ethereal quintessence of Heaven*": *i.e.* Light, of which Milton here speaks, as some ancient philosophers did, as a fifth and purer existence, distinct from the four "cumbrous" or gross elements of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire. See Book VII. 243, 244.



721. "*the rest*": *i.e.* that residue of Light, or the Fifth Essence, which had not been coagulated into stars and other luminaries, but remained in a diffused state. As Newton remarked, there is a recollection here of Lucretius, v. 450—472; and the phrase in that passage "*magni mœnia mundi*" may have suggested the wording of this line.

730. "*her countenance triform*": *i.e.* crescent, full, and waning. Stillingfleet noted Horace, *Od.* iii. 22, 4, "*Diva triformis*."

733. "*That spot to which I point is Paradise*." Paradise is to be conceived as a considerable tract, visible, where Uriel was, as a spot on the Earth's rotundity.

740. "*the ecliptic*": *i.e.*, as then understood, the Sun's orbit round the Earth.

741. "*Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel*." Thyer compares the description in Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* iv. 24) of the descent to Earth of the magician Atlante on his hippogriff:—

"Accelerando il volator le penne  
Con larghe ruote in tera a porsi venne."

742. "*on Niphates' top he lights*." Niphates, now Nimroud-Tagh, a mountain-range in Armenia, on the north-west bank of Lake Van, and between the Upper Tigris and one of the branches of the Euphrates; hence near to the tract supposed to have been Paradise. The word Niphates implies "snowy range;" and the highest peaks reach 10,000 feet. Dunster notes that in the *Æneid* (iv. 252 *et seq.*) Mercury, when sent by Jupiter to Æneas at Carthage, alights first on Mount Atlas, and thence flies precipitant to the sea-coast, and that in Tasso (*Ger. Lib.* i. 14, 15) Gabriel similarly alights on Mount Libanus. Compare also Milton's account of Satan's flight through the air and descent on Rome in his Latin poem *In Quintum Novembris*, 48—53.

There are 742 lines in this Book of the Poem; but the numbering in the original edition gives 751 lines. This arises from a misnumbering at the ten after line 590, whereby the line that should have been numbered 600 is marked 610, and from a miscounting, by which eleven lines after line 720 (in the original called 730) are given as ten.

## BOOK IV.

*Argument*: "*Gabriel promises to find him ere morning*": so in the Second Edition; the First has "to find him out."

1—5. "*O for that warning voice, which he who saw the Apocalypse,*" &c. See Rev. xii. 7—12; which passage the poet has closely in view in these opening lines.

10. "*The tempter, ere the accuser, of mankind.*" In the passage in the Apocalypse just cited, describing Satan's "second rout" from Heaven, he comes to Earth as "the accuser of the brethren" (Rev. xii. 10); but in the action of the poem he is the Tempter. The word Devil, from the Greek *Diabolos*, means "Slanderer" or "Accuser."

11. "*To wreak*" : i.e. "to avenge" (A.-S. *wræccan*) : hence, as Mr. Keightley remarks, our modern expression "to wreak vengeance" is incorrect. In the original editions the word is spelt "wreck."

20—23. "*within him Hell he brings,*" &c. The idea here is an old one. Todd finds it in various authors, including Bede, who says of the Devils (*Eccl. Hist.* Book v. chap. 15), "*Ubicunque, vel in aere volitant, vel in terris, aut sub terris vagantur sive detinentur, suarum secum ferunt tormenta flammarum.*"

25. "*Of what he was, what is,*" &c. Todd compares Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 1. 99, "*Dum vice mutata qui sim fuerimque recordor.*"

32—41. "*O thou,*" &c. These ten lines were probably the first written of the whole poem. Milton's nephew Phillips remembered having seen them as early as about 1642, when it was Milton's design that the poem should be a Tragedy. They were to be the opening lines of the Tragedy : see *Introd.* pp. 48, 49.

39. "*above thy sphere*" : i.e. above the sphere of the Sun in the Ptolemaic sense—the fourth of the Spheres round the Earth.

50. "*sdained*" : the Italian form (*sdegnare*) of our word "to disdain," used also by Spenser and others.

79. "*O, then, at last relent,*" &c. Some suppose this speech to be addressed to the Deity ; but it is more natural to take it as an address to Satan himself.

111—113. "*Divided empire,*" &c. God ruling in Heaven, above Chaos, Satan, claiming to rule in Hell, under Chaos, might consider that he already divided empire with him ; but, if the new Universe, cut out of Chaos, could be added to Hell, so as to belong to the same dominion of Evil, then Satan might claim to reign "more than half." Greenwood compares the line attributed to Virgil, "*Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet.*"

114, 115. "*each passion dimmed his face,*" &c. The meaning is, not, as usually interpreted, that Satan's face grew pale three times—first with ire, then with envy, then with despair ; but that a shadow or dim scowl of each of these passions in succession passed over his face, followed by paleness.

121. "*Artificer of fraud.*" In the poem *In Quintum Novembris* (line 17) Milton calls Satan "*fraudum magister.*"

126. "*the Assyrian mount*" : i.e. Niphates, in Armenia, near the border of Assyria proper, but within the general region often named Assyria.

131—171. "*So on he fares, and to the border comes of Eden, where delicious Paradise, now nearer, crowns,*" &c. Observe here the distinction between Eden and Paradise. Eden is the whole tract or district of Western Asia (the exact boundaries of which, as the poet fancied them, are given a little farther on) wherein the Creator had designed that men should first dwell; Paradise is the Happy Garden situated in one particular spot of this Eden—on its eastern side, as the poet afterwards suggests, following one interpretation of the passage (Gen. ii. 8), "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden." Satan, descending from Mount Niphates, reaches the border of Eden, and obtains, from that distance, a nearer view of the Paradise lying within it. It is somewhat difficult to evolve out of Milton's language in the passage an exact representation to the eye of the scene described; but the following appears to be what is meant:—At some distance from that border of Eden at which the Fiend has arrived he sees the beginning of a thick wilderness of underwood, mixed with lofty trees, ascending in terraces, so as to form a vast, shaggy, circular hill. On the "champain-head" of this hill—*i.e.* the level table-land on its summit—is Paradise. It is ringed round by a verdurous or green wall of turf, higher than the highest of the trees on the slopes outside; and within the wall is seen a circle of fruit-trees, the trees of Paradise itself, over-topping even the wall and glowing in the sun. See subsequent notes on lines 208—210, and lines 210—214.

147, 148. "*loaden with fairest fruit, blossoms and fruits at once,*" &c. The phrase "*loaden with fairest fruit*" is repeated exactly *Par. Lost*, VIII. 307, and substantially *Par. Lost*, IX. 577. Mr. Browne notes here: "Milton, speaking of what hangs on the tree, calls it *fruit*; but, when plucked, *fruits*." He refers, in illustration, to lines 249 and 422 of the same Book, and to Book V. lines 341, 390, Book VIII. 307, and *Comus*, 396. Mr. Browne's remark, however, hardly expresses the fact—which is that Milton, when he thinks of a mass of fruit, or of one piece of fruit, uses the singular, but, when he thinks of many individual fruits, or of various kinds of fruits, whether hanging or plucked, the plural. For example, in this very passage, the "*fruits*" of line 148 are the same as the "*fruit*" of line 147, still unplucked, but only thought of distributively. See also *Comus* 712; *Par. Lost*, V. 87, VIII. 44, 147, IX. 745, 996, X. 565, 603, 687.

151. "*Than in fair evening cloud.*" Bentley substituted *on* for *in*, and most editors have followed him—quite unnecessarily.

153. "*landskip,*" spelt "*lantskip*" in the original edition. The word occurs four times in Milton's poetry—here, *P. L.* II. 491, V. 142, and *L'All.* 70—and always as *lantskip*.

159—165. "*As, when to them who sail beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow Sabeian odours from the spicy shore of Araby the Blest,*" &c. The fact that the frag-



rance of spices from lands where they grow may be perceived far off at sea had been noted by many authors—and, among them, by Diodorus Siculus, who mentions it more particularly with respect to that part of Arabia known to the ancients as Arabia Felix or Arabia Beata (Arabia the Happy or Blessed); of which Saba was a town. But, in imagining that sailors, who had rounded the Cape, and got as far in their northern voyage along the African coast as past Mozambique, could distinguish perfumes coming from Arabia—and especially that such perfumes could be carried to them there by a north-east wind—Milton seems, in his blindness, to have forgotten geographical distances and bearings. Mr. Keightley, in his *Life of Milton* (p. 430), has pointed out this in the following comment on the passage: “What is here asserted is an impossibility. Any one who will look on a map of the world will see that, when a vessel going to India has passed Mozambic, the coast of Arabia is due north to her, and at an immense distance, with a portion of the east coast of Africa interposed.” In the maps of Africa in Milton’s days, however (at least in one which I have of the date 1616), the east side of Africa trends away west from Cape Guardafui to the Cape of Good Hope so much more rapidly than in our present maps, that a vessel off Mozambique in *them* would not be due south, but rather south-west of Arabia Felix. Hence, in the matter of bearing, Milton’s recollection of his maps was not so incorrect as it must be admitted to have been in the matter of distance.

168—171. “*Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume,*” &c. See the story of the Evil Spirit Asmodeus in the Book of Tobit in the Apocrypha. In love with a Jewish maiden, Sara, living in the Median city Ecbatana, he destroys her husbands in succession, till at last, after her betrothal to Tobias, the son of Tobit, he is foiled by a device of the Angel Raphael. Instructed by Raphael, Tobias burns the heart and liver of a fish he had caught in the Tigris, “the which smell when the Evil Spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the Angel bound him” (Tobit viii.).—“*with a vengeance sent*”: an early instance of the use of this phrase in its present somewhat whimsical sense of “most emphatically.”

177. “*that passed*”: a peculiar construction, for “that should have tried to pass.”

178. “*One only gate there was, and that looked east on the other side.*” See subsequent note, lines 210—214.

181. “*At one slight bound high overleaped all bound.*” Todd, after Stevens, cites a similar play on the word “bound” from *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. Milton occasionally, though not so often as Shakespeare, indulges in this play on words. Mr. Browne instances lines 286 and 530 of this Book, and also IX. 11 and XI. 627.

193. “*So since into his Church lewd hirelings climb.*” See John x. 1—16, and compare *Lycidas*, 113—131. *Lewd* meant originally “laic,”

or belonging to the laity as distinct from the clergy (A.-S. *laewede*): hence "ignorant" or "illiterate;" hence "low," "base," "dissolute."

194, 195. "*and on the Tree of Life, the middle tree,*" &c. See Gen. ii. 9, and Rev. ii. 7.

200, 201. "*what, well used, had been the pledge of immortality.*" The commentators have been puzzled by this passage. Satan being immortal already, they say, did not need the pledge of immortality that would have been given by eating of the Tree of Life; and the construction does not permit the "well-used" to be applied to Adam and Eve. Mr. Ross, however, explains thus: "Milton does not expect us seriously to suppose that Satan could have 'well-used' the Tree of Life, and thereby secured immortal happiness; but his imagination is struck by the mere proximity of the Fiend to the 'life-giving plant;' and, to make the reader vividly realize what he himself has vividly felt, he speaks of what only *seems* possible as if it really were so." Hume, noting the same difficulty in the passage, had long ago suggested that Milton must have had "some allegoric sense" in his mind, and was not sure but it might have been the conceit of Rupertus in his commentary on Gen. iii. 22—to wit, that neither Adam nor the Devil himself knew anything of the Tree of Life in the garden or of its virtues. Adam, in the poem, certainly knows of the tree (see sequel, line 424); but, if Satan had known of it, then, Hume suggests, he might have made Adam and Eve eat of it after they had eaten of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and so doubled his malice by making them immortal in their sin and misery. This is supersubtle, but there may be something in it. Milton may have meant that Satan sat like a cormorant on the Tree of Life, using it for the mean purpose of prospect only, and little aware of its mysterious virtue, and of the higher uses to which it might have been turned even by himself.

208—210. "*for blissful Paradise of God the garden was, by him in the east of Eden planted.*" See note on lines 131—171. *Paradise* is, originally, a Persian word, signifying an enclosed park or pleasure-ground. It was adopted into Greek, and was used by the Septuagint translators for the garden in Eden; which word *Eden* is Hebrew and means "Joy," or "Deliciousness."

210—214. "*Eden stretched her line from Auran eastward,*" &c. Volumes have been written as to the site of the true Eden of Scripture—the recognition of which in our present Earth had, as the commentators supposed, become more difficult in consequence of the changes made by the Noachian deluge. By some the whole of Asia from the Ganges westward was understood as included in Eden; some theologians fixed the site as near the Persian Gulf; while other inquirers, not so much considering the Mosaic account as searching for the probable cradle of the human species on other grounds, have placed Eden in Cashmere and other parts of the East. What may be called the most

orthodox hypothesis is that which Milton follows. It places Eden in Syria and Mesopotamia. Milton gives his own notion of the exact limits in one direction as being from Auran on the west (*i.e.* Hauran or Auranitis, a district in Syria lying south of Damascus beyond the east frontier of the Holy Land, and recognisable in our modern maps by the name of the mountain Jebel-Hauran still marking it) to Seleucia on the east—the royal city of the Greek dynasty of the Seleucidæ, built on the Tigris about B.C. 300, in the district supposed to have borne long before that date the Scriptural name of Telassar (see Isaiah xxxvii. 12), and now near Baghdad. If the reader will refer to our present maps, he will find that the region thus indicated is about 450 miles wide from west to east, and that it was so situated with respect to Mount Niphates, or Nimroud-Tagh, in Armenia; that Satan, approaching it from that mountain, must have come upon its *northern* frontier, but at a spot much nearer to its eastern extremity (Telassar, where Seleucia afterwards was) than to its western extremity (Hauran). But this corresponds with the supposed site of Paradise in Eden. It was eastward in Eden (Gen. ii. 8)—*i.e.* it was in that part of the ancient Assyria, or the present Turkish government of Baghdad, where the Euphrates and the Tigris approach each other in flowing south. It will be observed that Milton, notwithstanding this partial definiteness, still leaves the geography of Eden partly indefinite. He does not, for example, give its boundaries north and south, but only east and west. So, also, though Satan must necessarily, according to the description, have come upon Eden by its northern frontier, we are somewhat confused by finding that he approaches the Hill of Paradise on its west side (see line 178)—the side opposite to that where was its only gate. We may suppose, if we choose, that the Fiend, after crossing the frontier of Eden, advances for a while due south, and then turns east, so as to attack Paradise on its west side. But here, too, there may be a haze in the poet's recollections of his maps.

223—246. "*Southward through Eden went a river large,*" &c. Milton has here closely in view the sequel of the passage in Genesis already cited: "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became four heads. The name of the first is Pison; that is that which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold . . . And the name of the second river is Gihon; the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel (Tigris); that is it which goeth towards the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates" (Gen. ii. 10—14). It is impossible to identify this river-system of the Scriptural Eden with the existing river-system of the Syrian and Mesopotamian region supposed to be Eden in the poem. Much ingenuity has been spent on the attempt to do so; but many commentators have been content to suppose an alteration of the river-system of Western Asia by the Deluge. Milton, it will be seen, gets rid of the difficulty by adhering to the Scriptural account and yet adapting it to his own descrip-

tion of Paradise without naming the rivers. One large river flowing south through Eden (afterwards identified by him with the Tigris : Book IX. 71), he supposes to pass, *engulphed in a subterranean channel*, right through or underneath the Hill or Mountain of Paradise—the fertility of which, as of a vast mass of garden mould, was maintained by a fount thence sucked up and dispersed in rivulets above. This river, after thus passing through or underneath the hill, reappeared at the other side, and there received, in the form of cascades down the southern slope of the hill, the rills which it had lent in its passage. It then divided itself, in the plain south of Paradise, into four great streams : these streams thence pursued each its course through many a famous Asiatic land ; but it is less necessary, he says, to follow *them* in their wanderings than to describe the effects of the fount from the subterranean parent stream in irrigating Paradise. He therefore abstains from farther description of Eden at large, and goes on to describe the Happy Garden itself, within the verdurous wall, on the champaign mountain-head. It will be seen (lines 236—268) that this table-land of Paradise itself is of considerable extent, containing variety of hill and plain. But the reader must not forget the great river underneath it, and the concealed gulf through which it flows, as these are of importance afterwards.

224. "*his course*." See note, Book I. line 254.

232. "*his darksome passage*." See note, Book I. line 254.

250. "*Hung amiable—Hesperian fables true, if true, here only*" : i.e. hung lovely, realizing the ancient fables of the gardens of the Hesperides—fables, if true at all, true only here.

256. "*and without thorn the rose*." One of the fancies of the Fathers was that, till after the Fall, the rose had no thorns—a fancy alluded to by Herrick (1647) in these lines, quoted by Todd from one of his poems :—

" Before man's fall, the rose was born  
(St. Ambrose says) without the thorn."

264. "*The birds their quire apply*." So, as Bowle noted, Spenser, *F. Q.* I. iii. 40 :—

" Sweet birds thereto applide  
Their dainty lays."

268—272. "*Not that fair field of Enna*," &c. Enna, where Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, was carried off by Pluto or Dis, was in the heart of Sicily.

272—274. "*nor that sweet grove of Daphne, by Orontes and the inspired Castalian spring*." The famous Castaly or Castalian spring of the Greek poets was a stream of Mount Parnassus near the Arch of Apollo at Delphi in Phocis ; but the one here meant was a spring which had borrowed the same name, near Apollo's sacred grove of Daphne in Syria, where the Orontes flows into the Mediterranean not far from Antioch.



275—279. “*nor that Nyseian isle,*” &c. There were not a few places named Nysa in the ancient world ; but the particular Nyseian isle here meant seems to be the island in the lake Tritonis about the middle of the northern coast of Africa, where the river Triton flows from the lake into the lesser Syrtis. Here, according to the account adopted in the text—but, according to other accounts, at Nysa in Ethiopia, to the south of Egypt—the infant Bacchus (*Dionysos*) was educated. In the common mythology Bacchus is the son of Jupiter and the nymph Semele, and he is secretly brought up by the nymphs at Nysa, after his mother’s death, to avoid the wrath of Juno. But Milton makes him here the son of Jupiter Ammon or Hammon (the Libyan Jupiter) and the nymph Amalthea ; and it is from the wrath of Rhea, Saturn’s wife, and Jupiter’s step-mother, that he is hid. So far as Milton has authority for this version of the legend, the commentators find it in Diodorus Siculus.

280—284. “*Nor, where Abassin kings their issue guard, Mount Amara,*” &c. Amara or Amhara is now the name of a large district or tract of high table-land in the middle of Abyssinia, east of Lake Tzan or Dembea, where the Blue Nile has its head. Lying as it does about half-way between the Tropic of Cancer and the Equator, it may be said to be “under the Ethiop line.” In this district, in the old maps, sketching Abyssinia when it was less known than now, and was believed to contain the true head of the Nile as a whole, we find marked the single lofty mountain Amara, which was believed to be an important place in Abyssinian history. Here the sons of the Emperor of Abyssinia—for such is the title that has been borne by the kings of that country since the fifth or sixth century, when they were of some consequence—were said to be educated in strict seclusion. As showing the prevalence of this story in Milton’s time, Todd quotes this passage from Heylin’s *Microcosmus* (1627), “The hill of Amara is a day’s journey high ; on the top whereof are thirty-four palaces, in which the younger sons of the Emperor are continually enclosed, to avoid sedition. They enjoy there whatsoever is fit for delight or princely education. This mountain hath but one ascent up, which is impregvably fortified, and was destinate to this use anno 470 or thereabouts.” The reader need hardly be reminded of the use made of this legend or tradition by Dr. Johnson in his story of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia. Such was said to be the delightfulness of the mountain and its neighbourhood that by some it was supposed to be the Scriptural Paradise.

285. “*From this Assyrian garden.*” Here, again, as in line 126, Milton uses the word Assyria in its largest extension.

293—295. “*Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure—severe, but in true filial freedom placed, whence true authority in men.*” By some this passage is pointed so as to make the “*whence*” refer to “*sanctitude severe and pure,*” i.e. to imply that such sanctitude is the source of true authority

in men. I conceive, however, that to make the "*whence*" refer to "*filial freedom*"—*i.e.* make such freedom the source of true authority in men—is more in accordance with Milton's mode of thought; and the original pointing seems to warrant this.

301. "*hyacinthine locks*": *i.e.* dark in colour, and curling naturally like the blossoms of the hyacinth. Hume compares Homer (*Od.* vi. 231), where Athene, to increase the beauty of Ulysses, gives him such hair:—

οὐλας ἦκε κόμας ὑακινθίνῳ ἀνθεὶ ὁμόλας.

Eve's hair, on the other hand, is golden and long.

307, 308. "*which implied subjection.*" See 1 Cor. xi. 9—15.

309, 310. "*And by her yielded, by him best received yielded, with coy submission,*" &c. The meaning is "by her yielded with coy submission, &c., and by him best received when so yielded."

323, 324. "*Adam the goodliest man,*" &c. These two lines have been pointed out as containing a kind of double bull in language—making Adam the goodliest of Adam's sons, and Eve the fairest of Eve's daughters. But in Greek and Latin such a construction was not uncommon; and Milton purposely adopts it here. There is a similar construction in Book II. 678; where see note.

337. "*gentle purpose*": *i.e.* conversation (*propos*). Thyer quotes Spenser, *F. Q.* III. viii. 14:—

"He gan make gentle purpose to his dame."

352. "*Or bedward ruminating*": *i.e.* chewing the cud as they walked slowly to their place of rest.

362. "*Little inferior*": Psalm viii. 2. (Newton.)

381—383. "*Hell shall unfold,*" &c. See Isaiah xiv. 9. (Gillies.)

389. "*public reason just*": *i.e.* just polity or political expediency.

397—408. "*himself now one, now other . . . a lion now . . . then as a tiger,*" &c. In Sylvester's *Bu Bartas* ("The Imposture") Satan's successive transmutations of himself into different animals in Eden are thus described:—

"Our freedom's felon, fountain of our sorrow,  
Thinks now the beauty of a Horse to borrow;  
Anon to creep into a Heifer's side;  
Then in a Cock or in a Dog to hide;  
Then in a nimble Hart himself to shroud;  
Then in the starred plumes of a Peacock proud."

408—410. "*when Adam, first of men . . . turned him,*" &c. The construction is "when Adam, thus moving speech to Eve, turned him—*i.e.* the Fiend—all ear," &c.

449. "*That day I oft remember,*" &c. It is implied here that, in Milton's imagination, Adam and Eve had already been together in Paradise for some time. See *Introd.* p. 117.

458—473. "*to look into the clear smooth lake,*" &c. It was pointed out by Stillingfleet that Milton must, throughout this passage, have had in view Ovid's description (*Met.* iii.) of Narcissus gazing at his own image in the water.

483. "*His flesh, his bone.*" See Gen. ii. 23.

478. "*Under a platane*" : *i.e.* a plane-tree.

486. "*individual*" : *i.e.* not to be divided, inseparable (Lat. *individuus*). The word occurs twice besides in Milton's poetry (*Par. Lost*, V. 610, and *On Time*, 12), and both times in the same sense. He uses the word *dividual* twice (*Par. Lost*, VII. 382 and XII. 85) in exactly the opposite sense—*i.e.* "separable" or "parted."

492. "*unreproved*" : *i.e.* not to be reprov'd, blameless. Used once besides in the same sense (*L'All.* 40). See also *unremoved*, *Par. Lost*, IV. 987.

512, 513. "*Yet let me not forget what I have gained from their own mouths.*" It was one of the fancies of the Jewish commentators on Gen. iii. that Satan first learnt the prohibition imposed on Adam as to the Tree of Knowledge by overhearing him conversing on the subject with Eve ; and Milton has adopted this fancy.

539. "*in utmost longitude*" : *i.e.* in the extreme west.

542, 543. "*Against the eastern gate of Paradise levelled his evening rays.*" Mr. Keightley was the first, we believe, to point out (*Life of Milton*, p. 431) that here Milton has possibly made a slip. The Sun, setting in the west, could not level his rays direct against the *eastern* gate of Paradise (its only gate, as Milton has told us, line 178, and facing towards the present Persia), unless it were against the *inside* of that gate. Milton *may* have meant this ; but it is hardly likely, since in what follows he seems to be describing the gate from the *outside*.

549. "*Gabriel sat.*" See note, III. 648—650.

555, 556. "*Thither came Uriel, gliding,*" &c. See notes, III. 648—650, and 690, 691. If Uriel came on a beam from the setting Sun to the eastern gate of Paradise, he must have *crossed* Paradise, where Satan was still roaming, in order to reach that gate. See previous note, IV. 542, 543.

556. "*On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star.*" One of the many lines in which Milton, by a beautiful fitness of metre and of component letters, makes the sound suggest the sense. Compare *Comus*, 80.



561. "*Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given charge and strict watch,*" &c. It was observed by Callander that Milton probably "took the idea of the Angels performing their ministry by lot, and in different courses, from the priests among the Jews who attended the altar in several courses." See Luke i. 8, 9.

564. "*my sphere.*" See note, IV. 39.

569. "*But in the mount that lies from Eden north.*" See note, IV. 210—214.

590, 591. "*whose point now raised bore him,*" &c. While Uriel and Gabriel have been conversing, the Sun has fallen to the horizon, so that the sunbeam on which Uriel returns inclines *from* Paradise to the Sun.

592—597. "*whether the Prime Orb . . . had thither rolled . . . or this less volúbil Earth,*" &c. A curious passage, as showing the uncertain state of Milton's astronomical belief. In the main, as we have seen abundantly, it is the Ptolemaic system of astronomy that he follows in the scheme of the Universe assumed in his poem. According to this system, the setting of the Sun in the west *would* be caused by the revolution westward of the Prime Orb, or Primum Mobile—*i.e.* the vast outward shell or sphere of space enclosing all the other spheres. But the astronomical system of Copernicus and Galileo—according to which the setting of the Sun in the west is more simply explained by the rotation of the Earth itself eastward—had by this time been pretty widely propagated. Milton had been impressed by this system, and was probably more of a convert to it than most of his contemporaries; and hence, though he retains for his general purposes the Ptolemaic system, he takes the precaution in this passage of suggesting, as perhaps more plausible scientifically, the Copernican alternative. See note, VIII. 15 *et seq.*

603. "*her amorous descant.*" "Descant" is here used in its musical sense of "variation of theme."

605, 606. "*Hesperus that led the starry host*": the evening star. Bowle quotes Spenser's *Epithalamium*, where the Evening Star is addressed:—

"Fayre childe of beauty, glorious lampe of love,  
That all the host of heaven in ranks dost lead."

627. "*Our walk at noon*": so in the Second and subsequent editions; but in the First "*walks*"

628. "*our scant manuring*": not in our present sense of the word "manure," but in the original sense of "tending with the hand" (*manœuvre*), cultivating. Richardson in his *Dict.* quotes this passage from Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth* (1583), where *manure* means simply *to manage*: "It (the Commonwealth of England) is governed,

administered, and manured, by three sorts of persons"; but he quotes also a passage from Hall's *Satires* (1598), which shows that the word had by that time acquired also its present sense :—

" Though many a load of marle and manure laid  
Revived his barren leas, that erst lay dead."

640. "*All seasons*" : not seasons of the year, but of the day.

642. "*With charm of earliest birds*" : "charm" in its original sense of "song" (*carmen*).

661. "*Those have*," &c. In most editions "these" is substituted for "those," which is the reading in Milton's own editions. I see no good ground for the change.

671. "*Their stellar virtue*" : a phrase embodying the astrological notion of an actual physical influence of the stars on terrestrial beings.

680—684. "*How often . . . have we heard*." See note, IV. 449. Dunster compares *Tempest*, III. ii. : "The isle is full of noises," &c.

688. "*Divide the night*"—into watches, like the bugles or trumpets of soldiers relieving guard. "*Dividere noctem*" was the Latin phrase for this; and Richardson quotes Silius Italicus, *Pun.* vii. 154 : "Cum buccina noctem divideret."

695—703. "*on either side Acanthus*," &c. Compare this description of Eve's bower with the similar enumeration of flowers for the bier of Lycidas (*Lycidas*, 134—151). Beautiful as this is, it falls short of that in richness and exquisiteness of colour. Was it that, after years of blindness, Milton's recollections of flowers and of the minutiae of colour had grown dim? See *Introd.* p. 110.

703. "*Of costliest emblem*" : *i.e.* mosaic pattern.

716, 717. "*the unwiser son of Japhet*" : *i.e.* Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus. In the ancient myth, Jupiter, to be avenged upon the wise Titan, Prometheus, the son of Iapetus, who had stolen the sacred fire from heaven, caused a woman to be created—the first mortal female that ever lived. All the gods vied in equipping her with graces and gifts; and hence her name Pandora ("the all-gifted"). She was sent to Earth under the conduct of Hermes or Mercury, carrying with her a box, which she was to present to whosoever married her. Prometheus would have nothing to say to her; but his less wise brother Epimetheus was captivated. He married her; and, when the box was opened, out flew all the ills that flesh has since been heir to. Only Hope remained at the bottom of the box—the lid having been closed in time.

719. "*stole*" : so in the original; though "*stolen*" would suit our present grammar, and also the ear, better.

722. "*both*." Dunster objected to this third repetition of the word "*both*" in the course of three lines as weak and unpoetical; and Landon objected to it as ungrammatical, inasmuch as "*both*" can apply but to two objects, while here there are six. Both objections might be obviated by supposing that Milton meant a stop after "*both*" in this line, in which case the word would designate Adam and Eve again, and the meaning would be, "They adored the God that made them both, and that made also Sky, Air, Earth, &c." There is, however, no comma after "*both*" in Milton's editions; and the use of "*both*" with reference to more objects than two occurs elsewhere in Milton, e.g. "*both, matter, form, and style*" (Sonnet xi.).

735. "*thy gift of sleep*." Todd quotes Psalm cxxvii. 2.

744—762. "*Whatever hypocrites austerely talk*," &c. It has been suggested by Mr. Keightley that in this passage Milton had in view not merely the general discouragement of the married state by the Roman Catholic advocates of monasticism, but also the opinion of some theologians that in the state of innocence there was no exercise of marriage-rights. In combating either view, or both, Milton refers to Scriptural texts—Gen. i. 28; 1 Cor. vii. 28 and 36; 1 Tim. iv. 1—3; Heb. xiv. 4; &c.

751. "*propriety*": i.e. property.

762. "*Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs used*." I am not sure but here Milton introduces a touch of his peculiar views of marriage. He seems to mean "whether in our present form of the institution, or in that known to saints and patriarchs in the old dispensation."

768. "*Mixed dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball*." The general Puritanism of this passage is obvious; but it is to be remembered that Milton had seen masques acted, and had himself written two of a peculiar kind, both acted—*Arcades* and *Comus*.

769. "*Or serenate*." The Italian word is *serenata*, from *Sera*, "Evening."

776, 777. "*Now had Night measured with her shadowy cone half-way up-hill this vast sublunar vault*." Night is really the shadow of the Earth cast by the Sun; which shadow, could it be seen in its totality, would appear as a cone of darkness or gloom shot into the vault of space. Jean Paul, in a descriptive passage in one of his tales, realizes this fact very accurately to the imagination in these words: "The high shadow of the Earth, which reaches beyond the Moon, and which is our Night." Milton, using a somewhat less correct phraseology, speaks as if the shadow extended only into the "sublunar vault"—i.e. as if the apex of the shadowy cone fell short of the Moon, or only just reached it. Either way, and whether on the supposition that the alternation of Day and Night is caused by the rotation of the Earth

itself, or on the old assumption that it is caused by the revolution of the Sun round the Earth, the progress of Night, as regards the inhabitants of the Earth, may be represented as the motion of the Earth's shadow round the circle of the starry heavens from east to west, exactly as the hour-hand of a twenty-four hours' clock would move round the dial-plate. This sublime image is before Milton. The clock by which he measures the hours as they passed in Paradise, while our first parents slept, is that vast astronomical clock, of which the great circle of the starry heavens was the dial-plate and the Earth's shadowy cone the moving hour-hand. At sunset in Paradise (which we are to suppose to have been about six o'clock, not only because of the geographical position of Eden, but also because there is evidence in the poem that the season of the year is assumed to have been Spring) the Earth's shadow would point to the eastern horizon; as the night advanced, it would mount in the heavens; at midnight, when the Sun was shining full on the opposite hemisphere, it would have clomb to its height, like the hour-hand of a clock pointing to twelve; and from midnight to sunrise it would descend the other quadrant to the western horizon. The time of night indicated in the present passage of the poem, accordingly—when the shadow had gone half-way up the sublunar vault—is midway between sunset and midnight. To be prosaic and precise, Milton means to say that it was about nine o'clock. By that early hour our first parents, after their evening walk to their bower and their conversation and adoration under the starry canopy, were already asleep. Milton himself, in his later days, or about the time when he wrote *Paradise Lost*, "went to bed about nine." So we learn from Aubrey, on the authority of Milton's widow.

779. "*And from their ivory port the Cherubim forth issuing, at the accustomed hour,*" &c. This must mean that, at nine o'clock, with military precision, those Angels or Cherubim who, under the command of Gabriel, were entrusted with the guard of Paradise (see lines 550—554), issued *not* out at the eastern gate of Paradise, so as to be beyond the walls, but only from one of the inner ports of that gate into a space *within* the walls, ready for the duties of the night-watch. They stand at arms, as in a courtyard, to receive Gabriel's orders. Gabriel has waited for this hour to take the measures suggested by Uriel's information at sunset.

782—784. "*Uzziel, half these draw off,*" &c. The meaning of Gabriel's order is that his second in command, Uzziel (this name means "the Strength of God": see note, III. 648—650), should lead half of the armed Angels round the walls of Paradise on the inside, taking the southern circuit from the eastern gate, while he himself, with the remaining half, would make the northern circuit inside from the same gate (observe that, as Satan had approached Eden by the northern

frontier, Gabriel reserves the more important circuit for himself). They would thus meet at the west, or at the point of the circumference of Paradise exactly opposite the gate from which they set out.

784, 785. "*As flame they part, half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear*"—*i.e.* half to the left and half to the right—the shield being on the soldier's left arm, and the spear in his right hand. The phrase is a Latin one: "*Declinare ad hastam, vel ad scutum*" ("to turn to the spear or the shield") occurring in Livy, as Hume notes, exactly in the sense of our "Right or Left wheel." The Greeks had had a similar phrase.

786. "*From these (i.e. from those that had wheeled right) two strong and subtle Spirits he (i.e. Gabriel) called.*" Milton is singularly accurate in his military allusions. He here makes Gabriel take command of what would be called the right subdivision, while Uzziel, as his lieutenant, takes command of the left; which is what would take place with real troops in the circumstances. As the right subdivision was to take the northern circuit, and the left the southern circuit of Paradise, it is also suggested that, when the Angels were originally drawn up in parade, before they received the order to wheel in subdivisions right and left, they stood in line fronting Paradise, with their backs to the eastern gate. But this is not essential.

788. "*Ithuriel and Zephon.*" See note, III. 648—650. Ithuriel, in Hebrew, means "Search-of-God"; Zephon, "Searcher."

797. "*So saying, on he led his radiant files.*" Here again we have military accuracy. Gabriel's subdivision of the Angels, going their round on the north side of Paradise, within the walls, march in file—*i.e.* two and two, behind each other, in a long string.

798. "*these*": *i.e.* Ithuriel and Zephon; who, while the other Angels are marching in file round Paradise, go, as special searchers, into the interior—straight to the bower of Adam and Eve.

804. "*inspiring venom.*" Richardson quotes *Æneid*, viii. 351: "*Vipeream inspirans animam.*"

813. "*Of force to its own likeness.*" See note, Book I. line 254, and account of the word *Its* in Essay on Milton's English.

814—819. "*As, when a spark lights on a heap of nitrous powder,*" &c. This is one instance, out of many in the poem, of an image drawn from the luminous effects of fire. See remarks on the effects of Milton's blindness on his poetry, *Introd.* 104—111.

835, 836. "*Think not . . . thy shape the same, or undiminished brightness, to be known.*" The construction is somewhat difficult; but



the meaning seems to be, "Think not thy shape the same, or thy brightness undiminished, so as to be known."

847—849. "*saw Virtue in her shape how lovely—saw and pined his loss*": a distinct recollection, with almost literal translation, of Persius Sat. iii. 35—38:—

"Magne pater divum, sævos punire tyrannos  
Haud aliâ ratione velis, cum dira libido  
Moverit ingenium, ferventi tincta veneno,  
Virtutem videant, intabescantque relictâ."

This appropriation, pointed out first by Hume, has been mentioned to me by Professor Sceley as one of the most striking instances of Milton's fitting of flakes from the classics into his own text.

861—864. "*Now drew they nigh the western point,*" &c. Here again Milton keeps military exactness in his description. Gabriel's subdivision of the Angels and Uzziel's subdivision, marching each in file and each its half round of Paradise—the one on the north side and the other on the south—have by this time met, as was appointed (line 784), at the west poi. of the circuit, opposite the eastern gate, whence they had set out. The subdivisions have joined (by the military act known as *closing*), and are standing in line, as before, facing Paradise, Gabriel in front, when Ithuriel and Zephon arrive with their prisoner.

866—874. "*O friends, I hear, &c. . . . He scarce had ended, when,*" &c. The commentators have marked the similarity here to the passage in the *Iliad* (x. 533 *et seq.*), describing Nestor receiving Ulysses and Diomedes on their return from the Trojan camp.

885—901. "*To whom thus Satan,*" &c. There is a strain of courtesy throughout this speech of Satan to Gabriel, as of a coequal to a coequal whom he has not seen for some time; but, as it is spoken "with contemptuous brow" (line 885) and "in scorn" (902), the courtesy must be supposed ironical.

894. "*Dole with delight.*" Todd quotes *Hamlet*, I. ii. "In equal scale weighing delight and dole."

904, 905. "*O loss of one in Heaven to judge of wise, since Satan fell.*" Said ironically by Gabriel, and meaning "O the loss that there has been in Heaven, since Satan fell, of one able to judge what wisdom is."

906. "*And now returns him.*" Mr. Keightley suggests that "Satan," not "folly," is the nom. to "returns."

911. "*However*": *i.e.* in whatever manner.

927. "*Thy fiercest*": understand "enemy."

928. "*The blasting*": so in First Edition; changed, perhaps by misprint, into "Thy blasting" in Second and Third.

945. "*practised distances to cringe*": *i.e.* to cringe, going backwards, at practised distances from the throne, like Oriental courtiers. Todd compares the taunt of Prometheus to the Chorus (*Prom. Vinc.* 945).

949, 950. "*Argues no leader . . . and couldst thou 'faithful' add?*" Gabriel here retorts sarcastically on Satan's phrase in line 933.

953—956. "*Army of fiends*," &c. In these four lines Gabriel apostrophises the absent host of Rebel Angels; in line 957 he reverts to Satan personally.

962. "*areed*": *i.e.* "advise" or "decree for." Originally the word meant to divine, to guess, to interpret, to read a riddle.

966. "*And seal thee*," &c. Rev. xx. 3. (Hume.)

972. "*Proud limitary Cherub*." In Latin "*milites limitanei*" are soldiers in garrison on a frontier for the purpose of guarding it; and it is suggested that Milton formed the word "limitary" in this sense. Gabriel having (line 964) referred to the "hallowed limits" he was set to guard, Satan retorts sneeringly "Proud limitary Cherub." It is as if he said "Proud Cherub of those limits you speak so much of."

977—979. "*the angelic squadron bright turned fiery red, sharpening in moonèd horns their phalanx*." Another instance is here furnished of what has already been noticed (note, lines 814—819)—the frequency with which Milton, probably because of his blindness, draws his descriptive images from the mere effects of light. See *Introd.* p. 111.

980. "*with ported spears*." Another instance of Milton's correct use of military terms. See *antè*, I. 565, 618; IV. 784, 786, 797, 861, and notes there. "Port arms" is still one of the words of command in our army. On receiving this command the soldier brings his weapon—*i.e.* the rifle with the bayonet attached—to a slanting position across his body, holding it with both hands, so that the barrel and the bayonet are in a line crossing the point of the left shoulder. He is thus in a position to attack an enemy; for, on receiving a farther word of command, an easy movement from this position enables him to bring down his weapon firmly to the "charge," *i.e.* with its point turned out horizontally or nearly so against whoever might meet it. In Milton's time, before bayonets were invented, the drill or manual exercise for pikes or spears was not greatly different from that now in use for the rifle and bayonet; and a body of men "with ported spears" meant, therefore, not (as most of the editors have fancied in their notes on this passage) a body of men with their spears thrust straight out against an enemy, but a body of men with their spears held in their hands across their breasts and slanting beyond the left shoulder, ready to be brought down to the "charge" if necessary. The Angels have not the points of their spears turned to Satan; they have them only grasped in the position preparatory to turning them against him. This explains the subsequent image; for a series of spears so "ported" over the left shoulders of a body of men, being parallel to



each other and aslant, *would* resemble, to a spectator, cornstalks in a field blown all one way by the wind.

985. "*alarmed*": *i.e.* "on his guard:" fear is not implied.

986. "*dilated stood*": *i.e.* actually expanded in bulk to a vast degree. Ithuriel had caught him shrunk to the dimensions of a toad; touched by Ithuriel's spear, he had resumed the ordinary angelic stature; but now he towers to his utmost.

987. "*unremoved*": incapable of being removed. See note, IV. 492.

988, 989. "*on his crest sat Horror plumed*." A personification terrible in its very vagueness. The poet, imagining Satan, sees as it were the plumed crest of his helmet, but gives only this visionary metaphor of it, of which Hume finely says: "*Sat Horror plumed*" has something in it *quod nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum*. Horror has been frequently personified by the poets. Thus Spenser (*F. Q.* II. vii. 23):—

"And over them sad Horrour with grim hew  
Did alwaies soar beating his iron wings."

Shakespeare has "Victory sits on our helms" (*Rich. III.*, V. iii.), and similar phrases which Mr. Keightley quotes.

990. "*What seemed both spear and shield*." Dunster and others after him object to the hesitancy here as spoiling the picture. "The intimation that Satan's arms were a mere semblance," says Dunster, "has a bad effect;" and Mr. Browne supposes that Milton here yielded to a sudden feeling that he was too *material* in his representations of spiritual beings. Nothing of the sort. Satan has just shot up to such vast stature that it is impossible to give precise visual descriptions of his helmet (see last note) or his arms. *That* is the true reason for the vague "what seemed."

992, 993. "*the starry cope of Heaven perhaps, or all the Elements at least, had gone to wrack*." Milton distinguishes here between the distant sphere of the fixed stars and the elements of fire, air, earth, and water, employed in the composition of the terrestrial world itself.

996, 997. "*Hung forth in Heaven his golden scales*," &c. Milton, as Hume noted, must here have had in view the passage in Homer (*Iliad*, viii. 69) where Jupiter weighs the issues of uncertain events in golden scales, and that in Virgil (*Æneid*, xii. 725) where there is a similar image. But Milton makes the balance the actual constellation 'Libra, and in other respects he makes the image entirely his own.

999—1002. "*Wherein all things created first he weighed*," &c. Hume cites Isaiah xl. 12, Job xxviii. 25 and xxxvii. 16; and Newton adds Daniel v. 26, 27—"ponders," in the literal sense of "weighs."

1003. "*The sequel each of parting and of fight*." The word "sequel" here has puzzled commentators, and Bentley proposed to read "signal."

But the meaning is plain enough, if we take "sequel" in its ordinary sense of "consequence:" one weight is or represents the consequence, or result, or advantage to Satan of "parting" or abstaining from the combat; the other represents the consequence to him of actually engaging in the fight. The scales are hung out, not to show, as between Satan and Gabriel, which will win, but to show to Satan himself which will be the better for him of two courses of action. As the scale in which the sequel, or result, or advantage of fighting was placed proved the lighter and kicked the beam, this showed him that that course of action was the less desirable for him.

1010—1014. "*To trample thee as mire*" (Isaiah x. 6). "*For proof look up . . . His mounted scale aloft.*" Although the poet at first imagines the scales as weighing for Satan the "sequel" or consequence of one course of action against the "sequel" or consequence of another, yet now, by a very natural variation of thought, not involving an inconsistency, he speaks of Satan's whole power as being the thing weighed. *His scale mounts—i.e.* his whole power is light in comparison with what is opposed to it.

## BOOK V.

2. "*Sowed the earth with orient pearl*": *i.e.* with dew-drops. Lucretius says of the sun (ii. 211) "*Luminè conserit arva.*" (Newton).

3—5. "*his sleep was aery light, from pure digestion bred, and temperate vapours bland, which,*" &c.: *i.e.* his sleep was light, being produced by pure digestion, and by the bland temperate cloudiness (not the cloudiness of excess) consequently rising to the brain, which, &c. Newton and subsequent commentators make "*sleep*" the antecedent of "*which*"; but it seems more natural, and more consistent with the subsequent image, to take "*temperate vapours bland*" as the antecedent.

5. "*the only sound*": *i.e.* the sound alone, no other being heard. Thyer quotes the phrase from Spenser (*F. Q.* v. ii. 30), "As if the only spund thereof she feared."

6. "*fuming rills*": *i.e.* either, as Hume interpreted, rills purling as if angry, or perhaps, as Newton suggested, rills literally fuming, with the morning mists rising from them.

7, 8. "*the shrill matin song of birds on every bough.*"\* Hume quotes *Æneid*, viii. 456:

"Evandrum ex humili lecto lux suscitât alma,  
Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus."

17—25. "*Awake, my fairest,*" &c. There may be a recollection here of the Song of Solomon, ii. 10—13.

22. "*our tended plants*": so in the original text; but corrupted in later editions into "*tender*."

44. "*Heaven wakes with all his eyes.*" See note, Book I. line 254. Milton generally uses the feminine possessive form *her* along with Heaven. Thus Book VII. 205, 206, "*Heaven opened wide her ever-during gates;*" and, again, lines 574, 575, "*Heaven that opened wide her blazing portals.*" In the present instance, however, there is a fitness in the masculine form—if it be the masculine by personification, and not simply the old neuter *his*. The eyes of Heaven wake to behold Eve; to have said "*her eyes,*" therefore, would not have been in keeping. From the same instinct it may be that the poet, in the preceding lines 40, 41, has made the nightingale masculine—"his love-laboured song"—whereas he usually makes this bird (though it is the male that sings) feminine. Thus Book III. 40, "*tunes her nocturnal note;*" Book IV. 602, 603, "*the tuneful nightingale: she all night long her amorous descant sung,*" &c. Todd fancies that Milton in this passage may have remembered Giles Fletcher's lines (*Christ's Victory*, stanza 78):—

"Heaven awakèd all his eyes  
To see another sun at midnight rise."

64. "*with venturous arm.*" In the original text "*ventrous.*"

100—110. "*But know that in the soul are many lesser faculties,*" &c. It may be interesting to compare this little bit of Milton's psychology, introduced in explanation of Dreaming, with the corresponding parts of Sir John Davies's philosophical poem on the Soul (1599). In that poem, after describing the Five organs of Sense, Davies proceeds:—

"These are the outward instruments of sense;  
These are the guards which everything does pass,  
Ere it approach the mind's intelligence,  
Or touch the Fantasy, Wit's looking-glass  
  
And yet these porters, which all things admit,  
Themselves perceive not, nor discern the things:  
One common power doth in the forehead sit  
\* Which all their proper forms together brings."

The function of this common power, or recipient and percipient of the informations of the various senses, is to transmit them to a still higher region of the brain,

"Where Fantasy, near handmaid to the mind,  
Sits and beholds, and doth discern them all;  
Compounds in one things different in their kind;  
Compares the black and white, the great and small.

\* \* \* \* \*

This busy power is working day and night ;  
 For, when the outward senses rest do take,  
 A thousand dreams, fantastical and light,  
 With fluttering wings do keep her still awake."

Next are described Memory, and the Passions of Sense, or beginnings of active Will; after which comes the supreme faculty of Wit, taking such various names as Reason, Understanding, Opinion, Judgment, Wisdom :—

"The Wit, the pupil of the Soul's clear eye,  
 And in man's world the only shining star,  
 Looks in the mirror of the Fantasy,  
 Where all the gatherings of the Senses are.

From thence this power the shapes of things abstracts,  
 And," &c.

Milton's psychology, it will be seen, is very much that of the foregoing passages, and in some points word for word. Doubtless, it was a common doctrine of the day.—*Fancy*, *Phantasy*, and *Imagination* were synonymous, or nearly so, in Milton's time. The differencing of Fancy from Imagination is a later habit. The word "*represent*" in line 105 is used in its original sense of "making to reappear," and not in the derivative sense of "standing for."

110—113. "*Oft, in her (i.e. Reason's) absence, mimic Fancy wakes,*" &c. Compare Tennyson's beautiful expression, in *Maud*, of the same often observed fact in dreaming :—

"And now by this my love has closed her sight,  
 And given false death her hand, and stolen away  
 To dreamful wastes where footless fancies dwell  
 Among the fragments of the golden day."

117. "*Evil into the mind of God or Man.*" Here, as frequently, Milton uses the word "*God*" generally for "*Angel*" or "*superhuman being*."

118. "*so unapproved*": corrupted, in some late editions, into "*so unreprieved*." By "*so*" is meant either "in this manner," referring to Eve's dream, or "if so be that it is." The former construction seems the more natural.

137—144. "*But first, from under shady arborous roof soon as they forth were come . . . lowly they bowed, adoring.*" The construction becomes clearer by the omission, as here, of the intervening descriptive clauses. It is marred in the original text by a comma inadvertently placed after "*roof*," the effect of which is to suggest that the adoration took place in the bower, whereas it was in the open air after they had come forth from the bower.

142. "*landskip*." See note, IV. 153.

144—152. "*Lowly they bowed, adoring . . . to add more sweetness.*" In the whole of this passage there is more than a hint of Milton's sympathy with the Puritans in their objection to Liturgies and set forms of worship. Thus "*each morning duly paid in various style,*" and, again, "*or sung unmeditated.*" Nay, in lines 150—152, is there not (what would be stranger from Milton) a reflection on instrumental music in worship? Bishop Newton's note on the passage may be quoted. "As it is very well known," he says, "that our author was no friend to set forms of prayer, it is no wonder that he ascribes extemporary effusions to our first parents; but, even whilst he attributes strains unmeditated to them, he himself emulates the Psalmist." Bishop Newton means that the splendid outburst which follows is a recollection of Psalm cxlviii. Milton, however, in his prose-discussions of the subject, takes full account of such forms. Observe, however, that he distinctly makes Adam and Eve turn to the East in praying. They face the rising sun (139—143).

150. "*numerous verse*": i.e. musical, rhythmical, or full of "numbers" in the poetic sense, as in the phrase "to lisp in numbers."

160—165. "*Speak, ye who best can tell, ye Sons of Light,*" &c. The word "ye" is sometimes spelt in Milton as we now spell it, with one *e*; but sometimes thus, "*yee*." So with similar words. It has been supposed that he had a rule in this, according as he meant the word to be less or more emphatic. But, if so, the present passage is rather puzzling. The word "ye" occurs in it five times. In the First Edition the spelling "*yee*" is adopted in two of these cases (Nos. 4 and 5)—to wit, in lines 163, 164, thus—

". . . yee in Heav'n,  
On Earth joyn all yee creatures . . ."

We can conceive that Milton intended an emphasis upon the word "ye" in both these cases; though, perhaps, hardly that he intended a greater emphasis than on the first "ye" in line 160. But, if we get over this (and it seems to improve the sense to make the word "ye" peculiarly emphatic in the two cases where it is spelt "*yee*"), how happens it that in the Second and Third Editions there is a variation?

162. "*day without night.*" Rev. xxi. 25. (Dunster.)

165. "*Him first, him last,*" &c. Rev. xxii. 13.

166—170. "*Fairest of Stars,*" &c.: i.e. the planet Venus; which, when she is to the west of the Sun, rises and sets before him, and is then called Phosphorus, Lucifer, or the Morning-star, but, when she is to the east of the Sun, rises and sets after him, and is then called Hesperus, or the Evening-star. It is as Phosphorus or the Morning-star that she is here addressed—"sure pledge of day," &c.; but the



phrase "fairest of stars" is, as Hume noted, precisely Homer's (*Iliad*, xxii. 318):

"Εσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσταται ἀστήρ."

Donne, in his *Progress of the Soul*, describing the passage of the disembodied soul through space, says:—

"Venus retards her not, to enquire how she  
Can, being one star, Hesper and Vesper be."

169. "*in thy sphere*": i.e. in that one of the astronomical spheres to which the planet belonged.

171. "*Thou Sun, of this great World both eye and soul.*" Hume quotes from Ovid (*Met.* iv. 228) the phrase "*mundi oculus*" for the Sun, and Newton finds him called "*animus mundi*" in Pliny.

176. "*fixed in their orb that flies.*" Orb means here astronomical sphere according to the old or Ptolemaic system. The orb or sphere of the fixed stars was the eighth from the Earth.

177—201. "*And ye,*" &c. See note, *antè* 160—165. But in these twenty-five lines the alternation of the spelling between "ye" and "yee" in the original edition does accord very exactly with the notion that Milton meant to indicate emphasis by the spelling "yee." The word occurs eleven times in the passage, and in the original edition the spelling "yee" is given in four cases out of the eleven—Nos. 1, 6, 10, and 11—precisely the cases where, in reading the passage, the word has to be pronounced strongly. And the arrangement is preserved to the Third Edition.

177. "*five other wandering Fires.*" As the poet has already invoked Venus, the Sun, and the Moon, there remain to be invoked only "*four* other" of the seven bodies known in the astronomy of Milton's time as the planets or "*wandering fires*"—to wit, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Hence Bentley reads "*four*" here for "*five*." It *may* be a slip on Milton's part; or he may have meant to re-include Venus. Adam is afterwards instructed that the Earth *may* be a planet (VIII. 128; but not yet).

178. "*not without song*": "the music of the spheres," one of Milton's most favourite ideas.

181. "*in quaternion run*": i.e. in fourfold combination, as Air, Earth, Water, and Fire.

195. "*warble as ye flow,*" &c. Mr. Browne refers to III. 31.

198. "*That, singing, up to Heaven-gate ascend.*" Newton cites the song in *Cymbeline* (II. iii.), "Hark! hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings;" and there is nearly the same phrase in Shakespeare's Sonnet xxix.

202—204. "*Witness if I be silent . . . by my song.*" We should have expected here the plural pronouns *we* and *our*, since Adam and Eve are both engaged in the adoration. Bentley, who takes any liberty he likes with Milton's text, actually makes the change. But it has been suggested that Milton had the practice of the ancient Greek choruses in view, where, though many are singing, the first pronoun singular is used. Likelier perhaps is it that he thought of Adam as the sole speaker in the act of worship, Eve listening. One even thinks of the poet himself as, by substitution, the speaker here.

214. "*pampered boughs.*" Richardson's *Dict.* thus defines the word *Pamper*:—"Fr. *Pamprer*; Lat. *Pampinus*, a vine-leaf. Fr. *Pamprer*, to fill, furnish, or cover with vine-leaves; and hence to train or nurse into luxuriant growth." The word in English is as old as Chaucer.

215—217. "*the vine to wed her elm,*" &c. The twining of vines round the elm and the poplar, for support, and also, as was thought, for the bettering of the grapes, is frequently spoken of in the classic poets as the *marriage* of the vine: e.g. Horace, *Epod.* ii. 9, Ovid's *Met.* xiv. 661 *et seq.*

218, 219. "*the adopted clusters,*" &c. Dunster quotes Buchanan, *Maia Cal.* 66:—

"Pampinus appositæ complexus brachia sylvæ  
Vestit adoptivis robora nuda comis."

220—223. "*and to him called Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deigned to travel with Tobias,*" &c. Stillingfleet perceives a recollection here of the employment of Hermes by Zeus on a similar errand and for the same reason (*Il.* xxiv. 334).—This is the second reference in the poem to the story of Tobit in the Apocrypha (see IV. 162—171 and note there). Mr. Keightley thinks Milton was fond of that story.—*Raphael* in Hebrew means "Health of God" or "The Divine Healer."

224—228. "'*Raphael,*' said he, '*thou hear'st,*'" &c. Thyer saw an imitation here, and in the sequel, of Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* ix. 58; where God calls Michael and sends him to help the Christians:—

"Chiama egli a se Michele, il qual nell' armi  
Di lucido diamante arde e lampeggia;  
E dice lui: Non vedi or come s'armi  
Contra la mia fedel diletta greggia  
L'empia schiera d'Averno?" &c.

249. "*celestial Ardours.*" The word "Ardours" is but a fine translation of the Hebrew word "Seraphim," which is from a verb meaning "to burn."

257—261. "*From hence—no cloud, or . . . star interposed, however small—he sees,*" &c. Owing to confused pointing in the original, there has been some difference as to the reading of this passage. Newton



and Todd construe as follows:—"From hence, no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight, he sees the Earth, however small at that distance, not unlike other shining globes," &c. They point the passage accordingly. But this construction seems not only unnatural, but absurd; for the poet goes on to speak of the "Garden of God" and the "cedars" as being cloudily visible to the Angel on the Earth's disc—whence it is clear that the "however small" has to be connected with the previous word "star," as it is by our pointing.

261, 262. "*the glass of Galileo*": the second mention of Galileo in the poem (see I. 288, and note), and the third of the "optic glass" or telescope (see also III. 590, and note). The telescope is again mentioned, by that name, in *Par. Reg.* IV. 40—42.

264—266. "*Or pilot from amidst the Cyclades Delos or Samos first appearing kens, a cloudy spot.*" The construction is "or pilot kens Delos or Samos first appearing from amidst the Cyclades as a cloudy spot." Mr. Keightley pointed out (*Life of Milton*, p. 430) that Milton has here, by a slip of memory, fallen into a geographical error—Samos not being one of the Cyclades, but one of the Asiatic group at a distance from them in the same archipelago. Nor will this error be obviated by the reading which would interpret as follows:—"or pilot, coming from amidst the Cyclades, kens Delos or Samos first appearing as a cloudy spot;" for, though that might suit for Samos, it would not for Delos, which *is* one of the Cyclades. The only reconciliation would be by supposing that Milton used the name Cyclades generally for all the islands of the archipelago.

270. "*buxom air.*" See II. 842, and note.

272—274. "*A phœnix, gazed by all—(i.e. gazed at by all)—as that sole (i.e. unique) bird, when,*" &c. The allusion is to the ancient fable of the marvellous Arabian bird, the Phœnix, of which only one was alive at a time, and which, every 500 years, came from Arabia to Heliopolis in Egypt to bury the relics of its father, the preceding Phœnix (or, according to another version, to leave its own relics), in the Temple of the Sun there (Herod. ii. 73; Ovid, *Met.* xv., &c.). Milton substitutes Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt, for Heliopolis in Lower Egypt.

277—285. "*Six wings he wore,*" &c. In this passage Milton remembers the description of the Seraphim in Isaiah vi. 2: "Each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly."

285. "*Sky-tinctured grain.*" There is a long and interesting dissertation on the etymology of this word "grain," and on the use of the word by the older English poets, and especially by Milton, in Mr. George P. Marsh's "*Lectures on the English Language*" (First Series: Fourth American Edition, 1861: pp. 65—75). According to Mr. Marsh, the true meaning of this word in Milton and in the older poets

has been lost sight of. We now generally use the word as equivalent to "texture," "structure," "fibre," or "material"—speaking of wood or stone as being "hard in grain," and understanding by such a phrase as "a rogue in grain" one who is a rogue in his very fibre. But this meaning, Mr. Marsh contends, is a derivative one. Originally "grain" implied colour—of which, indeed, we have a recollection still along with the other usage. Thus, in reading Milton's invocation of Melancholy in his *Penseroso*—

"Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,  
Sober, steadfast, and demure,  
All in a robe of darkest grain  
Flowing with majestic train,"

we do interpret "grain" to mean colour rather than texture. We understand, in fact, that the goddess is garbed in a robe of black or dark grey colour. But here, according to Mr. Marsh, we are wrong, or not sufficiently right. "Grain" meant not colour in general, but one particular colour or range of colours. It was a term derived from the Latin "granum," a seed or kernel, or grain in the sense of "grain of corn"—which word "granum" had come, in later Latin times, to be applied specifically to the *coccum*, a peculiar dye-stuff consisting of the dried, granular, or seed-like bodies of insects of the genus *Coccus*, collected in large quantities from trees in Spain and other Mediterranean countries. But that dye was distinctly red. Another name for it, and for the insect producing it, was *kermes* (borrowed from the Persian and Arabic, where *kermes*, radically identical with the Latin *vermis* and our word *worm*, had come to be the name of this coccus insect in particular)—whence our words "carmine" and "crimson." "Grain" therefore meant a dye of such red, or of one or other such shades of red, as might be produced by the use of kermes or coccum. The classic "purple," which included evidently a wider range of hues than our "purple," might nearly correspond. Melancholy's "robe of darkest grain" in the *Penseroso* means a robe of the darkest shade of this colour—i.e. a purple gloomed to deep violet. But there were brighter hues of "grain," and these the more usual. Chaucer (*Nonne Preestes Tale*)—

"Him needeth not his colour for to dien  
With Brasil, ne with grain of Portingale."

Again, in *Paradise Lost*, Book XI. 240—244, in the description of the Archangel Michael—

"Over his lucid arms  
A military vest of purple flowed,  
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain  
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old  
In time of truce; Iris had dipped the woof."

Here "grain of Sarra" is Tyrian purple (Sarra being a name for Tyre)—which, however, was procured not from the coccus-insect, but from a shell-fish; and the colour suggested is something like scarlet. So, in the passage now under notice, "sky-tinctured grain" means cærulean purple, or purple dipped in the colours of the sky. "Those who remember," says Mr. Marsh, "the hues which the painters of the sixteenth century give to the wings of angels will be at no loss to understand the epithet *sky-tinctured* which here qualifies *grain*. Sky-tinctured is not necessarily azure; for sky, in old English and the cognate languages, meant clouds, and Milton does not confine its application to the concave blue, but embraces in the epithet all the brighter tints which belong to meteoric phenomena." In fact he means to suggest that, while the Archangel's middle pair of wings were mainly of a radiant gold-colour, his third pair, covering his feet, were more of a varied or cloudy violet.—But how came "grain," thus meaning originally the red or purple dye of the kermes, to lose that meaning? How it should have come to mean colour in general instead of the precise colour of the kermes dye, is not difficult to understand—such generalizations being not unfrequent in the history of language. But how came it to signify not colour at all, but texture or material? "The colour obtained from kermes or grain," says Mr. Marsh, "was a peculiarly durable, or, as it is technically called, a *fast* or *fixed* dye. When, then, a merchant recommended his purple stuffs as being *dyed in grain*, he generally meant that they were dyed with *kermes* and would wear well." Thus the phrase "in grain" came to imply durability; and such occasional expressions as "scarlet-en-grayn" in Chaucer and "your purple-in-grain beard" in Shakespeare (*Mid. Night's Dr.* I. ii.) were interpreted accordingly. When, in the *Comedy of Errors* (III. ii.), to the remark of Antipholus, "That's a fault that water will mend," Dromio replies, "No, sir, 'tis in grain; Noah's flood could not do it," it is easy to see how the true notion "No, sir, 'tis in the dye of kermes" (or in a fast colour) should give way to the notion "No, sir, 'tis in the very fibre." Indeed, we now speak of *ingrained* vice, *ingrained* folly, &c., and we have the phrases "cross-grained," "against the grain," &c.—So far we have in the main followed Mr. Marsh. His exposition, however, appears to us to leave not a little in doubt. Had we not, for example, the word "grain" in its original generic sense of seed or corn at the same time that we were using it also in its secondary sense of "the grain or dye of the coccus," and may not the notion of "grain," therefore, as implying granular structure, and thence texture, be of at least equal antiquity as the notion of it as implying red colour? May not the two notions have become identified, that of structure as the stronger absorbing the other? Or, after all, may not the notion of "grain" as meaning structure be derived from quite another root than the Latin *granum*? Mr. Marsh himself cites such a possible root in the Scandinavian word *gren*, meaning a branch or twig; and other etymologists recognise our word "grain," in the sense of direction

of the fibres in wood, as derived from *grenian*, A.-S. "to grow." This sense of "grain" in English is certainly an old one: *e.g.* Skelton, as quoted in Rich. *Dict.*: "Her skin loose and slack, grained like a sack." At this day, curiously enough, there is a combination of the two meanings in the word *to grain* or *graining* as employed by house-painters. It means to colour in imitation of the fibring or texture of wood.

285—287. "*Like Maia's son he stood*," &c. : *i.e.* like Mercury. Todd quotes *Hamlet*, III. iv.—

"like the herald Mercury  
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill."

294, 295. "*Nature here wantoned as in her prime*": a common idea with Poets. Todd quotes the exact phrase "While Nature wantons in her prime" from Thomas Watson's *Italian Madrigals Englished* (1590).

297. "*enormous bliss*": not only in the derivative sense of "very large," but also in the sense of "out of rule" (*e normâ*).

299. "*as in the door he sat*." See Genesis xviii. 1. Milton has this chapter in view in what follows.

321, 322. "*Adam, Earth's hallowed mould, of God inspired*": Gen. ii. 7. The name *Adam* implies derivation from the earth.

334—336. "*What order so contrived as not to mix tastes, not well-joined, inelegant, but bring taste after taste*," &c. One may choose here among several constructions. One, and perhaps the simplest, would regard "inelegant" as standing for "inelegantly," and would read "so contrived as not inelegantly to mix tastes not well joined, but," &c. Another would make the meaning "so contrived as not to mix tastes (which, when not well joined, are inelegant), but," &c.; and there might be still a third. According to the reading adopted, the pointing, which I have kept as in the original, might be varied.

339. "*middle shore*": *i.e.* the Mediterranean lands, including Western Asia (represented here by Pontus in Asia Minor), Southern Europe, and Africa (represented by the Punic or Carthaginian coast).

340, 341. "*where Alcinoüs reigned*": *i.e.* Phæacia, afterwards Corcyra or Corfu, where King Alcinoüs had his gardens (*Odys.* vii.).

341, 342. "*fruit of all kinds, in coat rough, or smooth rined, or bearded husk, or shell*." The reading in most of the editions is "*rind*," and the construction "fruit of all kinds, in rough coat, or smooth rind, or bearded husk, or shell." But in the First, Second, and Third Editions the lines stand thus:—

"fruit of all kindes, in coate,  
Rough, or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell."

From the spelling of "*rin'd*" here it appears that Milton intended the word for an adjective "*rined*," equivalent to "*rinded*;" and Mr. Keightley

quotes from Spenser the expression "the grey moss marred his rine," containing the substantive "rine" from which such an adjective might be formed. If we are to read "*rined*" in this sense, one construction of the passage would be "fruit of all kinds, rined in coat rough or smooth, or in bearded husk, or in shell." This is awkward in itself, and does not agree with the pointing. It is probable that Milton meant the construction to be "fruit of all kinds—in coat, whether rough coat or coat smooth-rined, or in bearded husk," &c.; though this agreement of the adjective "rined" with "coat," instead of with "fruit," hardly accords with usage.

345. "*inoffensive must*"; spelt "*moust*" in the original. "*Inoffensive*": i.e. not yet intoxicating: *must* being new or unfermented wine (Lat. *mustus*, "fresh").—*Meaths*, sweet juices (specially, in the form of *mead*, a liquor made from honey)—Greek μέθυ, "wine."

349. "*odours from the shrub unfumed*" means either "odours unfumed (i.e. not yet exhaled) from the shrub," or "odours from the unfumed (i.e. unburnt or natural) shrub." Mr. Browne notes: "Fire was unknown in Paradise (IX. 392), at least till after the Fall (X. 1073)."

351—353. "*without more train accompanied than with his own complete perfections*." A curious licence of syntax, which provoked from Bentley this note: "*Without more than with* is a solecism. It should be *without more than his*, &c., *with* being expunged." As the verse does not permit this, Bentley supposed that Milton dictated *with no more train than with*. The liberties and flexibilities of seventeenth century English were unknown in Bentley's grammar.

365. "*to want*": i.e. to be without.—"*vouchsafe*;" spelt "*voutsafe*" in the original editions. So at line 312. See Essay on Milton's English.

383, 384. "*no veil she needed*." That Milton intended the word "she" to be emphatic here is proved by the spelling "*shee*" in the original.

386, 387. "*the holy salutation used . . . to blest Mary*:" Luke i. 28.

391. "*grassy turf*": in the original "*terf*."

399. "*All perfect good*"; spelt "*perfet*" in the original editions. See Essay on Milton's English.

409. "*As doth*": "doth" where we should now say "do"—a relic of the older grammar.

413. "*And corporeal*": perhaps to be pronounced "*corporéal*;" which strengthens the contrast with "*incorporeal*" following.

416—418. "*Earth the Sea*," &c. "Nam ex terrâ, aqua; ex aquâ oritur aer; ex aere æther," &c.: Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 33. (Hume.) Parts of this treatise of Cicero's are in the poet's recollection throughout this passage.



419. "*Whence in her visage round those spots,*" &c. Newton quotes a passage from Pliny (ii. 9) where the spots on the moon are said to be "nothing else than the mud of the earth sucked up with the moisture."

422. "*her moist continent.*" Shakespeare, as Todd noted, calls the moon "the moist star" (*Hamlet*, I. i.).

430. "*pearly grain.*" Manna seems to be meant.

434—436. "*nor seemingly the Angel, nor in mist—the common gloss of theologians—but with,*" &c. The construction, is "Nor did the Angel eat only seemingly, or as in a mist—the common gloss, &c.—but," &c. Commenting on this passage, Bishop Newton says, "Several of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the Book of Tobit, xii. 19."

440. "*the empiric alchemist*": i.e. "the experimenting alchemist," not "the quack alchemist," as the phrase would now be interpreted.

442. "*perfect gold*": again spelt "*perfet*" in the original. See note to line 399.

445. "*crowned*": filled to the brim—a metaphor from the classics.

447. "*the Sons of God.*" See Genesis vi. 2.

469—490. "*O Adam,*" &c. As in a previous passage (lines 414—426) we have had a sketch of Milton's system of Physical Cosmology, so here we have a sketch of his Metaphysical system. Some recognise in it a form of Materialism; but that name, as commonly understood, is far from appropriate. God made Matter, and all Matter is radically one, though reascending nearer and nearer its divine origin through a series of forms—*inorganic, the lower organic, the animal, the human, and the angelic*. The passage itself may be studied in detail.

472. "*one first matter all*": i.e. all of the same primordial matter or stuff.

488. "*Discursive or Intuitive.*" The distinction is an old one in psychology, and is still kept up by many psychologists. "Discursive Reason [or Understanding] is that act of our minds by which, after previous perception and judgment, made by comparing and distinguishing anything under our inquiry with and from others better known, we form more certain notions and conclusions . . . called *discursus* (Lat. *a discurrendo*), from a metaphorical *motion* in our minds, *running* as it were from one notion to another, and hunting out our imperfect knowledge." So Shakespeare has the phrase "discourse of reason" (*Ham.* I. ii.). On the other hand "Intuitive Reason is that more refined, sudden, and satisfactory *insight* [Lat. *intueor*, "I look into"], that pure Spirits and illuminated Angels have into the nature of things," without all the trouble of comparing, distinguishing, hesitating, &c., but "at first

glance, *uno mentis ictu*," grasping the truth.—The quoted phrases are from Milton's earliest commentator, Hume.

509. "*the scale of Nature set*," &c. : *i.e.* "planted that ladder (*scala*, a ladder), or fixed that gradation, of Nature, from its centre to its circumference, on which," &c.

514. "*Can we want obedience, then*." "We" spelt "*wee*" in the original edition, and therefore emphatic.

524. "*perfect*"; spelt "*perfet*," as before.

557. "*Worthy of sacred silence to be heard*." Literally, as Richardson noted, from Horace (*Od.* II. xiii. 29)—

"sacro digna silentio  
Mirantur umbræ dicere."

563—576. "*High matter thou enjoin'st*," &c. A recollection of the way in which episodic or retrospective narrations are introduced in the classic Epics; see *Æneid*, ii. 3. But Milton in this passage desires also to anticipate the objection that was sure to be made, and that has actually been made, to great portions of his poem—to wit that, in trying to describe things in their nature indescribable, he has had to resort to all kinds of physical and anthropomorphic shifts and suggestions. Through Raphael he hints beforehand that it must be so—that, in describing the wars in Heaven, he *must* use such symbols and analogies as may serve to flash, not the transcendental reality, but a representative something, upon the imagination. But what, he concludes, if there is more of identity between the seen and the unseen than is thought—if Earth be but sacramental and symbolical of Heaven? This idea, characteristic as it is of Milton's mind, may be found, in various forms, in the philosophy of many thinkers—long before Berkeley, in whose system it was so essential. Newton cites a passage in illustration from the "Discourses" of Mede, and Todd another from Cicero (*Frag. Timæus*), ending "*Ex quo efficitur ut sit necesse hunc quem cernimus mundum simulacrum esse alicujus æterni*."

568. "*And perfect*": again "*perfet*" in the original.

576. "*more than on Earth is thought*." In these words and in the passage in which they appear, "*what if Earth*," &c., one rather sees Milton himself speaking to his contemporaries than Raphael speaking at a time when there were only two human beings on the Earth to have opinions.

577. "*As yet this World was not*," &c. At this point we have the true chronological beginning of the whole poem. See *Introduction*.

578. "*these heavens*": *i.e.* not the great or upper Heaven of Deity and the Angels (which then existed as one half of Infinity, Chaos being the other half), but *these* heavens over and around the Earth. The word



"Heaven" or "Heavens" occurs in both these senses throughout the poem.

579—583. "*on a day . . . on such day as Heaven's great year brings forth.*" Here, at the outset, Milton's, or Raphael's, plan of narrating the events of the eternal or transcendental world so as to make them analogically conceivable by the human mind involves him in a daring image, with a perplexing theological consequence. There are grand measures of time by motion in Heaven, as on Earth. Heaven has its "great year"—perhaps that "great year of the Heavens" imagined by Plato, which is measured by one complete revolution of all the spheres, so that all are brought back to the exact condition of mutual arrangement from which they set out, and are ready to begin a new repetition of their vast courses. Well, on a day such as this great year brings forth—the first day of one such enormous Heavenly revolution—there was an assembling of the Heavenly hierarchies, by summons, to hear a grand new announcement of the will of the Infinite Father. It was that on that day had been begotten the only Son, and that he was constituted and anointed Head and Lord over all things. Now, as the Angelic hosts were assembled to hear this decree, it seems to be intimated that they had indefinitely pre-existed the day so splendidly marked, and that it came as a kind of interruption or new epoch in their existence. And this seems farther hinted in a subsequent speech of Satan (lines 853—863), where it is implied that, in Satan's view at least, the Angels had come into being at the beginning of a *previous* great year or natural cycle of the Heavens. Now, though Milton was an Arian, and though his Arianism was inferred by Voltaire and others from such passages of his *Paradise Lost* as these before the discovery of his posthumous Latin "*Treatise on Christian Doctrine*," yet his Arianism, as avowed in that treatise, was not of the kind that would have been content with imagining the ascendancy of the Son as subsequent to the creation of the Angels. According to Bishop Sumner's summary of the portion of the treatise referring to this subject, Milton asserted that "the Son of God existed in the beginning and was the first of the whole creation," and that "by his delegated power all things were made in heaven and in earth." There would seem to be an inconsistency between this and what is suggested in the poem. But see the speech of Abdiel (lines 835—840), where the seeming inconsistency is provided for by the assertion that, albeit the Son had been begotten on that day of the assembling of the Angels, yet by Him originally had all things, including the Angels themselves, been made. It seems unavoidable to suppose that Milton drew a distinction between the absolute existence and power of the Son and "his being begotten as the Son"—dating the first as from the beginning, or at least from before all Creation and all Angels, but placing the last within the limits of created time and of the angelic history, and so denying what theologians call "the Eternal Sonship." But, in all, he keeps a sacred reserve; and, though his Arianism may be found in such passages of

the *Paradise Lost*, yet it need not ; for, walking amid such difficult mysteries, the poet, as on other such occasions, thinks it best to keep close to the language of Scripture, and in every possible case to use the exact words of some Scriptural text, leaving the texts conjointly to produce the total impression. See first of all Job i. 6, 1 Kings xxii. 19, Daniel vii. 10.

589. "*gonfalons*." A *gonfalon*, as distinct from an ordinary standard, was a flag at the end of a lance. The Pope's standard was such a *gonfalon*. The etymology of the word is doubtful.

594—596. "*in orbs of circuit inexpressible . . . orb within orb*." Orb may here mean "circle" ; but perhaps it still *may* mean "solid sphere." See note, Book II. 512.

601. "*Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers*." A gradation of rank seems implied here, as if the "throned Angels" were highest, next those with "dominations," and so on.

602—609. The texts here coagulated are Psalms ii. 67, cx. 1 ; Eph. iv. 15 ; Genesis xxii. 16 ; Isaiah xlv. 23 ; Philipp. ii. 10, 11 ; Heb. i. 5.

612. "*Me disobeys*" ; spelt "*mee*" in the original, and therefore emphatic.

625—627. "*And in their motions harmony divine*," &c. There was no notion more delightful or habitual to Milton than the Pythagorean one of "the music of the spheres." It often occurs in his writings. He must have been familiar with all the references to it among the ancients, including the interesting passage which Todd quotes from Philo Judæus: 'Ο δὲ οὐρανὸς αἰεὶ μελωδεῖ, κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν πάμμουσον ἁρμονίαν ἀποτελῶν.

627. "*Evening now approached*." The word *now* omitted in First Edition, inserted in Second.

628. "*For we have also our evening and our morn*." The metre of this line is irregular.

636—641. "*On flowers reposed . . . rejoicing in their joy*." Instead of these six lines, which appear thus in the Second Edition, the First Edition has only these three :

" They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet  
Are fill'd, before th' all bounteous King, who shewd  
With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy."

In Pickering's eight-volume Edition of Milton's works the passage is inadvertently given in its more meagre form, the First Edition having been followed. Consequently there, as in the First Edition, Book V. of the poem contains only 904 lines, instead of 907.

642. "*ambrosial Night*." A Homeric expression, as Hume noted: ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα (*Iliad*, ii. 57).

650—652. See Rev. vii. 17 (Todd), and xxii. 1 (Keightley).

658—661. "*Satan—so call him now,*" &c. See note, Book I. 361—375.

671. "*his next subordinate*" : i.e. Beelzebub. See note, I. 80—85.

673. "*Sleep'st thou, companion dear ?*" Compare with this the passage in Milton's Latin poem "*In Quintum Novembris,*" 92.

685—693. "*Tell them that, by command,*" &c. Bishop Newton has pointed out that it is in keeping that the Father of Lies should be made to begin his revolt with a falsehood.

688, 689. "*where we possess the quarters of the North.*" It is by no means necessary to suppose with some that Milton intended here a reflection on Scotland, as the head-quarters of Presbyterianism and Royalist obstinacy. The notion of the north parts of Heaven as the seat of the angelic rebellion was a theologico-poetic tradition, founded perhaps on Isaiah xiv. 12, 13, "How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning . . . For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God ; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north." Various authorities for the tradition are quoted by Newton, Warton, and Todd—as St. Augustine, Sannazaro, Tasso, &c. Nay in Shakespeare (1 *Henry VI.*, V. iii.) Satan is "the monarch of the North."

696. "*He together calls*" : i.e. His associate calls. The spelling is "*Hee*" in the original edition, to mark the emphasis.

710. "*the third part of Heaven's host.*" Rev. xii. 3, 4. (Hume.)

713. "*from within the golden lamps,*" &c. Rev. iv. 5. (Hume.)

718. "*smiling*" : an important word here, indicating that the speech following is in a continued strain of irony.

719. "*Son, thou in whom,*" &c. Heb. i. 2. (Hume.)

734. "*Lightening divine.*" As the word is spelt "light'ning" in the original edition, we take it as a participle, meaning "gleaming," or "lightening up ;" but some read it as a substantive, and quote Daniel x. 6 in illustration.

736, 737. "*hast in derision . . . laugh'st.*" Psalm ii. 4. (Hume.)

744. "*an host*" : so in the original text, and not "*a host,*" as in most of the editions.

753, 754. "*from one entire globose stretched into longitude*" : i.e. conceived as extended or rolled out from its globose form into a plane continuous in one direction, like that of longitude in the maps.

766. "*The Mountain of the Congregation called.*" Isaiah xiv. 13.

782. "*Knee-tribute.*" Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Richard II.*, I. iv., "the tribute of his supple knee."

790, 791. "*possessed before by none.*" This phrase refers to "Heaven," and not to "natives and sons." Satan makes the Angels aborigines of Heaven. See previous note, lines 578—583.

797. "*Much less for this to be our Lord.*" A difficult passage to construe. In the first place, if, as in the original text, we suppose the interrogation continued as far as to the word "*serve*" in line 802, the phrase "much less" seems out of place. "Much more" would be the natural phrase in that case. But, if we stop the interrogation at "err not," and suppose an ellipsis, this difficulty vanishes. In the second place, to what does "for this" refer? Some understand it to be a contemptuous reference to the Messiah—"for *this* person to be our Lord;" others understand "for this" to refer to the previous phrase, "if in power and splendour less," and the meaning consequently to be "much less assume, on account of our being less in power and splendour, to be our Lord." Bentley, according to his bold and easy method, proposes to read "forethink" for "for this." The most feasible supposition seems to be Warburton's—which is that "for this" refers to "introduce law and edict," and that the meaning is "Who can introduce law and edict on us?" &c. "Much less can any one assume, towards this end, or because of so doing, to be our Lord," &c.

804, 805. "*among the Seraphim, Abdiel.*" The name Abdiel means "Servant of God."

805. "*than whom.*" Here, as in other cases, Milton writes "*than whom*" when "*than who*" would, in our modern syntax, be more correct. Thus, if we resolve the phrase, it becomes "Abdiel—none with more zeal adored than he." But, whether owing to Milton's practice, or owing to a soundness in that tradition which makes the words *me*, *him*, &c., stand as nominatives in spite of the dictates of modern grammar, we certainly feel "*than whom*" to be the less awkward form.

809. "*blasphemous*" : to be pronounced "blasphémous."

822—825. "*Shalt thou give law to God,*" &c. Rom. ix. 20. (Gillies.)

835—841. "*by whom, as by his word,*" &c. See Colossians i. 16, 17. (Newton.)

842, 843. "*since he, the head,*" &c. The meaning is "since he, by becoming our head, deigns to become one of us, and we consequently participate in all that is his."

859—863. "*We know no time,*" &c. See previous note, 578—583.

862. "*his full orb.*" A remarkable instance of "*his*" where we should now say "*its*." It is impossible to suppose personification in the case of so neutral an entity as "fatal course;" and, indeed, seeing that it was Satan's intention to shut out the idea that living personality of any kind had been concerned in the genesis of the Angels. one is

rather surprised that Milton did not instinctively use the form "*its*" here. See, on word *Its*, Essay on Milton's English.

864, 865. "*Our puissance*," &c. Psalm xii. 4, and Psalm xlv. 4. (Hume.)

869. "*Beseeching or besieging*." This is referred to as one of those "jingles" in Milton which a modern taste would reject. Perhaps modern taste is in fault.

872—874. "*as the sound of waters*," &c. Rev. xix. 6. (Newton.)

884. "*vouchsafed*"; in the original "*voutsafed*." See Essay c Milton's English.

907. "*swift destruction*." 2 Pet. ii. 1. (Keightley.)

## BOOK VI.

2—4. "*till Morn, waked by the circling Hours, with rosy hand unbarred the gates of Light*." A recollection of Homer's phrase ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως; perhaps also of *Iliad*, v. 749; certainly, as Hume pointed out, of Ovid, *Met.* ii. 112.

7—11. "*Lodge and dislodge by turns*," &c. Newton refers to Hesiod, *Theog.* 748.

19. "*war in procinct*": i.e. in readiness. A Roman army, ready for battle, was said *stare in procinctu* (from *procingere*, "to gird tight in front"), the soldiers having then their garments girt tight round them.

29—43. "*Servant of God*," &c. This is the meaning of the name Abdiel. In the speech to Abdiel there is a recollection of Matt. xxv. 21; 1 Tim. vi. 12; Ps. lxii. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 15.

44—55. "*Go, Michael*," &c. Milton's authority for making Michael the chief leader of the Heavenly armies is Rev. xii. 7, 8: "And there was war in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon," &c. It has been remarked, by Dunster and Landor, as an inconsistency in the poem that the order given to Michael in this passage remains unexecuted. The rebels are driven out at last, not by Michael, but by the Messiah in person.

49. "*Equal in number*," &c. As the rebel Angels were one-third of the Heavenly Host, this implies that half of the remainder only were detached to meet them.



57, 58. "*to roll*," &c., spelt "*rowl*" in the original. (See Essay on Milton's English.) The construction is "to roll reluctant flames in dusky wreaths," the word "*reluctant*" being used not in our usual sense of "unwilling," but in that of "struggling to break forth."

60. "*gan blow*." *Gan* is the preterite of the old verb *gin* (for *begin*), and sometimes means *began*, but very often, in old poets, stands merely for *did*. Only in the second case, say some, is the sign of the infinitive *to* properly omitted. Either sense will suit here.

62. "*in mighty quadrate joined*." "Quadrate" has been explained as meaning square or rectangle; but Milton may here use it for "cube." He is always true throughout to his notion of the Angels as not subject to gravitation (as, indeed, whither *could* they gravitate in Heaven?) but capable of motion at will in all directions. Hence their armies in Heaven are more frequently solids than plane figures. See subsequent note, 399.

63--68. "*moved on in silence their bright legions to the sound*," &c. Compare I. 549--562.

69--71. "*nor obvious hill*," &c.: imitated, thinks Todd, from Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* i. 75; and Keightley quotes a parallel passage from the Homeridian Hymn to Demeter (381 *et seq.*), the more interesting, he says, because Milton could not have seen it. But, in fact, Milton did not need to see it, or any similar passage. He was imagining for himself, and could not imagine the thing otherwise.

81. "*and, nearer view*": *i.e.* "and, when it was nearer view."

84. "*argument*": *i.e.* "carved or painted design;" in which sense Milton uses the Latin word "*argumentum*" in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, 185.

90. "*fond*": in its old sense of "foolish."

93. "*hosting*." Said by Todd to have been a word in use among the Anglo-Irish, and found in Spenser's *View of Ireland*, and in Strafford's Letters.

100. "*sun-bright*." The epithet is found in Spenser, Drayton, and other old poets.

101. "*Idol of*": *i.e.* false image of.

111. "*Abdiel that sight endured not*." Newton quotes *Æn.* ii. 407: "*Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ mente Chorcæbus*."

115. "*realty*." The word may stand for "reality," or it may be "réalty," meaning "loyalty," from the Italian "*reale*."

127. "*So pondering*," &c. The reader is here reminded that Abdiel has not yet been speaking aloud, but only thinking to himself—"exploring his own heart," as was intimated line 113.

147. "*my Sect.*" It is impossible to avoid feeling that, in this phrase, and throughout the passage, Milton has a secondary reference to himself, and his position in England, at the time when the poem was written.

148. "*How few,*" &c. : meaning either "how it is possible for a few sometimes to be right where," &c., or "what a small number may sometimes be right where," &c.

167, 168. "*Ministering Spirits . . . the minstrelsy of Heaven.*" Conceive both the words "ministering" and "minstrelsy" pronounced with ironical emphasis. The phrase "ministering Spirits" is from Heb. i. 14.

169. "*Servility.*" "A word coined by our author," says Hume, "to express the extreme meanness and baseness of slaves." But Hume is wrong here. The word occurs in Shakespeare, 1 *Henry VI.*, V. iii. : "a lave in base servility."

170. "*both their deeds*": an unusual construction, for the deeds of both of them (*i.e.* of 'servility' or the loyal angels, and 'freedom' or the rebel angels).

203. "*the vast of Heaven.*" Todd quotes "the vast of night" from Shakespeare, *Tempest*, I. ii.

207 *et seq.* "In the following battle," says Keightley, "the mind of the poet was evidently filled with that of the Kronids and Titans in the *Theogony* of Hesiod (676 *et seq.*)."

216. "*Both battles main*" : *i.e.* both the main bodies.

222. "*These elements*" : *i.e.* the elements of the terrestrial world amid which Raphael was speaking to Adam; the word *these* emphatic.

236. "*the ridges*" : *i.e.* rows or ranks, as in a ploughed field.

239. "*moment*" : *i.e.* impelling force, *momentum*.

262—264. "*Author of Evil,*" &c. The meaning of the passage is "Author of Evil—a thing unknown till thy revolt and without even a name in Heaven, but now as plentiful as thou seest these acts," &c.

288. "*Err not*" : *i.e.* do not erroneously imagine.

313. "*aspect malign.*" A phrase from astrology. See note, X. 657 *et seq.*

321. "*the armoury of God.*" Jerem. i. 25. (Todd.)

323—330. "*it met the sword of Satan,*" &c. The various commentators have quoted various passages from Spenser which Milton may have had in mind in this account of Michael's sword and its effects on Satan : *e.g.* *F. Q.* v. i. 10, III. v. 20, IV. iv. 24, V. viii. 34. Knowledge of the broad-sword exercise and its terms is shown in the passage—Mr. Keightley's explanation being that "Michael's sword with the down-stroke cut that of Satan in two, and then with an up-stroke (*coup*



*de revers*) it 'shared' his side." *Shared* (326) is *cut, divided, shred*: etymologically the same as *sheer* in line 325.

329. "*griding*." *Gird* in Old English meant to strike, smite, or cut through: *gride*, another form of the same word, had the last meaning.

332. "*nectarous humour*": i.e. the *ichor* of the gods, as in Homer, *Iliad*, v. 340, which Milton must have had in mind:

ἰχώρ, οἷός περ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.

335. "*to his aid was run*": a Latinism, *cursum est*.

365. "*Adramelech and Asmadai*." Here we have two more of the names of the rebel Angels, in addition to those mentioned in Book I. 376—521, and like them taken from the mythologies of the ancient Polytheisms or false religions. Adramelech ("splendid king") is mentioned, 2 Kings xvii. 31, as one of the gods of the Sepharvites, worshipped by that nation in Samaria when they had been planted there by the king of Assyria. "Asmadai is the lustful and destroying Angel, Asmodeus, mentioned in Tobit iii. 8." (Hume.)

371, 372. "*Ariel . . . Arioch . . . Ramiel*." Three more names of rebel Angels. Ariel ("Lion of God") is a name occurring in the Old Testament once or twice—Ezra viii. 16, Isaiah xxix. 1—but not as that of a false god. Arioch ("lion-like") similarly occurs—Dan. ii. 14—as the proper name of a man. Ramiel does not occur in Scripture. Milton has helped himself to the names from mere tradition.

373—380. "*I might relate*," &c. Compare I. 361—375, and note on that passage.

390. "*Charioter*"; so spelt in original editions: see Essay on Milton's English.

399. "*In cubic phalanx*." Interpreted by Todd, Keightley, and all the commentators, as meaning only "four-square;" but, in the poet's imagination, as I believe, meaning literally "cubical" in the ordinary geometrical sense. Milton's notion, maintained consistently throughout, is that the Angels are not subject to the law of gravitation, as men are (gravitation, indeed, having no existence in Heaven, or till terrestrial masses were created), but move vertically at will, as well as horizontally. It is a consequence of this that, whereas armies of Men can form only squares, circles, or other plane figures, armies of Angels may act as cubes, spheres, or other solid masses. Read previous lines 344—353.

406—410. "*Now Night*," &c. Keightley notes a recollection here of the end of book viii. and the beginning of book ix. of the *Iliad*; and Newton quotes Horace, *Sat.* i. 5.9—

"Jam Nox inducere terris  
Umbras et cœlo diffundere signa parabat."

410. "*foughten*": an old form, found in Shakespeare and others.

429. "*Of future*" may mean either "In future we may deem him fallible," or "we may deem him fallible as respects the future."

441, 442. "*Or equal . . . In nature none.*" The meaning is "or equal that, whatever it was, which made the odds between us—an odds not existing so far as our constitution is concerned."

447. "*Nisroch.*" The poet here avails himself of the name of that Assyrian god in whose temple at Nineveh Sennacherib was slain (2 Kings xix. 37). The meaning of *Nisroch* is doubtful: perhaps "great eagle."

467, 468. "*to me deserves,*" &c. The meaning is, "In my opinion deserves no less than what we already owe to Satan for our general deliverance from bondage."

470—491. "*Not uninvented,*" &c. In this passage, ascribing the invention of gunpowder and artillery to Satan, Milton but follows Ariosto, Spenser, and preceding poets. See *Faery Queene*, i. vii. 13. Compare also Milton's Latin poems on the Gunpowder Plot for similarities of expression.

484. "*hollow*": in the original text spelt "hallow."

496. "*cheer*": aspect, countenance: from old Fr. *chière*; Ital. *cera*, face or countenance. Hence *to cheer*, to put in good countenance, to hearten; and hence *cherish*.

519. "*incentive reed*": i.e. the match or touchwood.

520. "*pernicious.*" It has been suggested that, along with the common meaning of this word, Milton may have had in his mind the Latin *pernix*, meaning "quick." Hence "destructively sensitive" would be about the equivalent.

521. "*conscious Night.*" Hume quotes Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 15: "quorum nox conscia sola est."

532. "*In motion or in halt.*" I have not seen it noticed by any editor that in the original text the word is not "*halt*" but "*alt*," and that this spelling "*alt*" remains in the Second and Third Editions. Is it to be accounted an undetected erratum? See XI. 210.

535. "*Zophiel.*" A name probably invented by Milton. It does not occur in Scripture. It would mean in Hebrew "Spy of God."

536. "*Came flying,*" &c. A line of unusual metre, the word "flying" occurring where a single strong syllable is common, so that the first half of the line has to be pronounced in a manner which represents the act described.

541. "*Sad*": *i.e.* "serious," "steady," in which sense the word is used by Chaucer and Spenser. Todd quotes from Chaucer (*Clerke's Tale*, v. 8923) the line—

"And she aye sad and constant as a wall."

544. "*Borne even or high*": *i.e.* held either straight out from the body, or high to protect the head.

547. "*warned he them, aware themselves.*" Todd quotes *Lucretius* (iii. 1053), "*Admonuit memorem*;" but that reading is doubtful.

550. "*move.*" So in First and Second Editions: converted into *moved* in most modern editions without reason.

552. "*hollow cube.*" See note to line 399.

553. "*Training,*" &c.: drawing in train. Compare Spenser, *F. . Q.* i. vii. 13.

558—567. "*Vanguard, to right and left,*" &c. The reader will notice the irony of this speech of Satan, and the string of puns it contains—"our *overture*," "*discharge our part*," "do as you have *in charge*," "*briefly touch*," &c. Newton notes similar jesting in Homer, in a speech of Æneas and one of Patroclus, in *Iliad* xvi.

572—578. "*A triple-mounted row,*" &c. It has been suggested that this must mean that there were three rows of cannon, one behind the other. But the poet seems clearly to imagine the rows one over another vertically, as they might be in a ship's side, and such an arrangement of the cannon is consistent with the notion of the rebel host as forming a hollow cube. The van of this cube having been wheeled to right and left, the triple row of cannon would be unmasked in the interior hollow.—The construction of the passage is rendered very intricate by the parenthesis. It seems to be this: "discovered to our eyes a new and strange sight—what we should have taken to be a triple-mounted row of pillars, brass, iron, or of stony substance, laid on wheels (for they seemed most like to pillars, or hollowed trunks of oak or fir from which the branches had been lopped), but that their open mouths gaping on us convinced us they could not be pillars." Mr. Keightley thinks the reference to felled trees an anachronism here, as, while Raphael was speaking, the felling of trees had not been begun on Earth.

578. "*Portending hollow truce.*" Even Raphael puns.

579—581. "*A Seraph stood . . . a reed stood waving . . . collected stood.*" Bishop Newton not unnaturally supposes that this repetition of "stood" is an awkwardness which escaped Milton's notice. The difficulty is with the second "stood." If "Seraph" is the nominative to it, as one would naturally read, then the passage runs thus, "At each a Seraph stood, and stood waving in his hand a reed, &c., while we stood collected." But Mr. Keightley proposes to make "reed" the nominative to the second "stood;" in which case "waving" would become a neuter

verb, and the passage would run thus, "At each stood a Seraph, and a reed stood waving in his hand," &c. Either reading seems awkward. Bentley, as usual, mends the passage by at once supposing a misprint, and substituting "held" for the second "stood."

595—599. "*Unarmed, they might,*" &c. Here we seem to have an afterthought of Milton, correcting his prevalent notion of the dilatibility or contractibility of the spirits at will (see notes, I. 419 and 789). Remembering this notion, and yet resolved to keep his representation of the effect of the cannon on the Angelic host, he resorts to the imagination that the arms of the Angels, not being of the Angelic substance, but of more ordinary matter, hung about them and impeded the exercise of their elasticity. This is one of the shifts to which Milton is driven by the nature of his subject, and is perhaps hardly consistent with other passages in the poem. Is it consistent, for example, with the description of the assembly of the fallen Angels in Pandemonium, I. 777 *et seq.*? There the Angels are armed, and yet they contract themselves into the smallest bulk with ease.

599. "*serricd files.*" See note, I. 548.

609—619. "*O friends,*" &c. In this speech of Satan we have more ironical punning—"open front," "terms of *composition*," "proposals *heard*," &c.

621—627. Belial's puns in this speech outdo Satan's.

656—661. "*Their armour helped their harm,*" &c. See note to lines 595—599. There is an advance in this passage on the supposition made in the other. In the case of the *rebel* Angels not only does the armour impede the exercise of the spiritual elasticity, but, crushed in upon the bodies of the Spirits, it causes pain. This difference of the rebel from the loyal Angels is accounted for by the deterioration of the being of the former caused by their sin.—Observe the jingle *armour* and *harm*.

664—667. "*So hills . . . infernal noise.*" The meaning is "Hills encountered hills amid the air so (to such an extent) that the Angels were actually fighting *underground*, in a darkness that was dismal and a noise that might properly be called *infernal*, as being roofed over by the flying masses of earth."

673. "*Consulting on the sum of things.*" Almost a translation of an expression of Milton's own in his Academic Latin Poem *Naturam non pati Senium*, where (lines 33, 34) he says—

"At Pater omnipotens, fundatis fortius astris,  
• Consuluit rerum summæ."

681, 682. "*in whose face invisible is beheld visibly, what by Deity I am*" : *i.e.* "in whose face a thing in its own nature invisible—to wit, what by my Deity I am—is beheld visibly."

691, 692. "*which yet hath wrought insensibly.*" The most probable meaning is, "The indecisiveness of the fight as yet has arisen from the equality of the original constitution of the Angels on either side. This equality has been somewhat disturbed to the disadvantage of the rebel Angels by the impairing effects of sin upon them, causing them to feel pain, &c.; which (*i.e.* which disturbance to the disadvantage of the rebel Angels) has as yet produced no very sensible effect on the state of the battle." In this reading the antecedent to "which" is the whole clause "what sin hath impaired" (*i.e.* the amount of injury to one side done by sin). But there may be another, and obvious, reading of the passage, if the single word "sin" is made the antecedent. I prefer the former reading.

698. "*the main*": *i.e.* the total Universe, of which Heaven is the half.

709. "*By sacred unction.*" See Psalm xlv. 7. (Newton.)

714. "*Gird on,*" &c. See Psalm xlv. 3: "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty," &c. (Newton.)

723—745. "*O Father, O Supreme,*" &c. In this speech of the Son, as in other such speeches of the Divine Persons, Milton is careful to avail himself exactly of the language of Scriptural texts. Among the texts involved are John xvii. 4, 5; Matthew xvii. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 28; John xvii. 21; Psalm cxxxix. 21; 2 Peter ii. 4; Isaiah lxvi. 24; Mark ix. 44. The merit of tracing of these texts, and of the others that follow to the end of the book, belongs to various commentators; but it is needless to name each.

748. "*the third sacred morn.*" It has been supposed that in making the Messiah's triumph take place on the third day Milton may have had the Resurrection in view.

750—759. "*The chariot of Paternal Deity . . . showery arch.*" In this description Milton has in view throughout the first chapter of Ezekiel; which see. Mr. Keightley has a special little dissertation in connexion with this passage and the chapter of Ezekiel. It is appended to his *Life of Milton* under the title of "Cherubic Car of Jehovah."

760, 761. "*in celestial panoply all armed of radiant Urim.*" Ephes. vi. 11, and Exod. xxviii. 15—30. *Urim* means lights or flashing jewels.

765. "*rolled*": in original "*rowld.*" See Essay on Milton's English.

766. "*bickering*": *i.e.* struggling. To bicker is to fight irregularly and incessantly, as with a succession of picks or sharp blows. It is still used provincially in that sense. A "bicker" in Scotland is a fight of schoolboys, with stones for missiles.

767—770. "*ten thousand thousand Saints . . . twenty thousand . . . chariots.*" Jude xiv.; and Psalm lxviii. 17: "The chariots of God are twenty thousand."



771. "*He on the wings of Cherub,*" &c. Psalm xviii. 10. Cherub is used here for the plural, Cherubim.

776. "*his sign in Heaven.*" Matthew xxiv. 30. (Gillies.)

781—784. "*At his command,*" &c. Habak. iii. 6. (Todd.)

788. "*In Heavenly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?*" Hume quotes Virgil's words (*Æn.* i. 11), "*Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?*"

801. "*Stand still,*" &c. See Exod. xiv. 13, 14. (Gillies.)

808. "*Vengeance is his.*" Deut. xxxii. 35, and Rom. xii. 19.

812, 813. "*By me,*" &c. "Me," being used emphatically three times in these two lines, is in each case spelt "mee" in the original texts, according to Milton's practice; and the same spelling is kept up throughout the rest of the passage.

826. "*wrath;*" spelt "*wrauth*" in the original text.

829. "*rolled;*" "*rowld*" in the original. See Essay on Milton's English.

842. "*That wished,*" &c. Rev. vi. 16. (Newton.)

862. "*Deep*": i.e. Chaos.

862—866. "*The monstrous sight . . . bottomless pit.*" The rebel Angels, it is to be noted, do not *fall* from Heaven in our sense of "fell." They were not subject to gravitation, and there was no proper element towards which they could gravitate. The passage recollects this, and makes the Angels "*urged*" or *driven* from Heaven, down through Chaos—forced down and still down by the fire of the Divine wrath burning after them.

866. "*Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.*" A verse of strikingly unusual construction, introduced purposely to suggest the thing described.

867—869. "*Hell heard,*" &c. See Book II. 993.

871. "*Nine days they fell*": as the Titans do in Hesiod (*Theog.* 722).

882—892. "*To meet him all his Saints,*" &c. Rev. xii. 10, iv. 11, 1 Tim. iii. 16, Heb. i. 3.

893. "*Thus, measuring things in Heaven by things on Earth.*" Milton evidently feels the necessity, *after* his description of the wars in Heaven, of making Raphael repeat his caution that such things could only be described symbolically. See Book V. 563 *et seq.*

900. "*he who envies.*" Strict syntax would require "*him*" instead of "*he*," unless we were to read "*he who*" as elliptical for "*he it is who*." In the original text the spelling is "*hee*," for emphasis.

908. "*Thy weaker*": i.e. Eve.

912. "*Yet fell,*" &c. The metre of the line is peculiar, but winds up the Book very fitly.

## BOOK VII.

1, 2. "*Urania, by that name if rightly thou art called,*" &c. Urania, as the name itself implies, is the same "Heavenly Muse" whom he had invoked at the beginning of the poem (Book I. line 6). But, as the name is also that of one of the nine Grecian Muses, and as his flight has been into higher regions than the Olympus of Greek poetry, he doubts whether Urania is altogether the fit name for his Muse. It is the *meaning* ("Heavenly"), he goes on to say, and not the mere *name* (as that of one of the Muses), that he calls.

8—11. "*Before the hills appeared,*" &c. Proverbs viii. 24—30. (Newton.)

15. "*Thy tempering*": *i.e.* "tempered or made fit for my earthly constitution by thee." Bentley thinks "*thy*" a printer's error for "*thee*."

17—20. "*from this flying steed unreined (as once Bellerophon),*" &c. By "this flying steed" Milton means *his* Pegasus—soaring much higher than that Pegasus from which, according to the fable, Bellerophon fell in his attempt to reach Heaven. Falling from the winged horse, Bellerophon wandered all the rest of his life in the Aleian fields—*i.e.* the Fields of Error.

22. "*the visible Diurnal Sphere*": *i.e.* the Astronomical Universe of Man, which appears to revolve round the Earth daily, in twenty-four hours.

23. "*the Pole*": *i.e.* that topmost point of the Astronomical Universe where, according to Milton's cosmology in the poem, it hangs from the eternal and unimaginable Heaven in which most of the history has as yet been laid.

24—28. "*unchanged to hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days . . . and solitude.*" Note the touching reference to Milton's personal condition after the Restoration—solitary, blind, and calumniated, and seeing all that he thought worst in the ascendancy. Yet his voice, he says, is changed neither to hoarse nor to mute—*i.e.* he can still make himself heard, and in a clear strain.

31. "*fit audience find, though few.*" Newton quotes Horace, *Sat.* i. x. 74:—

"Contentus paucis lectoribus."

32—38. "*But drive far off,*" &c. An evident allusion to the dissolute courtiers of Charles II., from whom he might expect a fate not unlike



that of Orpheus the son of the muse Calliope. He was torn to pieces by the Bacchanalians in Rhodope, a mountain of Thrace, where his song had charmed the woods and rocks.—Milton recollects here lines 549, 550 of his own *Comus*; and the phrase "*barbarous dissonance*" is repeated from that passage.

39. "*thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.*" "Thou" is Urania, Milton's muse; "she" is Calliope.

50. "*consorted.*" Mr. Keightley notes, "He coins this participle, for *consort* is a neuter verb." Not so. *Consort* was an active verb in Milton's time, and the form *consorted* is found in Spenser and in Donne:

"For all that pleasing is to living eare  
Was there consorted in one harmonie."

F. Q. II. xii. 70.

"Leave me; and in this standing wooden chest,  
Consorted with these few books, let me lie."

DONNE, *Sat.* i.

94. "*Absolved*": finished.

97. "*to magnify his works.*" Job xxxvi. 24. (Gillies.)

104. "*unapparent Deep*": i.e. Chaos, surrounding the Natural Universe, but not visible from it.

116, 117. "*infer thee*": "make thee by consequence," "bring thee on."

122. "*the invisible King.*" 1 Tim. i. 17. (Newton.)

123. "*suppressed in night*": a recollection, as Thyer observed, of Horace, *Od.* III. xxix. 29, 30:—

"Prudens futuri temporis exitum  
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus."

125. "*enough*;" spelt "*anough*" in the original.

126—130. "*But Knowledge . . . needs no less her temperance,*" &c. Mr. Keightley quotes a curiously parallel passage from Davenant's *Gondibert*, published in 1651:—

"For, though books serve as diet of the mind,  
If knowledge early got self-value breeds,  
By false digestion it is turned to wind,  
And what should nourish on the eater feeds."

131. "*Lucifer . . . so call him.*" The name *Lucifer* (in Greek Φωσφόρος) means "Lightbringer," and was the classic name for the morning-star, i.e. the planet Venus when seen before sunrise. The name occurs in Isaiah xiv. 12, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!" where the application is to the King of Babylon. The application of the name to Satan in his fall dates, it is said, from St. Jerome.

134, 135. "*Fell . . . into his place.*" Newton quotes Acts i. 25.

142. "*us dispossessed.*" The sound has led Milton to prefer this to the more usual construction "we dispossessed." He imports the Latin ablative absolute.

144. "*whom their place knows here no more.*" Job vii. 10. (Newton.)

145, 146. "*have kept . . . their station.*" Jude 6. (Todd.)

154, 155. "*in a moment will create another World.*" See note on line 176.

162. "*inhabit lax*": dwell at large or expansively. "*Habitare laxè voluit*," as Dunster observed, is a phrase of Cicero's.

165. "*My overshadowing Spirit.*" Luke i. 35. (Hume.)

167. "*heaven and earth.*" The word heaven is here used in a restricted sense, meaning the heaven of our Universe, cut out of the bosom of Chaos, not the eternal, invisible Heaven, where so much of the action of the poem has taken place.

168, 169. "*Boundless the Deep . . . nor vacuous.*" The meaning is, "Chaos is boundless because I am boundless who fill infinitude; nor is Chaos empty of my presence, though I, in a manner, hold myself retired from it and inhabit more peculiarly Heaven."

176. "*Immediate are the acts of God.*" By this phrase, as by that in lines 154, 155, Milton, it has been supposed, meant to favour the opinion of some theologians that the creation of the Universe was really instantaneous, though, for the purposes of human apprehension, it is represented as a work of six days. Hume first suggested this, and Newton repeats it.

182. "*Glory they sung,*" &c. Luke ii. 14. (Newton.)

192. "*So sang.*" Observe the poet's preference, on musical grounds, here for the preterite form "*sang*," instead of "*sung*," which he generally uses, and has used immediately before, line 182.

201. "*between two brazen mountains lodged.*" Hume cites the text which has been the poet's authority here. It is Zech. vi. 1: "And behold there came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass."

208. "*The King of Glory.*" Psalm xxiv. 7. (Hume.)

214. "*And surging waves.*" For *and* Newton proposed to read *in*.

224. "*the fervid wheels.*" A phrase from Horace, *Od.* i. i. 4. "*Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.*" (Hume.)

225—231. "*the golden compasses,*" &c. Prov. viii. 27. Nothing could be grander, and at the same time more distinct, than this image of the golden compasses, one foot fixed, and the other slowly circling so as to

mark out from the body of Chaos the limits of the great sphere of the new Universe.

232. "*Thus God,*" &c. From this point onwards Milton keeps closely in view the Mosaic account of creation in Genesis.

235. "*His brooding wings.*" See Book I. line 21, and note.

236—242. "*And vital virtue infused . . . centre hung.*" There is some difficulty in tracing the order and nature of the creative actions as they are imagined in this passage. First there is the infusion of vital warmth and virtue by God's Spirit into that vast spherical portion of Chaos which the golden compasses had marked out, and the purging of it by the same agency from its more noxious dregs—these descending into the body of Chaos underneath the sphere of the new Universe. This is clear enough ; but the rest of the passage, beginning "then founded," is not so clear. As it stands, the most natural construction would give this meaning—that, the space of the new Universe having been warmed, vitalized, and purged of its dregs, there ensued, first, the process described as the "founding and conglobing of like things to like" (*i.e.* the formation of the elements by the fixing and rolling together of their previously confused particles), and then the farther process described as the "disparting of *the rest* to their several place, the spinning out of the air between," &c. But to this there is the objection that in that case there would be nothing to which the words "the rest" could properly refer. After all like things had been united to like, what could possibly be imagined as "the rest"? It seems, therefore, that we must seek another reading of the passage. Perhaps the construction in Milton's mind was one which meant but one process, and not two, to be described in the series of clauses from "then founded" to "hung." The space of the new Universe having been cleared of its cold and tartarean dregs, the poet may have meant to describe what was done with *the rest*—*i.e.* with all that remained within the vast sphere that had been cut out of Chaos and consecrated for the new purpose. Suppose then the construction be this: "Downward purged the black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs, adverse of life; then disparted the rest—like things having been founded and conglobed to like—to several place," &c. Such a construction is quite Miltonic, and it may be owing only to the difficulty of indicating it by the punctuation that it has been missed. This difficulty arises from the recurrence of the "then." Compare with the whole passage the similar description, Book III. 709—719.

242. "*Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung.*" ("Hung" is here the active verb, "hung Earth, self-balanced, on her centre.") Milton, as Hume observed, had Ovid's lines in view, *Met.* i. 12:

"Nec circumfuso pendebat in aëre tellus  
Ponderibus librata suis."

243, 244. "*Light ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure.*" Here,

as in Book III. 716, Milton makes Light a quintessence, or fifth essence, distinct from the four grosser elements. These already existed in the space of the new Universe, and had only to be founded, conglobed, and separated; but Light has to be introduced from without. *Introduced* is the proper word, for it is not of the *creation* of Light that we have here an account. Light, according to the poet, was "the first of things," always filling Heaven, if not eternally coexisting with the Father (see Book III. 1—6); and all that takes place now is the invoking of Light, which had hitherto been absent from Chaos, into the portion of Chaos which was to contain the new Creation.

245—249. "*Sprung from the Deep*," &c. One would have imagined rather the *gushing down* of Light from Heaven into the new Universe; but there are reasons why Milton rather makes Light come in, as it were, at one *side* of the new Universe, springing from the Deep at that side, and slowly traversing, like a radiant cloud, the space till now in gloom. The difficulty of describing Light, apart from the Sun or any other luminary, has perhaps hardly been overcome in this passage.

250. "*by the hemisphere*": i.e. hemispherically—one-half of the sphere of the Universe being in darkness while the other is in light.

253—260. "*Nor passed uncelebrated*," &c. Job xxxviii. 4—7. (Newton.)

261—275. "*Let there be firmament*," &c. Different interpretations have been given of the Scriptural word "firmament" as used in the passage (Gen. i. 6) which Milton here paraphrases. Milton adopts the interpretation which makes "firmament" mean the expanse of transparent ether or space between Earth and the uttermost boundaries of the visible Sphere. Following the Biblical cosmology, and reconciling it with the Ptolemaic system, he supposes the creative work of the second day to have been the establishing of this firmament, and the separation by it of the waters till then diffused throughout the Universe into two great aggregations—first, those clinging to the body of the Earth and flowing round it; and, next, those removed to the outside of the whole visible Universe, and forming the Ninth or Crystalline sphere of the pre-Copernican astronomy, separated from Chaos only by the Tenth sphere or Primum Mobile. See note, Book III. 444—497.

274. "*Heaven he named the firmament*": i.e. the whole expanse of space visible from the Earth was named Heaven after that greater eternal Heaven which it was to typify to Man.

311, 312. "*after her kind, whose seed is in herself*." A distinct instance of "*her*" where we should say *its*; and Milton here deviates from the authorized text, which is (Gen. i. 11), "the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself."

321. "*the smelling gourd*." So in the original text; but Bentley proposed "*swelling*," and the reading has been generally adopted.

321, 322. "*up stood the corny reed embattled in her field.*" The corn-stalks standing thick together like the ranks of an army.

322. "*add the humble shrub.*" I restore this reading from the First and Second Editions; the Third has "*and the humble shrub,*" which reading has consequently slipped into all the later copies. That it is a mere printer's error of the Third Edition is the more likely because the pointing is not altered there to correspond. Besides, "*up stood*" would not be so applicable to the "humble shrub" and the "bush" as to the "corny reed."

323. "*implicit*": *i.e.* "implicated" in the literal sense; "entwined." (Lat. *implico*.)

325, 326. "*gemmed their blossoms.*" In Lat. *gemma* means primitively "a bud," and only derivatively "a gem" in the sense of "jewel;" and *gemmare* is "to bud" or "to put forth blossoms."

327. "*That Earth now.*" As in the original text "*that*" begins a new sentence, it is possible that Milton meant it to be the pronoun emphatic, and the sense to be, "*That Earth, so covered with vegetation, now seemed very different from what the Earth till then had been—seemed like to Heaven,*" &c. But in late editions only a comma or a semicolon precedes the "*that*;" which, by linking the phrase "that Earth now seemed like to Heaven" with the preceding, rather converts the "*that*" into a conjunction, and gives it the sense of "so that."

334—337. "*and each plant of the field . . . God made,*" &c. Milton here follows the Authorized Version (Gen. ii. 5); which, however, Mr. Keightley says, is indubitably incorrect. It ought, he says, to be, "And no plant of the field was as yet on the earth."

359—361. "*Of light by far the greater part he took,*" &c.: *i.e.* he took the greater part of that Light which had been moving through the Universe as yet as a widely-diffused cloud, and concentrated it in the Sun's body. A discrepancy has been noted by Mr. Keightley between this account of the creation of the heavenly luminaries and the previous account, Book III. 716 *et seq.*, where they are represented as made at once of Light.

366. "*her horns.*" So in the Second Edition; but in the First it was "*his horns.*" As Venus is meant, the change is for the better.

367, 368. "*they augment their small peculiar.*" All the light of the Universe not having been concentrated in the Sun's body, but only the greater part of it, the other heavenly bodies have each their "small peculiar," their own little property, of light; but this they augment by "tincture" (absorption) from the Sun, or by reflection of his light.

372, 373. "*jocund to run his longitude*": *i.e.* path from east to west. "Longitude" is a favourite word with Milton in this sense of distance



in the direction of the equatorial line of the Universe as distinct from distance between the poles. See III. 576. Hume cites Psalm xix. 5.

375. "*Shedding sweet influence.*" From Job xxxviii. 31: "the sweet influence of the Pleiades." (Hume.)

382. "*dividual*": "divided," a word, from the Latin *dividuus*, used again by Milton, Book XII. 85, and already used by him in his *Areopagitica*: "a dividual moveable."

388. "*Reptile*": here used in the sense of creeping or moving things of the waters—*i.e.* fishes of all kinds. See Psalm civ. 25.—"*living soul.*" The phrase, inserted at this point, calls attention to the fact that these sea-creatures were the first of animals.

402. "*sculls.*" This is really the same word as "shoals;" but, that word having been already used, Milton makes the other form do duty as a distinct word. Todd says the phrase "a scull of herrings" is used in Norfolk and Suffolk. "*School*" is perhaps also the same word.

409. "*on smooth*": *i.e.* on the smooth surface.

410. "*bended dolphins.*" Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 113: "tergo delphina recurvo" (Hume). The fish meant is now called the porpoise.

415, 416. "*at his gills draws in,*" &c. Ovid, *Met.* iii. 686: "Et acceptum patulis mare naribus efflant." (Newton.)

420. "*callow . . . fledge.*" *Callow* is featherless, or covered only with soft down (A.-S. *calo*, Lat. *calvus*, bald). For *fledge*, see note, III. 627.

421. "*summed their pens*": completed the growth of their wings. It has been pointed out that the word "summed," in something like this sense, was a term in Falconry.

422, 423. "*under a cloud in prospect*": *i.e.* the ground which would have appeared to anyone looking to be under a cloud—so great was the flight of the birds.

427. "*Intelligent of seasons.*" Jerem. viii. 7. (Newton.)

429, 430. "*with mutual wing easing their flight*": *i.e.* facilitating the flight of the whole body by each in turn becoming the point of the wedge. Du Bartas has a longish passage on the Crane in his "Fifth Day," including these lines:—

"For, when her troops of wandering cranes forsake  
Frost-firmed Strymon, and in autumn take  
Truce with the northern Dwaifs, to seek adventure,  
In southern climates for a milder winter,  
Afront each band a forward captain flies,  
Whose pointed bill cuts passage through the skies,  
Two skilful sergeants keep the ranks aright,  
And with their voice hasten their tardy flight."

439. "*mantling proudly*." It is the wings that *mantle*—*i.e.* rise a little from the sides, outspread like a mantle. It is a term in Falconry.

440. "*Her state*" : *i.e.* her canopy as in a state-barge.

451. "*soul living*." In the original editions "Fowle" stands for "soul." It must be a misprint.

457. "*wons*;" an old word for "dwells."

461. "*those*" : *i.e.* the wild beasts ;—"these" : *i.e.* the cattle.

466. "*brinded*" : *i.e.* striped or streaked. See *Comus*, 443. Another form is "*brindled*;" and the word is connected with "*brand*," a piece of burning wood. Shakespeare (*Macb.* IV. i.) has "the brinded cat."

467. "*libbard*" : *i.e.* leopard. Spenser has the form.

471. "*Behemoth*" : here used for the Elephant, as Leviathan has been used for the Whale (line 412). In Job (xl. 15, xli. 1) Behemoth means the hippopotamus and Leviathan the crocodile. Todd refers to 2 Esdras vi. 49.

476. "*limber*" : *i.e.* limp or pliant. *Limp* and *limber* are derived (Rich. *Dict.*) from A.-S. *limpan*, to belong, to appertain : whence *limp-lic*, pertinent, seasonable, fit. "With long and limber oar" occurs in the old poet Turberville.

478. "*decked*," not the participle here, but the preterite active, governing "lineaments."

482. "*Minims*" : *i.e.* *minima*, smallest creatures.

485—489. "*the parsimonious emmet*," &c. Proverbs vi. 6 ; but Hume notes that Milton has borrowed from Horace's description of the ant (*Sat.* i. i. 33), "*Haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*," and also from Virgil's line about the bee (*Georg.* iv. 83), "*Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant*." In illustration of the phrase "*pattern of just equality perhaps hereafter*," Bishop Newton quotes a passage from Milton's prose pamphlet published in 1659 under the title *The Ready and Easy way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*. Quoting in that passage the text from Proverbs, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," &c., Milton adds : "which evidently shows us that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismiré. Neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men of a frugal or self-governing Democracy or Commonwealth."

490. "*the female bee*," &c. Milton here adopts the notion, common in his day, that the working-bees were females.

505—513. "*There wanted yet the master-work*," &c. There is, as Hume noted, a distinct use by Milton here of the corresponding passage in Ovid (*Met.* i. 76—86) :—



"Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacius altæ  
 Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cætera posset . . .  
 Inxit in effigiem moderantûm cuncta deorum.  
 Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,  
 Os homini sublime dedit, cœlumque tueri  
 Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

517, 518. "(for where is not He present?)." Inasmuch as the acts of creation are being done by the Son within what had hitherto been part of the body of Chaos, and the Father might be thought of as having remained in Heaven, this parenthesis reminding the reader of the Father's omnipresence was not unnecessary. For Milton, as usual, adhering to the sacred text, is about to quote the words from Genesis i. 26, where Deity, speaking in the plural, says, "Let us make man," &c.

535—538. "*Wherever thus created . . . he brought thee into this delicious grove, this Garden.*" It is here implied that the creation of Man did not take place within Eden, but somewhere out of it; and this is in accordance with Gen. ii. 8 and 15. Todd quotes also 2 Esdras iii. 6.

563. "*stations*": so in First Edition, but *station* in Second. The former is clearly the better reading.

565. "*Open, ye everlasting gates,*" &c. Psalm xxiv. 7.

577. "*A broad and ample road,*" &c. Milton had here in view, as I believe, that gate or orifice of junction between Heaven and the newly-formed telescopic Universe of which we have already spoken; but he makes the description vague.

581. "*Powdered with stars.*" This phrase occurs in Sylvester's translation of the *Divine Weeks* of Du Bartas, a book of extraordinary popularity in Milton's youth, and of his acquaintance with which there is ample evidence throughout his poetry. There is particular interest in comparing Milton's succinct account of the Creation in the present Book with Du Bartas's much longer account in that portion of his poem which is devoted to "the First Week, or Birth of the World." It is divided into seven Books, or Days, entitled respectively *The Chaos*; *The Elements*; *The Sea and Earth*; *The Heavens, Sun, Moon, &c.*; *The Fishes and Fowls*; *The Beasts and Man*; *The Sabbath*. The seven Books or Days together fill (in the edition of 1613) 195 quarto pages, and are a most minute and elaborate Natural History in metre.

588—591. "*for he also went . . . yet stayed . . . and the work ordained,*" &c. The meaning is obscure. It may be, "For he also—i.e. the Father—had invisibly accompanied the Son on his creative mission into Chaos (see *antè*, line 517), and yet had stayed in Heaven and ordained thence what was elsewhere going on." But, as in the original text the word is "*he*," and not "*hee*,"—which it would probably have been for emphasis if the foregoing had been the meaning intended—

it is likelier that "he" refers to the Son; in which case the passage might be cited as strongly orthodox in a matter in which Milton's orthodoxy has been suspected.

596. "*all organs of sweet stop*" : *i.e.* wind-instruments.

597. "*all sounds on fret,*" &c. "On the finger-board of a bass-viol, for instance," says Richardson, "are divisions athwart, by which the sound is regulated and varied: these divisions are called *frets*." The derivation of the word is doubtful—perhaps from Italian *fratto*, "broken" (Richardson's *Dict.*); perhaps from French *fredon*, "trill" in singing; perhaps remotely from A.-S. *fretan*, "to gnaw," "corrode" (whence our word *fret*, "to vex") which again is connected with *frætwian*, "to adorn" (as in "fretwork," "fretted with golden fires"). Shakespeare (*T. of Shrew*, II. i.) has the word in its musical sense:—

" I did but tell her she mistook her frets  
And bowed her hand to teach her fingering."

607. "*created to destroy*" : *i.e.* to destroy what is created.

617. "*another Heaven, from Heaven-gate not far, founded in view on the clear hyaline.*" The song being in Heaven, the Angels are supposed looking down through Heaven's opening and beholding the new Universe as a miniature Heaven suspended from the main one. They see it founded on the "clear hyaline" : *i.e.* on the Crystalline or Ninth Sphere which encloses it. *Hyaline* is Greek (ὕαλινος) for "crystalline" or glassy. Καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία χρυστάλλῳ: "And before the Throne there was a sea of glass like unto crystal" (Rev. iv. 6).

624. "*her nether ocean*" : *i.e.* the "waters under the firmament," clinging round the earth itself, as distinct from "the clear hyaline," or those above the firmament. See note, lines 261—275.

631, 632. "*thrice happy if they know their happiness.*" Clearly, as Newton noted, from Virgil's well-known line (*Georg.* ii. 458):—

" O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nôrint."

640. "*Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.*" In the original edition of the poem, in Ten Books, Book VII. does not end with this 640th line, but goes on, including the whole of the present Eighth Book.

## B O O K VIII.

1—4. "*The Angel ended . . . replied.*" In the First Edition, where the present Seventh and Eighth Books of the poem were conjoined in one as Book VII., the lines 639—642 of that Book ran as follows:—

". . . . if else thou seekst  
Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.  
'To whom thus *Adam* gratefully repli'd.  
What thanks sufficient," &c.

In the Second Edition, closing Book VII. with the second of these lines (line 640), Milton inserts, to form the opening of Book VIII., three new lines. He also modifies what had formerly been line 641 of Book VII. into the present line 4 of Book VIII.

15. "*When I behold this goodly frame,*" &c. The discussion which begins here and is extended to line 178 is of singular interest as showing the uncertainty of Milton's astronomical creed. Although the scheme of the Universe which he has adopted throughout the poem is that known as the Ptolemaic, which supposes the Earth at rest as the centre of a series of Orbs or Spheres of Space performing vast revolutions at different rates around her, yet it is clear, from this and other passages (see Book IV. 592—597, and note), that he was not sure but the alternative or Copernican scheme might be the scientifically true one. Here, for example, he makes Adam arrive almost by intuition at the Copernican theory, or at least question the Angel whether there was not something *à priori* preposterous in the Ptolemaic system; and, though the Angel, in his reply, suggests reasons why the Ptolemaic system might not be so preposterous as it appeared at first sight, and even hints that it was probably impossible to come to a conclusion on the subject, and that it was of no great practical consequence whether one could come to a conclusion or not, yet, on the whole, the balance of his remarks is in favour of the Copernican theory. See *Introd.* pp. 89—93.—Todd notes the similarity of expression in this line to Shakespeare's "this goodly frame, the earth" (*Ham.* II. ii).

19. "*numbered stars*": *i.e.* numerous; but there may be a reference, as Hume observed, to Ps. cxlvii. 4, "He telleth the number of the stars."

23. "*punctual spot*": *i.e.* point-like spot, from *punctum*, a point.

30. "*Orbs*": not the bodies of the luminaries, but the spheres, in the Ptolemaic sense, to which they respectively belong.

40—57. "*which Eve perceiving . . . rose,*" &c. One may perhaps discern in this whole passage something characteristic of Milton's ideal of woman in her relations to man.

61. "*pomp*": train, escort, procession (πομπή). So in *L'All.* 127.

70, 71. "*This to attain, whether . . . imports not.*" The meaning is, "In order to attain to this learning that I spoke of—the learning of God's seasons—it matters not whether Heaven move or Earth." Another construction of the passage has been given, less consistent with the original pointing.

81, 82. "*build, unbuild, contrive, to save appearances.*" A very exact description of the growth of the Ptolemaic system to its complete state—addition of orb after orb being made, and ingenious suppositions respecting each orb resorted to, as each new set of appearances presented themselves for explanation.

82—84.

*"gird the Sphere  
With Centric and Eccentric scribbled o'er,  
Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb."*

The fundamental notion of the ancient astronomers was that all the motions of the heavenly bodies were in circles, the strictly circular motion being the most perfect kind. The simplest and most primitive system of celestial mechanics, therefore, was that which imagined the eight successive spheres of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the Fixed Stars, revolving variously round the Earth as their common centre; and this system, with the addition of the two extra spheres, called the Crystalline or Ninth and the Primum Mobile or Tenth, remained substantially in force, and affected both scientific and popular speech, till it was superseded by the Copernican. (*Introd.* pp. 89—92.) From very remote antiquity, however, it had been perceived that the simple circular motions of eight or even ten spheres round the Earth, with whatever variety of rates and times among themselves, would not account for all the observed phenomena of the heavens—would not account, for example, for the fact that the motion of the Sun is faster or slower according to the season (acceleration and retardation), or for the fact that the motions of the planets are sometimes direct or in the order of the signs of the Zodiac, and sometimes retrograde (progression and regression). To remedy this defect, "to save these appearances," two devices had been introduced, that of the *Eccentric* and that of the *Epicycle*. Let it be supposed that, while the Earth is the centre of the Primum Mobile and consequently of the whole mundane system, the inclosed planetary spheres, or at all events that of the Sun, need not be strictly *concentric*, *i.e.* need not strictly have this centre, but may be *eccentric*, *i.e.* may revolve round a point somewhat to the side of the Earth; then, as the Earth would sometimes be nearer to the moving body, and sometimes farther off, the acceleration

or retardation of the motion would be sufficiently accounted for. Again, let it be supposed that the body of a planet is not fixed strictly in its *cycle*, or the circumference of its wheeling sphere, but moves fly-like in an *epicycle*, or small circle revolving round a fixed point in that wheeling circumference; then, according as the planet was in that part of its *epicycle* which is *beyond*, or in that part which is *within*, its cycle, its motion would for the time be progressive, *i.e.* *with* its cycle, or retrograde, *i.e.* *against* its cycle. Actually, by a complicated use of these two devices, in aid of the simpler and earlier device of mere multiplication of general orbs, the Ptolemaic astronomers had contrived, with a tolerable approach to completeness, to account for all the phenomena of the solar and planetary motions, but only by such a dizzying intricacy of conceived wheels within wheels ("*centric and eccentric*") and wheels upon wheels ("*cycle and epicycle*") as Milton describes. Observe how exactly his language hits off the three devices of the Ptolemaists for meeting all difficulties consistently with their axiom of perfectly circular motions in the Universe. They "gird the Sphere" (*i.e.* belt in the total round of the Cosmos from the Empyrean and Chaos), having previously, in their maps of its interior, scribbled it over (1) with "*centric and eccentric*" (*i.e.* inner circles, some concentric with the outermost, others not quite concentric) and (2) with "*cycle and epicycle*" (*i.e.* some of the said circles not burdened with any subordinate circles on their circumferences, but others carrying such little ornaments),—all the while, however, faithful on the whole (3) to that primitive notion of "*orb in orb*" (*i.e.* of the Cosmos as consisting of a succession of wheeling main spheres) which had itself been mended into sufficiency from time to time by multiplying the number of the supposed spheres, till from eight they had become ten.—The following is a rather interesting passage from Bacon's *De Augmentis* (1623), showing both Bacon's dissatisfaction with the Ptolemaic system, and the hopeless, or rather hopeful, confusion of his own aspirations after a better:—"Certainly Astronomy offers to the human intellect a victim like that which Prometheus offered in deceit to Jupiter. Prometheus, in the place of a real ox, brought to the altar the hide of an ox of great size and beauty, stuffed with straw and leaves and twigs. In like manner Astronomy presents only the exterior of the heavenly bodies (I mean the number of the stars, their positions, motions, and periods), as it were the hide of the heavens; beautiful indeed and skilfully arranged into systems: but the interior (namely the physical reasons) is wanting, out of which (with the help of astronomical hypotheses) a theory might be devised which would not merely satisfy the phenomena (of which kind many might with a little ingenuity be contrived), but which would set forth the substance, motion, and influence of the heavenly bodies as they really are. For long ago have those doctrines been exploded of the force of the First Mover and the Solidity of the Heaven—the stars being supposed to



“ be fixed in their orbs like nails in a roof. And with no better reason  
 “ is it affirmed that there are different poles of the Zodiac and of the  
 “ World ; that there is a Second Mover of counteraction to the force of  
 “ the First ; that all the heavenly bodies move in perfect circles ; that  
 “ there are eccentrics and epicycles whereby the constancy of motions  
 “ in perfect circles is preserved ; that the Moon works no change or  
 “ violence in the regions above it ; and the like. And it is the  
 “ absurdity of these opinions that has driven men to the diurnal motion  
 “ of the Earth ; *which I am convinced is most false*. But there is  
 “ scarcely any one who has made inquiries into the physical causes, as  
 “ well of the substance of the heavens both stellar and interstellar as of  
 “ the relative velocity and slowness of the heavenly bodies ; of the  
 “ different velocity of motion in the same planet ; of the course of  
 “ motions from east to west and contrary ; of their progressions,  
 “ stationary positions and retrogressions ; of the elevation and fall of  
 “ motions in apogee and perigee ; of the obliquity of motions, either  
 “ by spirals winding and unwinding towards the Tropics, or by those  
 “ curves which they call Dragons ; of the poles of rotation, why they  
 “ are fixed in such part of the heaven rather than in any other ; and of  
 “ some planets being fixed at a certain distance from the Sun :—such an  
 “ inquiry as this (I say) has hardly been attempted ; but all the labour  
 “ is spent in mathematical observations and demonstrations ” (Bacon’s  
 Works : Spedding’s Edit. iv. 347-8 : Translation of the *De Aug.*).

102. “ *his line stretched out so far.* ” Job xxxviii. 5. (Hume.)

107. “ *attribute,* ” accented on the first syllable, as it is also in line 12 of this Book.

128. “ *In six thou seest* ” : *i.e.* in the Moon, and in Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

130. “ *three several motions.* ” These three motions of the Earth are (1) her diurnal rotation on her axis, (2) her annual orbit round the Sun, (3) the libration or oscillation of her axis during her orbit. These three motions are exemplified in a top spinning—the spinning of the top being the first motion ; the circle it describes while spinning being the second ; and its balancing of itself, while circling, from a more or less slant to a more or less upright position, the third. This last motion is the “trepidation talked” of Book III. 483 (see note there). *There* it is assigned, in accordance with the Ptolemaic system, to the Ninth or Crystalline Sphere close to the Primum Mobile ; but *here*, according to the Copernican doctrine, it is transferred, with the two other motions, to the Earth itself.

131—140. “ *Which else,* ” &c. The construction of these ten lines is somewhat difficult, owing to the peculiar use of the word “*else,*” which here means “*either.*” They may be explained thus :—Which (*i.e.* the three motions of the Earth just spoken of) you must *either* ascribe, as

in the Ptolemaic system, to several spheres moving in contrary directions and obliquely crossing each other, *or* you must, as has just been hinted, credit the Earth herself with the motions, and so save the Sun his labour and at the same time save (*i.e.* get rid of) that supposed swift nocturnal and diurnal Rhomb (ῥόμβος, a wheel) of the Ptolemaists, otherwise invisible (*i.e.* invisible except in supposition) beyond all stars, and known as the Tenth Sphere or Primum Mobile, whose diurnal revolution carries round all the inner spheres—which (*i.e.* the existence of which Rhomb) needs not thy belief if Earth, herself taking the trouble to rotate on her axis from west to east, fetches Day by travelling east, being always luminous on that side of her rotund mass which is turned towards the Sun, while her aversè side is dipped in Night or Shadow.

143. "*Enlightening her*" : *i.e.* the Moon.

144. "*reciprocal, if,*" &c. : *i.e.* doing mutual good service if we are to suppose the Moon inhabited.

145, 146. "*Her spots thou seest as clouds.*" In Milton's time the notions as to the constitution of the Moon were not what they are at present, and atmosphere, vapour, and clouds were supposed in it as in the Earth.

148, 149. "*other Suns, perhaps, with their attendant Moons.*" A reference to Galileo's discovery that Jupiter and Saturn have satellites. To their moons or satellites these planets would be as suns.

150. "*male and female light*" : *i.e.* direct and reflected.

152. "*Stored in each Orb perhaps with some that live.*" I believe that "*stored*" here qualifies "*World*," and that the meaning is "Which two great sexes animate the World—a World stored perhaps in each of its orbs with some living things." But it is possible that "*stored*" refers to "*sexes*" or to "*suns and moons*," in either of which connexions an intelligible meaning would arise.

155. "*contribute*" : accented on the first syllable. See note, line 107.

157. "*this habitable.*" A literal translation of the Greek phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη for Earth.

164. "*inoffensive*" : not striking against any obstacle.

173. "*Be lowly wise*" : "*Humile sapiamus*," "Let us be lowly wise," is a phrase of Milton's own in one of his Familiar Epistles, addressed to his friend Diodati Sept. 23, 1637. Todd noted this; and Hume quotes the Latin phrase "*Noli altum sapere.*"

183.—197. "*nor with perplexing thoughts to interrupt the sweet of life . . . to know that which before us lies in daily life is the prime wisdom,*" &c. Hume quotes Eccles. vi. 11, 12, and vii. 16, and Coloss. ii. 8; and Mr. Browne compares *Sams. Ag.* 300—306. Mr. Keightley notes that the whole doctrine of the passage is directly opposed to the



teaching and philosophy of Bacon. Indeed, so far as it would stop inquisitiveness into the farthest secrets of Physical Nature, it is opposed to the whole tenor of Modern Philosophy; though Comte's discouragement of Sidereal Astronomy is somewhat in the same spirit. To qualify the impression of the passage in this respect, however, see Milton's enthusiastic outburst on the pleasures of scientific research and speculation in the third of his *Prolusiones Oratoriæ*, and also his advocacy of Physical Science in his *Tract on Education*. His real meaning in the present passage is probably the same as Goethe's in his famous aphorism (though that was uttered with reference rather to metaphysical than to physical speculations): "Man is born not to solve the problem of the Universe, but to find out where the problem begins, and then to restrain himself within the limits of the comprehensible."

209. "*Fond*": *i.e.* foolish.

212. "*fruits of palm-tree*": dates; or one kind of them.

225. "*Than of our fellow-servant.*" Rev. xxii. 9. (Newton.)

229. "*I that day was absent*": *i.e.* on the Sixth Day of the Creation; on which day, as Man was to be created on it, a special guard was kept at Hell-gates, lest any of the fallen Angels should emerge on an evil errand.

238—240. "*But us he sends,*" &c. Mr. Browne compares Sonnet xix. 11—14.

246. "*Ere Sabbath-evening.*" I believe this means here not what we call usually Sabbath evening, but the evening before Sabbath, evening being used as it is in the phrase "Christmas Eve." The Angels sent to Hell-gate to watch were released from that duty as soon as Man was created, *i.e.* at the close of the Sixth Day, and returned to Heaven for the Sabbath.

251. "*who himself beginning knew?*" *i.e.* "who ever knew himself as beginning or commencing to exist?"

269. "*as lively vigour led.*" So in the First Edition, but in the Second it is "*and lively vigour led,*" which seems to be a misprint.

292—296. "*When suddenly stood at my head a dream . . . One came, methought, . . . and said.*" Mr. Keightley notes thus: "The idea of seeing in a dream what really was taking place seems to have been suggested by the dream of Æacus in Ovid (*Met.* vii. 634 *seq.*). So also Dante dreams that he is carried up by an eagle, and on awakening finds that he had in effect been carried up a part of the mountain of Purgatory during his sleep (*Purg.* ix. 7 *seq.*)."

307. "*Loaden with fairest fruit.*" See IV. 147, and note there.

319—333. "*This Paradise,*" &c. Gen. ii. 15—17.

335, 336. "*though in my choice not to incur*": i.e. "dreadful, . . . though it be in my choice not to incur the danger."

337. "*purpose*": discourse (Fr. *propos*), as at IV. 337.

342—354. "*In sign whereof*," &c. Gen. ii. 19.

350. "*these*": i.e. the beasts.

351. "*stooped*," this is the participle, and not the past tense.

356. "*Heavenly Vision*." Acts xxvi. 19. (Dunster.)

379, 380. "*Let not my words offend thee*," &c. Gen. xviii. 30. (Newton.)

384. "*sort*": issue, come to pass, succeed (Fr. *sortir*). Instances of the word in this sense, from Holinshed, Bacon, and others, are given in Richardson's Dictionary.

386—388. "*but, in disparity, the one intense*," &c. The meaning is, "but, in a state of inequality between two creatures, in which the one is intense (tensely wound up like a musical string), the other still remiss (slack), they cannot well suit or harmonize."

395. "*Much less*," &c. The force of this expression depends on what has gone before. "It is the pairs of each kind that are found rejoicing with each other—the lion with the lioness, the tiger with the tigress, &c.; *much less*, if you take individuals of different kinds, as an ox with an ape, a bird with a beast, or a fish with a fowl, can there be fit society between them; and least of all can man and beast be companions."

406, 407. "*none I know second to me or like*." Newton quotes Horace (*Od.* i. xii. 17):—

"Unde nil majus generatur ipso,  
Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum."

410. "*inferior infinite descents*": i.e. "inferior by infinite descents."

412—414. "*To attain*," &c. Rom. xi. 33. (Hume.)

421. "*through all numbers absolute*." Bishop Newton quotes from Cicero the phrases "*omnibus numeris absolutus*," and "*expletum omnibus suis numeris*," as suggesting Milton's expression. Hume had preceded him in the first quotation.

445. "*Knew it not good*," &c. Gen. ii. 18.

453—459. "*My earthly by his heavenly overpowered*," &c. Dan. x. 17 (Todd), and Numb. xxiv. 4 (Dunster).

462. "*Abstract*": i.e. borne away, removed.

465. "*left side*." This is an addition of the commentators, Scripture (Gen. ii. 21) not mentioning from which side the rib was taken. The left is chosen as nearest the heart; hence the significance of "*cordial*" in the next line.

485. "*Led by her Heavenly Maker.*" Gen. ii. 22.

494. "*nor enviest*" : "nor grudgest," connected with "hast fulfilled."

495—499. "*Bone of my bone,*" &c. Gen. ii. 23.

503. "*That would be wooed, and not unsought be won.*" Todd quote Shakespeare, *Rich. III.*, I. ii. :—

"She's beautiful, and therefore to be wooed ;  
She is a woman, therefore to be won."

534. "*failed in me*" : made a slip in my creation.

540—559. "*For well I understand,*" &c. For farther information as to Milton's views of the relations of the sexes see his *Divorce Tracts*. See also *Samson Agonistes*, 1025—1033. The intellectual superiority of the Man over the Woman was one of Milton's characteristic tenets.

547. "*absolute*" : perfect.

555, 556. "*As one intended first, not after made occasionally.*" Hume recognises this as a contradiction of an opinion of Aristotle, who, according to an old commentator on Genesis ii. 18, calls woman "*animal occasionatum, non per se et ex principali naturæ intentione generatum, sed ex occasione.*"—"occasionally," for a supplementary purpose.

565. "*attributing;*" accented on the first syllable. See *antè*, lines 107 and 155.

569. "*Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love.*" Ephes. v. 28 ; 1 Peter iii. 7. There is a recollection also of the words of the English Marriage Service.

571—573.       ●       "*Oft-times nothing profits more  
Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right  
Well managed.*"

This aphorism is peculiarly characteristic of Milton. His own life was, in a great measure, founded upon it ; and he frequently asserts and expounds it.

576. "*adorn;*" an adjective for "adorned," formed, as Mr. Keightley notes, from the Italian *adorno*.

578. "*who sees when thou art seen least wise*" : i.e. "who beholds thee in those moments when thou art to be seen in thy least wise condition."

591. "*judicious*" : full of judgment or correct apprehension : "*scale*" ladder, from the Italian *scala*.

609, 610. "*from the sense variously representing*" : i.e. objects brought before me from the senses, which represent things in all their varieties.

631, 632. "*the Earth's green Cape and verdant Isles Hesperian.*" Cape Verd and the Cape Verd Islands to the west of Africa. *Hesperian* so spelt in the original edition.

634. "*whom to love is to obey.*" 1 John v. 3. (Newton.)

645. "*benediction.*" The word does not mean "blessing" here, but only "gracious speaking." "*Since to part*": i.e. "Since we are to part."

653. "*Adam to his bower.*" The conversation of Adam with Raphael had taken place *in* the bower; but Adam is to be supposed as having, at its close, *followed* Raphael (line 645) to the entrance of the bower.

## BOOK IX.

2. "*as with his friend,*" &c. Exod. xxxiii. 11. (Todd.)

13—19. "*argument not less but more heroic than the wrath of stern Achilles . . . or the rage of Turnus . . . or Neptune's ire, or Juno's,*" &c. Milton here asserts the theme of his poem to be more heroic than the themes of the three greatest Epics of past ages—the *Iliad*, the main subject of which, as the first line declares, is "the wrath of Achilles," and one of the incidents of which is the pursuit of Hector by Achilles round the walls of Troy; the *Æneid*, the latter portion of which relates the anger of Turnus on account of the promise of Lavinia to Æneas, and much of the plot of which turns on the hostility of Juno to Æneas, the son of Cytherea, or Venus; the *Odyssey*, the hero of which, Ulysses, is an object of persecution to Neptune.

21. "*my celestial Patroness*": i.e. Urania. See Book VII. 1, 2, and note.

23, 24. "*inspires easy my unpremeditated verse.*" If this is to be understood literally, Milton's habits of composition had undergone a change since his earlier days. The manuscripts of his early poems show him to have been then, if not a laborious and slow writer, at least a most painstaking and fastidious one—erasing, altering, and correcting with extraordinary pains.

25, 26. "*Since first this subject for heroic song  
Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late.*"

The subject had first pleased him in or about 1640, when it was thought of for a Drama—after which there had been "long choosing" between it and other subjects; and not till about 1658, when Milton was fifty

years of age, had the actual composition of the Epic been seriously begun. See the story in detail, *Introd.* pp. 40—50.

29, 30. "*chief mastery to dissect . . . fabled knights.*" For the construction of this, some ellipsis must be supposed between it and what precedes; thus "wars, hitherto deemed the only heroic argument, it being deemed chief mastery to dissect," &c.—*Dissect*, "to cut and carve:" an allusion to the minute descriptions of wounds in the Epic poets.

33—35. "*races and games,*" as in *Iliad*, xxiii. and *Æneid*, v. (Newton); "*tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,*" as in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, Spenser's *Faery Queene*, Ariosto, Boiardo, &c.

35. "*impresses;*" spelt "*inpreses*" in the original text; from the Italian *impresa*, a device or emblem used on a shield or otherwise. Among the prose remains of Drummond of Hawthornden is a little *Discourse upon Impresas*, in which he distinguishes the *impresa* proper from the emblem in general. "An *impresa*," he says, "is a demonstration and manifestation of some notable and excellent thought of him that conceiveth it and useth it; and it belongs only to him, and is his property, and so properly that the successors may not use the *impresa* of their predecessor and parents, except the *impresas* be incorporated into the arms of the house of which they are descended, or they would show they have the self-same thought which they had which went before them. It is quite contrary with the emblem: emblems of the deceased may be used by others." An *impresa*, he adds, may consist of some symbolical figure or figures only, or of such figures and some relative words or motto.

36. "*Bases.*" According to Todd, on the authority of Nares's Glossary, this word signifies the kilt which hung from the waist of knights on horseback to about the knees. It seems, in fact, a heroic word for lower garments.—"*tinsel trappings.*" Mr. Keightley quotes the exact phrase from Spenser, *F. Q.* iii. i. 15.

37, 38. "*marshalled feast . . . sewers and seneshals.*" "Another allusion," says Todd, "to the magnificence of elder days. The *marshal* placed the guests according to their rank; the *sewer* marched in before the meats, and arranged them on the table, and was originally called *asseour* from the French *asseoir*, to set down; and the *seneschal* was the house-steward." Hume had noted to the same effect.

\*39. "*The skill of artifice (i.e. mere artizanship) or office mean,*" &c. And yet writers of heroic poems of the kind described had been Spenser, Ariosto, and the like.

44—46. "*unless an age too late, or cold climate, or years, damp,*" &c.: i.e. "unless the present late period of the world, or this cold climate of England, or my own years, now verging on sixty, damp," &c. In his *Reason of Church Government*, Milton similarly makes the probability



of his success in an epic dependent on there being "nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age." When the words were written (1641), it was not necessary to speak of his years.

52. "*Night's hemisphere*." One half of the Earth being in shadow . constitutes night.

59. "*From compassing the Earth*." Job i. 7. (Todd.)

60, 61. "*Since Uriel . . . descried . . . and forewarned*." See Book IV. 555—575.

64—66. "*thrice the equinoctial line he circled . . . each colure*." Of the seven days during which Satan went round and round the Earth, always keeping himself on its dark side, three were spent in moving from east to west on the equatorial line ; four in moving round from pole to pole, or from north to south and back—in which second way of moving he would traverse (or go along) the two colures—*i.e.* two great circles, so named by astronomers, drawn from the poles. Originally all great circles passing through the poles were called *colures* (κόλouroi, curtailed) ; but the term was at length confined to the two great circles drawn from the poles through the equinoxes and the solstices respectively. The one was called the Equinoctial colure, the other the Solstitial. The term *colure* is little used now.

67. "*on the coast averse*" : *i.e.* "on that side of Eden which was averse."

69—73. "*There was a place, now not . . . where Tigris*," &c. See Book IV. 223—246, and note.

70. "*wrought* ;" spelt "*wrought*" in the original text.

76—82. "*Sea he had searched . . . Ganges and Indus*." Milton here returns upon Satan's seven days of wandering round and round the Earth, already described astronomically, in order to describe them more geographically. The Fiend, on leaving Eden (Book IV. 861—1015), had gone northward over the Pontus Euxinus or Black Sea, and over the Palus Mæotis or Sea of Azof, and so still northward, over what is now Russian territory, as far as beyond the Siberian river Ob or Obe, which flows into the Arctic sea ; whence, continuing round the pole and descending on the other side of the globe, he had gone southward again as far as the Antarctic sea and pole. So much for his travels north and south. In *length*, *i.e.* measured as longitude in an equatorial direction, his journeys had extended from the Syrian river, Orontes, west of Eden, to the Isthmus of Darien, and so still west, completing the great circle to India on the east of Eden. Observe how true to the imagined reality is the mention of Ganges here before Indus. In the circuit described Satan would come upon the Ganges first.

86—96. "*The Serpent subtlest*," &c. Gen. iii. 1. Mr. Browne notes that Landor censured these lines as "some of the dullest in Milton,"



arguing that, as the serpent had been but recently created, he was an obscure brute as yet, and nobody knew anything of his character.

87, 88. "*irresolute of thoughts revolved*": *i.e.* not bringing to a solution the thoughts which he was revolving.

89. "*imp of fraud*." *Imp* meant originally a graft or shoot (A.-S. *impan*, "to graft"), and the poet may have had this meaning in his mind.

93. "*Whatever sleights*": *i.e.* "whatever sleights might be seen."

99. "*O Earth, how like to Heaven*," &c. See Book V. 574—576. There is a fine propriety in introducing here this apostrophe to the Earth. We are to fancy that, independently of his searching for some instrument whereby to tempt Man, Satan had been interested in the appearances of things all round the Earth in his seven days of exploration. It was not only a new creation and of interest to him as such, but it was the globe which he hoped to make peculiarly his own by overmastering its human owners. He had been surveying therefore what he hoped to make his property.

113. "*growth, sense, reason*": gradation of existence is here indicated, "gradual life," as it has just been named.

130. "*him destroyed*": an imitation of the Latin ablative absolute, as at VII. 142.

155—157. "*Subjected*," &c. Psalm civ. 4 (Hume), and Psalm xci. 11 (Todd).

166. "*incarnate and imbrute*." Todd compares *Comus*, 467.

167. "*highth*;" spelt "*hight*" in the First and Second Editions—a deviation from Milton's practice, and perhaps a misprint.

176. "*son of despite*": a Hebraism, as Hume noted, after the analogy of "sons of courage" for courageous men, "sons of pride" for proud men, &c.

178. "*spite then with spite is best repaid*." Richardson quotes Æschylus, *Prom. Vinct.* 944:—

Οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοῖς ὑβρίζουσιν χρεών.

186. "*Nor nocent*." So in the Second Edition; but in the First the reading was "Not nocent."

\* 210. "*Lop overgrown, or prune*": "A hypercritic might ask how they could lop or prune without edged tools" (Keightley).

213. "*Or hear*." So in the First Edition; but in the Second "*bear*," which is possibly a misprint.

218. "*spring of roses*": *i.e.* growth or thicket of roses. Mr. Keightley cites instances to prove that *spring* originally meant a single shoot (a sprig), but came to be used by the old poets for a grove or coppice.

245. "*wilderness*": *i.e.* wildness. Todd quotes a similar instance from Shakespeare, *Meas. for Meas.* III. i.:

"For such a warped slip of wilderness  
Nc'er issued from his blood."

249. "*For solitude*," &c. A line hypermetrical by two syllables, or a whole foot. Mr. Browne compares *Par. Reg.* I. 302. Hume quotes Cicero's phrase, "*Nunquam minus solus quam quum solus.*"

289. "*misthought*": to be construed along with the noun "thoughts" preceding;—"to thee so dear": referring to what Adam had himself said line 228.

314. "*and raised unite*": *i.e.* "and knit together when raised."

320. "*attributed*;" accented on the first syllable. See VIII. 12 and *Par. Reg.* III. 69.

330. "*on our front*." Having already used the word "affront," Eve pursues the image which its literal meaning ("to meet face to face") suggests.

335, 336. "*unassayed alone*," &c.: *i.e.* "if it has not been assayed alone and unsustained by external help."

339. "*As not secure*": *i.e.* as not to be secure.—"*to single or combined*": *i.e.* to us singly or together.

341. "*Eden were no Eden*": *i.e.* would not answer to its name, which means "deliciousness."

347. "*aught*;" spelt "*ought*" in the original text.

353. "*erect*": *i.e.* standing on her feet (Lat. *erectus*), watchful. To this note of Hume's Mr. Keightley adds the observation that the word *alert* is the same (Ital. *all'erta*, for *all'eretta*).

365. "*and most likely*": *i.e.* "to avoid temptation would be most likely."

370. "*trial unsought*": *i.e.* trial, if not voluntarily sought and met.

387. "*Oread*" (nymph of the mountains), *Dryad* (nymph of the oak-groves); *Delia's*, *Diana's*.

391, 392. "*Such gardening tools*," &c. See note, line 210.

393—395. "*Pales . . . Pomona . . . Ceres*." Milton, having mentioned Eve's gardening tools, aptly compares her to Pales the goddess of pastures, Pomona the goddess of orchards, or Ceres the goddess of husbandry. For the story of Pomona and Vertumnus, the god of changing seasons, Hume refers to Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 623-*et seq.*

394. "*Likest*." So in the First Edition; erroneously changed into "*likeliest*" in the Second.

396. "*Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove*": *i.e.* before she became the mother of Proserpina by Jupiter. A great deal of unnecessary astonishment has been expressed over this line by the commentators. Bentley sees in it a flagrant instance of the ignorant clumsiness of that false friend or editor to whom he supposes that Milton, in his blindness, was obliged to intrust the business of seeing his poem through the press. "What a Monster of a Phrase," he exclaims, "is that, *Virgin of Proserpina, Virgin of her Daughter*! Anyone else that was minded to speak Human Language would have said:—

"Like Ceres in her prime  
Not Mother yet of Proserpin by Jove."

Subsequent editors, defending the phrase, have yet found no precedent for it, classical or English. "The expression *virgin of Proserpina*," says Lord Monboddo, "is certainly not common English, and many will deny it to be English at all; but let any man try to express the same thought otherwise, and he will be convinced how much Milton has raised and ennobled his style by an idiom so uncommon." In this, as in other instances, the commentators seem to have omitted an element of some importance in the criticism of poetry—the power of genius to invent idioms and constructions of words as well as other things. Mr. Keightley, however, has pointed out that Milton may have derived the idiom from the French or the Italian. He quotes from Montaigne such expressions as "*vierge de querelles*," and from Italian writers such expressions as "*vergine di servo encomio*."

405. "*Of thy presumed return*." To be connected with the word "*failing*," thus: "much failing or falling short, of—thy presumed return."

410. "*or*." Bentley proposed to read "*and*."

426. "*bushing*;" erroneously printed "*blushing*" in most of the editions.

432. "*Herself, though fairest*," &c. Compare IV. 269, 270.

436. "*voluble*": rolling on as serpents do (*volubilis*).

438. "*hand*": *i.e.* handiwork.

439—443. "*those gardens feigned . . . of revived Adonis, or renowned Alcinous . . . or that, not mystic, where*," &c. A passage has been cited by Pearce from Pliny's Natural History which Milton may have had in view: "*Antiquitas nihil prius mirata est quam Hesperidum hortos, ac regum Adonidis et Alcinoi*." Otherwise the "gardens of Adonis" in the ancient writers are only the earthenware pots, with lettuce growing in them, which were carried by the women in the yearly festivals in honour of the restoration of Adonis to life by Proserpina after his death by the wound from the wild boar. But Spenser describes the gardens of Adonis (*Fairy Queene*, III. vi.), and Shakespeare mentions them (*Henry VI.* Part I., Act I. Sc. vi). See also *Comus*, 998 *et seq.* The gardens of

Alcinöus, King of the Phæacians, who received and entertained Ulysses, the son of Laertes, are described in Homer (*Odyss.* vii.).—*"Not mystic"*: *i.e.* not mythical, like those gardens, were, says the poet, the gardens of Solomon (Song of Solomon, vi. 2), where he dallied with his Egyptian wife, Pharaoh's daughter.

445—454. *"As one who,"* &c. Mr. Keightley suggests that here Milton may have recollected actual walks of his own out of London into the country.

450. *"tedded grass"*: *i.e.* cut and spread out to dry.

491. *"not approached"*: *i.e.* if not approached (Keightley).

505—510. *"Not those that in Illyria changed Hermione and Cadmus,"* &c.: *i.e.* that became the substitutes for Hermione, &c. Bentley finds another error of his supposed original editor of Milton in this passage. "The ignorant mistakes," he says, "*Hermione*, the daughter of Menelaus and Helena, for *Harmonia* the daughter of Mars and Venus, wife to Cadmus." But, as the wife of Cadmus is still called indifferently *Harmonia* or *Hermione* in some classical dictionaries, so it may have been in Milton's time. The story is that Cadmus and his wife, in their old age, grieving for the fates of their children, prayed the gods to relieve them from the miseries of life, and were changed into serpents.—*"or the god in Epidaurus"*: *i.e.* Æsculapius, who, being sent for to Rome in the time of the plague, accompanied the ambassadors thither from Epidaurus in the shape of a serpent.—*"nor to which transformed Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline,"* &c. The construction is: "Nor those serpents into which Jupiter Ammon and Jupiter Capitolinus were respectively seen transformed—the first with Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great; the other with the mother of Scipio." Alexander was said to be the son of Jupiter Ammon or Libyan Jove; and Scipio Africanus, whom Milton calls the "highth" or highest man of Rome, was similarly fabled to be the son of Jupiter Capitolinus.

522. *"Than at Circean call,"* &c. Hume quotes Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 45, 46.

529, 530. *"with serpent-tongue organic, or,"* &c.: *i.e.* "either actually with the tongue of the serpent or by striking a sound into the air."

558, 559. *"The latter I demur"* (remain in doubt about: Fr. *demeurer*, Lat. *demorari*, to delay, to linger): *i.e.* Eve was not sure whether some portion of human sense did not exist in brutes, though speechless. Milton seems to have held the opinion that brutes had a higher intelligence than was usually accorded to them. "They also know and reason not contemptibly," he had said, Book VIII. 373, 374.

581, 582. *"smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats of ewe or goat,"* &c. Allusions, as Bishop Newton pointed out, to the supposed habits of serpents. Pliny, in his Natural History, speaks of fennel as "*anguibus*

*gratisimum*," and they were said to suck ewes and goats for their milk.

612. "*Dame*" : *i.e.* *Domina* or Lady. The word "*Dame*" has sunk in meaning since Milton's time.

613. "*spirited*" : *i.e.* animated with a spirit.

624. "*bearth*." So in the original. *Birth* has been substituted in all the modern editions ; but improperly. When Milton means *birth*, he uses that word and spells it so (as, for example, in line 111 in this Book) ; but here he intends a different form—*bearth*, for "produce."

634—640. "*a wandering fire*," &c. : *ignis fatuus*, or Will of the Wisp. In his account of this phenomenon Milton follows the physics of his time ; but, if we understand "unctuous vapour" to mean phosphoretted hydrogen gas evolved from decaying animal matter in a marsh, the language might stand as a poetical expression of one of the modern hypotheses as to the cause of the *ignis fatuus*.

640. "*Misleads the amazed night-wanderer from his way*" : a recollection surely, as Todd observed, of Shakespeare's line in *Mid. Night's Dream*, II. i. :—

"Misleads night-wanderers, laughing at their harm."

653. "*Sole daughter of his voice*." A Hebraism, as Hume notes ; and he adds, "So arrows are called the sons of the quiver (I. am. iii. 13) and corn the son of the threshing-floor (Is. xxi. 10)."—"the rest" : *i.e.* "as for the rest ;" a Latinism.

656—663. "*Indeed !*" &c. Gen. iii. 1—3.

673. "*Stood in himself collected*" : "stood silent as yet, and summed up in himself" (Hume).

675, 676. "*Sometimes in highth began, as no delay of preface brooking*." It was suggested by Thyer that Milton may here have had in mind the opening of Cicero's first oration against Catiline, "*Quousque tandem, Catilina,*" &c.

685. "*Ye shall not die*." Gen. iii. 4.

702. "*Your fear itself of death removes the fear*" : *i.e.* "If God is to be feared, he is not just ; and, if he is not just, he is not a god whom it is necessary to fear."

710. "*should*" : so in Milton's own editions ; changed into *shall* in modern ones.

713, 714. "*by putting off human, to put on Gods*." Hume refers to 1 Cor. xv. 53.

729, 730. "*can envy dwell in Heavenly breasts ?*" *Æn.* i. 11. : "*Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ ?*" (Hume.)

732. "*humane*;" here used for "*human*."

739, 740. "*hour of noon . . . waked an eager appetite*." Observe Milton's notion of the natural dinner-hour.

781. "*eat*." So in the original text, and not the present form "*ate*," as in some editions.

792. "*knew not eating death*": *i.e.* "knew not herself to be eating," a Greek idiom, used also in Latin. Mr. Browne quotes as an instance in Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 376, 377:—

"Dixit; et extemplo (neque enim responsa dabantur  
Fida satis) sensit medios delapsus in hostes."

793. "*hightened*." In the original editions it stands "*hight'nd*," and not "*highthened*."

795. "*virtuous, precious*": two positives used for superlatives, according to a classical idiom. Richardson quotes *Iliad*, v. 381, *δία θεάων*, and *Æn.* iv. 576, "*sancte deorum*."

811—813. "*Heaven is high*," &c. Job xxii. 12. (Todd.)

815, 816. "*Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies about him*." Bentley annotated: "*Safe* is here pure nonsense. No doubt he gave it, 'Our great Forbidder's eye, with all his spies about him.'" A curious example of the great scholar's ignorance of the idiom of his own language. Pearce corrected him thus: "*Safe* here signifies as in the vulgar phrases 'I have him safe,' or 'He is safe asleep;' where not the safety of the person secured or asleep is meant, but the safety of others with respect to any danger from him." Mr. Browne refers to Shakespeare (*Tempest*, III. i.) for an instance, where Miranda says of her father, "He's safe for these three hours."

826—833. "*what if God have seen, and death ensue*," &c. On this passage Todd notes: "Perhaps the most striking instance of imitation by Milton of the Rabbi Eleazer is this part, Archbishop Laurence has shown, of Eve's soliloquy: '*Forsitan jam moriar, et Sanctus Benedictus parabit illi aliam uxorem. Sed dabo quoque Adamo, et causa illi ero ut edat mecum, ut, si moriamur, ambo simul moriamur, si vivamus, ambo quoque in vitâ maneamus*.'"—On lines 832-3 Newton remarks: "How much stronger and more pathetic is this than that of Horace, *Od.* iii. ix. 24:—

"Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens!"

845. "*divine of something ill*." This peculiar use of "*divine*" for "*foreboding*" is, as Newton remarked, from the Latin: Hor., *Od.* iii. xxvii. 10:—

"Imbrium divina avis imminetum."

846. "*the faltering measure*": *i.e.* "the unequal beating of his heart."



853—855. "*in her face . . . to prompt.*" So in the author's own editions, but altered into "*too prompt*" by subsequent editors. The construction and meaning have puzzled commentators. I understand: "In her face, so beautiful it was, excuse for what she had done came already, as prologue to the very speech of excuse she was to make, and to prompt (quicken, help on, or prepare for) that apology which she now addressed to him."

890, 891. "*Astonied stood and blank,*" &c. Hume quotes *Æn.* ii. 120 :—

"Obstupere animi, gelidusque per ima cucurrit  
Ossa tremor."

901. "*to death devote*" : from Horace (*Od.* iv. xiv. 18), "*devota morti.*"

920. "*his words to Eve he turned,*" the previous speech having been only with himself.

922—925. "*hast dared.*" So in the First Edition, but in the Second there is the misprint "*hath.*" There is no comma or other point after "*dared*" in the original; nor is any necessary—though the syntax is rather complex.—"*coveting to eye*" : to eye covetously.

932. "*He yet lives.*" This is the correct reading : corrupted in modern editions into "*Yet he lives.*"

947, 948. "*lest the Adversary,*" &c. Deut. xxxii. 27. (Gillies.)

953. "*Certain :*" resolved to.

980. "*oblige,*" in its etymological sense of "bind" or "tie."

998. "*not deceived.*" 1 Tim. ii. 14. (Hume.)

1007. "*that now*" : i.e. "so that now."

1010, 1011. "*wings wherewith to roam the Earth.*" Horace, *Od.* iii. ii. 24 : "*Spernit humum fugiente penna*" (Keightley).

1019, 1020. "*Since to each meaning savour we apply, and palate call judicious*" : i.e. "since we are in the habit of applying the term *savour* in either a physical or a moral sense, and of annexing the epithet *judicious*, which refers originally to the judgment or understanding, to the palate or sense of taste." The remark is chiefly suggested by the double meaning of *sapere* in Latin. It means either "to taste" or "to be wise."

1042. "*their fill of love.*" Prov. vii. 18. (Todd.)

1058. "*Shame.*" In the original text the stop after this word is omitted; which would make the construction impossible. Bowle quotes Ps. cix. 29.

1059—1062. "*So rose the Danite strong, Herculean Samson . . . Philistean Dalilah,*" &c. See Judges xiii. 2, 25, and xvi. Observe that, though the form of the name in the Authorized Version is "*Delilah,*"

Milton prefers "*Dalilah*," and makes the second syllable of the name short (*Dalilah*). So in *Sams. Ag.*, save that the final *h* is there omitted and the word spelt *Dalila*. That it is pronounced *Dalila* is proved by the metre: *Sams. Ag.* 229, 724, 1072.

1064. "*strucken*;" spelt *struck'n* in the original text. See note, II. 165.

1068. "*worm*," used for "serpent" in the old Teutonic languages. It is used in this sense in Shakespeare (*Ant. and Cleop.* V. ii., "The pretty worm of Nilus"); and Mr. Keightley quotes a still more relevant instance from Donne's *Progress of the Soul* (stanza 11):—

" Nor is't writ  
That Adam cropt or knew the apple; yet  
The worm, and she, and he, and we, endure for it."

1088. "*Cover me*," &c. *Rev.* vi. 16, 17.

1101. "*not that kind for fruit renowned, but such as, at this day, to Indians known, in Malabar or Decan*," &c.: *i.e.* not the common fig-tree, but the so-called *Ficus Indica* or Indian Fig-tree, more properly known now as the Banian or Bhur. Warton points out that Milton must have had before him, when he wrote this passage, the following description of the Banian in "*Gerard's Herbal*," originally published in 1597, but of which there had been later editions: "*Of the arched Indian Fig-tree.* The ends hang doune, and touch the ground, where they take roote and grow in such sort that theyr twigs become great trees; and these, being grown up unto the like greatnesse, do cast their branches or twiggy tendrels into the earth, where they likewise take hold and roote; by means whereof it cometh to passe that of one tree is made a great wood or desart of trees, which the Indians do use for coverture against the extreme heat of the sun. Some likewise use them for pleasure, cutting doune by a direct line a long walke, or as it were a vault, through the thickest part, from which also they cut certain loopholes or windowes in some places, to the end to receive thereby the fresh cool air that entreth thereat, as also for light that they may see their cattell that feed thereby," &c. The reference to the leaves of the Indian Fig-tree (so called first by the Portuguese, from the resemblance of its fruit, though not eatable, to figs) as being "broad as Amazonian targe" is from Pliny's *Natural History*, as cited by Gerard; but the statement is incorrect,—the leaves of this tree being actually small. It is the large leaves of a different tree, the Platan, that are used in Malabar for the purpose described.

1115—1118. "*Such of late Columbus found the American*," &c. The first natives of America encountered by Columbus (1492) were totally naked; and it was later before tribes were found scantily dressed with cinctures of feathers, as in the text, or in any other fashion. Spenser, in a passage quoted by Keightley (*F. Q.* III. xii. 8), refers to those garments of "painted plumes" worn by the American Indians.

1144. "*What words,*" &c. Thyer compares *Iliad*, xiv. 83.

1163. "*the love.*" Bentley proposed to read "*thy*"; but the change is unnecessary, as the meaning is "the love, and the recompense of my love to thee, expressed by thee a little while ago:" viz. at 961 *et seq.*

1183. "*women.*" So in the original, but perhaps a misprint for "*woman,*" as Bentley thought.

## BOOK X.

9. "*and free-will armed.*" In the original text there is a comma after *armed*; which would give an intelligible reading, but probably not that intended.

16. "*manifold in sin.*" On this phrase Bishop Newton remarks, "The Divines, especially those of Milton's communion, reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit—namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience," &c. The Bishop took the remark from Hume.

38. "*Foretold*": i.e. "though ye were foretold," or "inasmuch as ye were foretold."

45. "*moment*": i.e. momentum (*movimentum*), force applied to a balance. See VI. 239.

56, 57. "*To thee I have transferred all judgment,*" &c. John v. 22 (Hume).

58—62. "*Easy it may.*" So in the First Edition, but "*might*" in the Second.—Texts referred to in this passage are Ps. lxxxv. 10 (Newton), and John v. 27 (Hume).

66. "*all his Father manifest,*" &c. Heb. i. 3.

73. "*Whoever judged*": i.e. "whoever are judged."

80. "*shall need*": i.e. shall be needed; *need* being here a neuter verb.

84. "*Conviction to the Serpent none belongs*": i.e. no proof is required against the mere brute serpent, which was Satan's instrument.

92—95. "*Now was the Sun,*" &c. The authority for the time here is Gen. iii. 8; and in the sequel of that passage there is authority for what follows here, as far as line 222. It may be noted how, in various parts of all this narrative (92—222), Milton, in his studiousness to bring

in the very words of Scripture, is indifferent to the effects of such exactness upon his metre. This is characteristic.

106. "*obvious*," in its etymological sense of "meeting on the way."

125—136. "*O Heaven*," &c. While Milton has introduced, and almost literally, all the words of Scripture relating to the interview of God with Adam in the garden, he has here added something in a modern spirit, "in order," says Stillingfleet, "to keep up some dignity in Adam."

156. "*And person*": i.e. "character," as in the phrase *dramatis personæ*.

165. "*though brute, unable to transfer*," &c., meaning "though the serpent was brute, and unable."

169—173. "*More to know concerned not Man (since he no further knew) . . . yet God at last . . . to Satan . . . his doom applied, though in mysterious terms*," &c. The meaning is, "Since Man had fallen by the temptation, so far as he knew at the time, only of the brute serpent, it mattered not to him, nor did it alter his offence, that this brute serpent had been the instrument of the ruined Archangel; yet God, in the peculiar terms of his judgment on the serpent, did mean, in a mysterious manner, an *application* of the same to the Satan." The word "*applied*" is deliberately selected, and "*his doom*" means "the Serpent's doom."

178. "*And dust shalt eat*," &c. In the apparently lame metre of this verse we have an instance of what has already been mentioned—Milton's carefulness to quote as literally as possible the exact words of Scripture. (Gen. iii. 14, 15.)

184—191. "*Saw Satan fall like lightning*," &c. In this passage Hume noted the coagulation of Luke x. 18, Eph. ii. 22, Col. i. 15, Ps. lxviii. 18, Rom. xvi. 20.

214. "*the form of servant*." Phil. ii. 7. (Hume.)

217, 218. "*or slain, or, as the snake, with youthful coat repaid*": i.e. "either slain for the purpose, or only stripped of their skins, and provided with others, as the snakes cast their skins." Death had now been brought into the world, but the poet professes ignorance whether beasts were slain or not to provide the first clothing for Adam and Eve.

221—223. "*inward nakedness . . . with his robe of righteousness arraying*," &c. Isaiah lxi. 10. (Newton.)

231. "*In counterview*": i.e. gazing on each other.

233, 234. "*since the Fiend passed through, Sin opening*." See Book II. 648 *et seq.*

241. "*avengers*." In the First Edition the reading was *avenger*: the plural form, clearly the right one, is substituted in the Second Edition.

243—263. "*Methinks I feel*," &c. Through this passage Milton assumes that, by some peculiar physical sympathy, or correspondence of atoms of a like nature at whatever distances from each other, the fact of the Fall of Man had been immediately transmitted, in a kind of telegraphic shiver, down through Chaos to Hell-gate, where Sin and Death had been left sitting.

260, 261. "*for intercourse or transmigration*," &c. : *i.e.* "whether for going to and fro between Hell and the World of Man, or for permanent passage up to the World of Man, as may be their lot."

273—278. "*As when a flock*," &c. Newton supposes a recollection of Lucan, *Phars.* vii. 825 *et seq.* :—

"Non solum Hæmonii funesta ad pabula belli  
Bistonii venere lupi, tabemque cruentæ  
Cædis odorati Pholoen liquere leones.  
Tunc ursi latebras, obscæni tecta domosque  
Deserucæ canes, et quicquid nare sagaci  
Acra non sanum, motumque cadavere sentit.  
Jamque diu volucres, civilia castra secutæ,  
Conveniunt."

Todd quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher (*Beggar's Bush*) :—

"'Tis said of vultures  
They scent a field fought ; and do smell the carcasses  
By many hundred miles."

Milton, however, makes the birds of prey here scent the carnage *before* the battle. He probably follows some popular superstition.

279—281. "*So scented the grim feature*," &c. : *i.e.* figure, form (It. *fattura*, thing shaped or made, creature, as in the last part of the word *manufacture*). See II. 666 *et seq.*—"Sagacious of" (Lat. *sagax*, quick of scent). "*Sagire enim sentire acutè, ex quo sagaces dicti canes* : Cicero, *De Div.* i. 4" (Hume).—"Quarry, game, prey, of the Fr. *querir*, to seek for, to hunt out" (Hume).—In the wording of this passage there seems certainly to be a recollection of the passage just quoted from Lucan : "*quicquid nare sagaci*," &c.

290—293. "*Upon the Cronian sea . . . beyond Petsora eastward to the rich Cathaian coast*." The "Cronian Sea" is the Polar or Arctic Sea, which "was called the Cronian by some" (after Kronos or Saturn); "Petsora," or Petchora, is a gulf on the extreme north-east coast of the present European Russia ; the "Cathaian coast" is the coast of Cathay, or China. The interval of the Arctic Sea, from Petchora eastward to the Chinese coast, is called an "*imagined way*," because it was a problem in Milton's time whether such a north-east passage to China, by the Polar coasts of Europe and Asia, could be effected. It is interesting to note the use made here, and in other parts of the poem, of geographical



knowledge which Milton had acquired in compiling his *Brief History of Moscovia*. In this work, left in MS. and published after his death, he mentions and describes Petsora, Cathaia, and the supposed passage eastward from the one to the other.

293—303. The editors have found a good deal of difficulty in making out the exact meaning of this passage, and have varied the pointing. The pointing in the text corresponds with that of the original; and the meaning seems to be that Death firmly fixed in one hard mass the more solid parts that had been gathered together, and solidified the more liquid parts, and that then a portion of the aggregation was fastened, like a beach, to Hell-gate, while the rest was carried athwart Chaos like a mole or pier.—“*Death with his mace petrific.*” Todd quotes “*Pale Death’s strong mace,*” from the *Trag. of Dido* by Marlowe and Nash (1594).—“*As Delos, floating once*”: a reference to the legend of the fixing of the floating island Delos by Zeus.—“*Gorgonian rigour*”: a stiffness like that produced by the look of the Gorgon, which changed people into stone.

304. “*from hence*”: *i.e.* henceforward.

305. “*inoffensive*”: see note, VIII. 164. See also Matt. vii. 13. (Greenwood.)

308. “*Susa, his Memnonian palace.*” Susa, called Memnonia by Herodotus, was the residence of the Persian kings.

312—318. “*Now had they brought the work . . . to the outside bare of this round World.*” In the original text there is no comma or other point between “Chaos” and “to the outside bare,” and accordingly it might be supposed that Milton intended the construction to be “where he (Satan) first . . . landed safe to the outside,” &c. But, besides that this construction is awkward and unusual in itself, a study of the whole passage as, with this exception, it is pointed in the original, shows that Milton intended the reading to be that which we have indicated by our mode of pointing—*i.e.* that he meant the words “brought the work” in line 312 to be connected with “to the outside, &c.” in line 317, and the intervening clauses from “a ridge” to “chaos,” to be read continuously as in parenthesis. According to this reading “following the track of Satan to the self-same place, &c.,” refers to the “ridge of pendent rock,” and not to Sin and Death. The alternative reading, which would connect “to the self-same place, &c.” with “brought the work,” would require a comma after “Satan;” but there is none in the original. In short, in order to make “brought the work” refer to anything at all in the subsequent text, it is necessary to suppose a comma omitted after “Satan” in the original text or one omitted after “Chaos,” and it gives far the most natural construction to suppose it omitted at the latter place.—The reference in this passage is to that point of the previous narrative where Satan’s alighting on the outside of the Primum Mobile is described (III. 418—422, and 498—501).



313. "*Pontifical*." The word means literally "bridge-making;" but it would not be inconsistent with Milton's manner to suppose that he may have intended the pun arising from the other sense of "pontifical"—"of or belonging to the Papacy." The Latin word "pontifex" (pontiff) meant originally "bridge-maker"—a certain bridge in Rome having been founded and often repaired by the priests.

315. "*To the self-same place*," &c. It is to be remembered that the place where Satan had first landed on the outer shell of the Universe was somewhere on its upper convex. See notes, II. 1051 and III. 427.

320, 324.

*"and now in little space  
The confines met of empyrean Heaven  
And of this World, and on the left hand Hell  
With long reach interposed; three several ways  
In sight to each of these three places led."*

The expression in this passage is somewhat obscure; but I understand it thus:—The bridge from Hell has been carried to the upper convex of the shell of the starry world and fastened to that shell somewhere near the zenith or point of intercourse between the Starry World and the overhanging Empyrean Heaven. This, already implied by previous descriptions (see immediately preceding note and references there), is distinctly asserted in the very next line (325), and again farther on (lines 389, 390), and is moreover necessary for the consistency of the story, inasmuch as the only access into the interior of the Starry Universe was by the orifice at its zenith, and it would have been bad bridgemaking not to carry the end of the bridge to a part of the outer shell near that point. Now, what were the appearances near that point, when Sin and Death had completed their work? The confines of the Empyrean Heaven and of this World met as before, in a little space, *i.e.* close together, or almost touching; but now Hell, on the left hand, interposed (*i.e.* shot in between these confines) with long reach, by means of the bridge just made, and the end of which, if represented in diagram, would actually appear as inserting itself between the external arc of the Starry World and the under-surface of Heaven. "Interposed" I take to be the past tense for "interposed itself," and not the past participle; and this is consistent with the original pointing. (In the text I have followed preceding editors and inserted a comma after "*Hell*"; but, on reconsideration, I would delete it, and point as at the head of this note.) Why Milton should have inserted the explanation "on the left hand" I do not know, unless it was that, in the diagram of the poem which he had before him in his mind's eye, he took the left or sinister side of the sphere of the Universe as that on which Satan first alighted upon it, and towards which consequently the bridge from Hell was thrown. Finally, what are the "three several ways" spoken of as "in sight" of Sin and Death? One is the bridge itself leading to Hell; and the second is the golden stair or passage of intercourse between

the pole of the Human Universe and Heaven; but what is the third? It is clearly the way down from the pole of the Universe to Paradise and the central Earth, already described (III. 526—539), and of the visibility of which to Sin and Death where they stood the poet proceeds to make mention in the very next line.—If the reader will refer to the diagram in *Introd.* p. 85, he will be able easily to insert in that diagram the “three several ways.” A line shooting up from the white orifice, or point of suspension of the World from the Empyrean, will represent the way to Heaven; a continuation of the same vertically downwards will represent the way into the interior of the World; and a curved track from the orifice on the left side winding to the upper boss or convex of Hell will represent the bridge built by Sin and Death.

327—330. “*Satan . . . betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion steering his zenith, while the Sun in Aries rose*”: *i.e.* in his ascent to the opening of the Universe at its pole or zenith, carefully keeping far from the Sun, and therefore steering between the constellations Sagittarius and Scorpio—which, if the Sun were rising in Aries, would leave a distance from him of nearly five signs of the Zodiac.

345. “*with joy.*” In the original text there is a full stop after the previous word “*time,*” and “*With*” begins a new sentence. In that case “*understood*” in line 344 would be the past tense. Feeling the awkwardness of this construction, Tickell proposed the present reading, which has been generally adopted, and which makes “*understood*” a participle—“which being understood,” &c.

351. “*stupendious.*” So in the text of the original editions, and the word is spelt in the same way in the only other place where it occurs in Milton’s poetry (*Sams. Ag.* 1627). As the analogous word “*tremendous*” does not once occur, we do not know whether Milton would have justified a similar vulgarism in the spelling and pronunciation of that word.

364. “*consequence,*” in its etymological sense, “con-sequence.”

368. “*our liberty, confined,*” &c. One of the many instances in which Milton adapts Latin syntax to English. “Our” being a possessive case, and equivalent to “of us,” the word “confined” is supposed to agree with it.

380. “*parted*”: *i.e.* “separated” or “shut off,” connected grammatically not with “all things,” but with “him.”

381. “*His quadrature.*” Milton has already said of the figure of the Empyrean Heaven, as seen from underneath, that it was “undetermined square or round” (II. 1048, and note); and, though in the main it is best imagined throughout the poem as forming half of what may be called the whole *sphere* of Infinity, yet he purposely leaves the matter vague. But here he seems (and possibly, as Hume supposed, with some reference to the description of the New Jerusalem in Rev. xxi.

16, as "four-square") to adopt for a passing purpose the idea of a distinction in shape between the Eternal Heaven and the new Universe hung underneath it—the former square or cubical, and only the latter orbicular. Hume quotes from the mathematician Gassendi (1592—1655): "*Cælum Empyreum, mentium beatarum sedes, habetur formæ exterius quadratæ, quod Civitas Sancta, in Apocalypsi descripta, posita in quadro dicatur.*" ●

389—391. "*that so near Heaven's door,*" &c. The meaning is "that, so near the very gate of the Empyrean as where we now stand, have brought a triumphal act of yours to meet my triumphal act—*i.e.* this glorious bridge to meet my victorious return from the achievement of my scheme of the World's ruin." See preceding note, 320—324.

392. "*continent,*" in its etymological sense, "continuous stretch of land."

394. "*on your road with ease*": *i.e.* "which I can now do with ease on your road."

397. "*these numerous orbs*": in the First Edition "those." "Orbs" is here used in the ordinary sense of celestial bodies, and not in that of astronomical spheres of space.

409. "*No detriment,*" &c. A recollection, as Hume noted, of the charge given to a Roman Consul, "*ut videret ne quid Respublica detrimenti caperet.*"—"be strong": Deut. xxxi. 7. (Newton.)

413. "*planet-strook.*" See note, II. 165.

415. "*causey*": still a provincial word for "causeway," and really, as Mr. Keightley has explained, more correct; the word being from the French *chaussée*, and having nothing to do originally with the English word "way."

417. "*the bars assailed*": *i.e.* dashed against the bridge.

418. "*his indignation*": *i.e.* of Chaos.

424. "*Pandemonium.*" See I. 756, and note.

426. "*paragoned*": *i.e.* compared, likened:

427. "*the Grand*": *i.e.* the chiefs, as opposed to "the legions" or general body; we should now say "the grandees." Todd quotes the phrase "*I grandi*" used exactly in the same connexion in Tasso.

431—436. "*As when the Tartar . . . Tauris or Casbeen.*" Images drawn from the recent or contemporary history of the East, where wars between the Russians and Tartars and the Turks and Persians were constant. Astracan is the country north of the Caspian, over which a Tartar host, repulsed by the Russians, might retreat on their way back into Asia; and, if the Bactrian Sophi (*i.e.* the Shah of Persia—the ancient Bactria forming a part of Persia, and the dynasty of the Sofis or Sooffees ruling in Persia from 1502 to Milton's time and beyond) were

retreating from before the crescent standards of the Turks to his capital Tauris (Tabreez), or to Casbeen (Kasveen), farther in the interior of Persia, he would leave waste the country between himself and the realm of Aladule (*i.e.* greater Armenia, the last king of which before it was conquered by the Turks was named Aladule). Milton's recollections of the maps of his time are surprisingly accurate.

441—452. "*He through the midst unmarked,*" &c. Newton perceived a recollection here of *Æn.* i. 439 *et seq.*, where Æneas behaves in like fashion.

445. "*state*" : *i.e.* canopy. See VII. 440, and note.

460. "*Thrones, Dominations,*" &c. Mr. Browne notes the occurrence of this line three times before : V. 601, 772, 840.

477. "*unoriginal*" : without beginning.

478—480. "*fiercely opposed,*" &c. This is not quite consistent with the account at II. 959 *et seq.*; but we need not suppose, with Mr. Browne, that "Satan here lies to his followers."

512. "*clung,*" for "*clinging,*" a peculiar use of the word. Hume notes the resemblance here to the account of the transformation of Cadmus in Ovid (*Met.* iv. 575).

513. "*Supplanted*" : *i.e.* "tripped up," "taken off his feet,"—the meaning of the Latin "*supplanto.*"

524—526. "*Scorpion and Asp,*" &c. The different kinds of serpents here enumerated are from Pliny and other old writers of Natural History; and most of them, as Hume noted, are given in a passage in Lucan (*Phars.* ix. 700 *et seq.*).

526—528. "*the soil bedropt with blood of Gorgon*" : *i.e.* Libya, upon which blood dropt from the Gorgon Medusa's head, when Perseus, after the conquest of her and her two sister-Gorgons, was carrying it through the air to Ethiopia,—the drops engendering the serpents with which Libya swarms.—*Ophiusa* (meaning in Greek the "snake-island," in Latin called *Colubrasia*), a small island in the Mediterranean, abounding with serpents, now Formentara, south of the Balearic island of Iviza.

529. "*Dragon.*" Rev. xii. 9.

531. "*Huge Python*" : *i.e.* the serpent bred out of the slime left by Deucalion's Flood, and slain by Apollo.

546. "*triumph to shame.*" Hosea iv. 7. (Gillies.)

549. "*His will who,*" &c. : *i.e.* "the act or arrangement of his will who," &c.

555. "*further;*" spelt "*further*" in the original text. There is one other instance in which the word is spelt so in the First Edition (XI. 193); in all other cases it is "further."

556. "*thirst*;" spelt "*thurst*" in the original, and the spelling retained to the Third Edition. In every other place where the word occurs in *Paradise Lost*, including line 568 of this Book, the original spelling is our present one, *thirst*.

560. "*Megæra*": one of the Furies, who had serpents for hair.

561—570. "*like that which grew*," &c. The ancient story of the apples of Sodom, or the peculiar fruit growing on the shores of the Dead Sea, fair on the outside, but full of dust and ashes within, had its foundation in the fact that there is found in that district a plant, called "*Osher*" by the Arabs, producing a fruit round like an apple, but which explodes on pressure.

572. "*Whom they triumphed once lapsed*": i.e. "over whose single lapse they triumphed."

573. "*long and ceaseless hiss*." Mr. Keightley seems right in taking "*hiss*" as a verb and "*long*" and "*ceaseless*" as qualifying adverbs.

580—584. "*fabled how the Serpent, whom they called Ophion*," &c. According to one of the theogonies of the Greeks, there were two dynasties of gods before the supremacy of Jupiter. First ruled Ophion (which word implies "*Serpent*") and Eurynome; they were dispossessed by Kronos and Rhea, otherwise called Saturn and Ops; and they again by Jove, called Dictæan, because he was brought up on Dicte, a mountain in Crete. Milton treats this myth of Ophion and Eurynome as perhaps a tradition, kept up among the Heathen by the Devils themselves (i.e. by their own false gods), of the primeval transaction between the Serpent and Eve. *Eurynome* means "*the wide-encroaching goddess*," and perhaps Eve was meant under this name.

581, 582. "*wide-encroaching*." A noticeable word here, inasmuch as it is divided between two lines. In the original text, as in ours, there is a hyphen after "*wide*," showing that the break of the compound word into two parts was deliberate.

590. "*On his pale horse*." Rev. vi. 8.

601. "*vast un-hide-bound corpse*": i.e. vast body, not bound tightly by its skin, but with its skin hanging loose about it.

633. "*at one sling*," &c.: 1 Sam. xxv. 29. (Todd.)

642. "*Sung Halleluiah, as the sound of seas*." Rev. xix. 6.

645. "*Next to the Son*," &c.: for the previous part of their song has been the Halleluiah proper—i.e. "*praise to Jehovah*."

647. "*New Heaven and Earth*," &c. Rev. xxi. 1.

651. "*As sorted best*": i.e. as suited best. See note, VIII. 384.

656. "*blanc Moon*": i.e. white or pale Moon. See note; III. 47—49.



657. "*the other five*": *i.e.* Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn.

658—664. "*aspects, in sextile . . . tempestuous.*" This is not the only passage in which Milton has countenanced Astrology so far as to employ its language. The following, which we translate from an old Latin catechism or text-book of Astronomy (Blebelius, *De Sphæra*, 1582), will sufficiently explain the allusions in the passage: "What are the *aspects* of planets? They are such arrangements and distances of the planets as allow them to intercommunicate their influence. How many species of aspects are there? Five—Conjunction, Sextile, Square, Trine, and Diametral or Opposition. What is the first? The first kind of aspects, called Conjunction, is when two stars or planets are conjoined and as it were connected in one line; by the Greeks it is called *Synod*. What is the Sextile aspect? When two planets or stars are distant from each other a sixth part of the Zodiac, *i.e.* two signs or 60°. What is the Square aspect (*quadratus aspectus*)? When two stars look at each other at an interval of three signs, making a quadrant or 90°. What is Trine (*Trigonus*) aspect? When the distance of the stars measures a third of the circle, that is, 120° or four signs. What is the Diametral aspect? It is the opposite configuration of two luminaries, which are distant from each other 180° or half a circle . . . How are the aspects divided? Into happy and unhappy. Which are the happy and prosperous aspects? The prosperous and benign are the Trine and Sextile. Why are they called happy? Because the rays of the planets, falling obliquely and mutually yielding, infuse and communicate to inferior bodies gentler and less violent influences. What are the unhappy aspects? The unhappy or malignant are Conjunction, Square, and Opposition. Why are they called malignant? Because the planets, meeting each other with their rays, mutually collide, and neither can yield to the other on account of the directness of their onset. Therefore they exercise greater force in stimulating and varying seasons, and in mixing the temperaments of animals and the qualities of the air. Whence is this variety of effects known? The effect and variety of configuration was first observed in the case of the Moon, and afterwards transferred to the other planets by artists (*artifices*) who, by great sharpness of intelligence, and more attentive observation, endeavoured to find out and display the causes of events from the very nature of the heavenly motions and the species of the aspects." Milton, it will be noted, names all the aspects, giving Conjunction its Greek name of *Synod*.

666. "*the thunder when to roll.*" It has been suggested that Milton could hardly have meant "roll" to be active here—*i.e.* can hardly have meant that the winds roll the thunder; but such seems the true reading—the only one consistent with the syntax.

668—678. "*Some say,*" &c. It is poetically assumed here that, before the Fall, the ecliptic or Sun's path was in the same plane as the Earth's



equator, and that the present obliquity of the two planes, or their intersection at an angle of  $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , was a modification of the physical Universe for the worse, consequent upon the moral evil introduced by sin. But this physical alteration might be produced in either of two ways—either by pushing askance the axis of the Earth the required distance, leaving the Sun undisturbed; or by leaving the Earth undisturbed and compelling the Sun to deviate the required distance (“like distant breadth”) from his former equatorial or equinoctial path. To indicate what “the like distant breadth” would amount to, Milton follows the Sun in imagination after his deviation from the equatorial line—tracing him, first, in his ascent north of the equator, through the constellations Taurus (in whose neck are the Pleiades, called the seven Atlantic Sisters, as being mythologically the daughters of Atlas) and Gemini (called “the Spartan twins,” as representing Castor and Pollux, the twin-sons of Tyndarus, King of Sparta), up to his extreme distance from the equator at the Crab; in the Tropic of Cancer; then returning with him in his descending path by Leo and Virgo, till he again touches the equator at Libra; and for the rest, simply suggesting his similar deviation from the equator to the south by naming the Tropic of Capricorn as the farthest point reached on that side. Either way of effecting the new relation of the Earth to the Sun would be consistent with the Ptolemaic system, and Milton uses Ptolemaic language in his statement of each. But he gives the larger space to the hypothesis of a change of the Sun’s path. Perhaps his reason for doing so, and appearing consequently to prefer this hypothesis, is that, if the change were in the Sun’s path, there would be no disturbance of the previous position of the Earth with reference to the polar opening of the Universe underneath the gate of the Empyrean, nor of the way right down from that opening to Paradise (see III. 526 *et seq.*, and X. 223, with notes). It is evident that, if the central Earth had been shifted, the incidence of the shaft or beamy way from that opening would be on a different part of the Earth’s rotundity.

682. “*unbenighted*”: without alternation of Night.

685—687. “*which had forbid the snow from cold Estotiland*”: *i.e.* which would have prevented the snow from coming so far from the north pole as to cold Estotiland (marked in the old maps as that part of North America which lies immediately east of Hudson’s Bay, south of Hudson’s Straits, and west of Labrador).—“*and south as far beneath Magellan*”: *i.e.* and kept as great an extent of the earth beneath the Straits of Magellan, towards the south pole, also clear of snow.

688. “*as from Thyestean banquet*.” According to the Greek myth, Atreus, King of Argos, to be avenged on his brother Thyestes, for an injury done him, invited Thyestes to a banquet, at which he caused the flesh of his own sons to be served up to him disguised. Shocked by such a horror, the Sun turned out of his course, rather than behold it. Milton supposes the same effect produced on the Sun by the eating of

the forbidden fruit. Bentley objects to the pronunciation "*Thyéstean*" in this line as erroneous; but unnecessarily, for, consistently with Milton's notion of blank verse, the word may be read *Thyestéan*.

695—706. "*Now from the north of Norumbega*," &c. Norumbega is the name inscribed on old maps of North America (at least, I find it so inscribed in the Atlas of Bertius, published in 1616) in that part of the *Nova Francia*, or New France, which corresponds with the northern coast of the present United States, nearest to Canada. The *Samœd shore* is the Siberian shore to the north-east of Russia, and is mentioned under that name in Milton's *Brief History of Moscovia*. The meaning of the passage is that from the polar regions, both of the new and the old hemispheres, lying north of these regions respectively, the several north winds, Boreas (N.), Cæcias (N.E.), Argestes (N.W.), and Thrascias (N.N.W.), burst south, and were met by the adverse blasts of the south winds Notus (S.) and Afer (S.W.) rushing north from Sierra Leone and other parts of Africa; while, to increase the confusion, this conflict of winds from the north and the south was crossed laterally by the Levant ("rising") or east winds—Eurus (E.), and Sirocco (S.E.)—and the Ponent ("setting") or west winds, Zephyr (W.), and Libeccio (S.W.). The very arrangement of the names of the Levant and Ponent winds indicates the hubbub of their meeting. The names of the winds are partly classical, partly Italian. *Sirocco*, as Hume notes, is the Syrian wind, *Libeccio* the Libyan wind.

698. "*gust and flaw*." Apparently a popular conjunction of words in the seventeenth century. Shakespeare, as Newton noted, has it in his *Venus and Adonis* (453—456):—

" Like a red morn, that ever yet betoken'd  
Wreck to the seaman, tempest to the fields,  
Sorrow to shepherds, woe unto the birds,  
Gusts and foul flaws to herdmen and to herds."

The words seem nearly synonymous—*flaw* (? *flatus*, a blast) being perhaps the stronger.

711. "*To graze the herb all leaving*." The use of the word "*all*" here has puzzled commentators. They say it could have been only the beasts that Milton meant, and not the fowls and fishes also. But it was evidently his notion that there were no carnivorous animals, whether fowls, fishes, or beasts, before the Fall; and he has specially mentioned the fishes as then only herbivorous (VII. 404).

737—741. "*besides mine own*," &c.: *i.e.* besides the curses proper to myself,—"*all from me*": *i.e.* all the curses originating from me.—"*Heavy, though in their place*": *i.e.* heavy, though at their centre, and therefore, in their proper place, where, according to physical theories, they ought not to have weight at all.—On this passage Mr. Keightley remarks that it is "perhaps the most perplexed, disagreeable, and unnatural" in the

poem; and he adds, "such a mixture of bad physics and improper imagery rarely occurs." This is as the reader may feel; but the physical theory which runs through the expression may perhaps be illustrated by a reference to Chaucer's *House of Fame* (ii. 221 *et seq.*), where the Eagle, who is flying up with the poet, entertains him during their flight with a lecture on Natural Philosophy:—

"Geoffrey, thou wotest well this,  
That every kindly thing that is  
Hath a kindly stead there he  
May best in it answered be,  
Unto which place everything  
Through his kindly inclining  
Moveth for ever to come to  
When that it is away therefro . . .  
Thus every thing by his reason  
Hath his own proper mansion  
To which he seeketh to repair."

743. "*Did I request thee.*" Isaiah xlv. 9.

758. "*Thou didst,*" &c. Bishop Newton has an apt remark here: "The change of *persons*, sometimes speaking *of* himself in the *first*, and sometimes *to* himself in the *second*, is very remarkable in this speech, as well as the change of passions."

760—762. "*what if thy son,*" &c. Isaiah xlv. 10. (Stillingfleet.)

780. "*Would thunder,*" &c. Job xxxviii. 5. (Todd.)

783. "*lest all I*": *i.e.* lest the whole of me—body soul and body. Newton quotes Horace (*Od.* iii. xxx. 6), "*non omnis moriar.*"

792. "*All of me, then, shall die.*" Observe the process of reasoning by which Adam has reached this conclusion. Thinking of the sentence "*Dust thou art, and shalt to dust return,*" he has at first been horror-struck lest this should apply only to his corporeal part, made of dust—lest the spirit, which God had breathed into him, should somehow and somewhere survive, still to hear the dreadful voice of the offended Deity. Then that absolute annihilation or sleep, to which he looked forward as his only comfort, would not be granted him. But, seeing that it was the spirit that had sinned, and it could only be on what had sinned that the sentence had been pronounced—nay, seeing that the spirit alone was the living part that could die—he concludes that the sentence of death does apply to it. The body will die by resolution into dust, but the spirit also will die.

795—798. "*Be it,*" &c. The meaning is "granted that it is so,"—*i.e.* that God's wrath must be infinite, because He is himself infinite—yet Man, the object of this wrath, is not infinite, but mortal by doom; and even infinite wrath must come to an end with the death of its object—unless death itself were somehow to be made deathless or everlasting.

799, 800. "*which to God himself impossible is held.*" As Milton here introduces a doctrine of the Schoolmen, it is suggested that he must be speaking in his own person, and not in Adam's. But the law of Poetry in such matters of time and place is not that of History; and it is clearly Adam who speaks.

804—808. "*That were to extend,*" &c. Adam here assigns two reasons why it is not to be supposed that the death threatened can be infinitely prolonged or extended—(1) that by this God's sentence would be prolonged beyond the term named in it—*i.e.* resolution to dust; (2) that it would be in violation of that natural law, seen operating everywhere else, which limits the action of causes to the receptivity, or receptive capacity, of the object-matter affected, and does not make it coextensive with the sphere or inherent potentiality of the causes themselves. Bishop Newton quotes the exact dogma of the Schoolmen which Milton must have had in view: "*Omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas*" ("Every cause acts according to the powers of the recipient, and not according to its own intrinsic powers")—a dogma in which we can find a good deal of useful and intelligible meaning still. A modern form of it is the so-called doctrine of the Relativity of Human Knowledge; by which is meant that man's knowledge is not absolute, or a knowledge of things as they are in their own nature, but only relative, or as they can be apprehended by his limited faculties.

816. "*Am found eternal.*" Bentley insisted that "*am*" is here a blunder for "*are*," and many editors print "*are*" instead of the "*am*" of the original text. But Todd quotes an instance of the same construction from Shakespeare, *As you Like it*, I. iii. :—

"Which teacheth thee that thou and I am one;"

and other instances prove that the idiom was not unusual. Indeed, in the present case, "*am*" makes the identification stronger to the mind.

824—828. "*But from me,*" &c. Here Adam catches a glimpse of the doctrine of the implication of all mankind in Adam's sin.

827. "*With me? How can they, then, acquitted stand?*" In the First Edition this line is printed without the word "*then*"—in which case the word "*they*" would have to be pronounced very emphatically. The word is inserted in the Second Edition.

834. "*wrath*": spelt "*wrauth*" in First and Second Editions.

840. "*future*;" accented on the second syllable.

854—859. "*Why comes not Death, said he,*" &c. Newton compares Sophocles, *Philoct.* 793 :—

ὦ Θάνατε, Θάνατε, πῶς δὲ καλούμενος  
οὕτω καθ' ἡμᾶρ οὐ δύνη μολεῖν ποτέ;

859. "*her slowest pace.*" Hume quotes Horace (*Od.* III. ii. 32) :

"Pede Poena claudo."

861. "*With other echo late I taught,*" &c. See V. 202—204. Dunster quotes Virgil (*Ecl.* i. 5) :—

"Formosam resonare doces Amaryllida sylvas."

867. "*Out of my sight, thou serpent.*" Compare *Sams. Ag.* 748, "*Out, out, hyæna,*" &c.

872, 873. "*pretended to hellish falsehood*" : *i.e.* stretched forward in front of hellish falsehood, so as to mask it. Hume quotes from Virgil "*morti prætere muros*"; and Richardson quotes from one of Milton's prose writings the same usage: "Ecclesiastical is ever pretended to political."

887, 888. "*Well if thrown out,*" &c. A reference to the opinion that Adam had been created with a thirteenth rib on his left side, out of which Eve was formed.

888—895. "*Oh, why did God,*" &c. Passages with the same thought may be cited from other poets. Bishop Newton cites one in especial from Milton's favourite Euripides, *Hippol.* 616 :—

"ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δὴ κίβδηλον ἀνθρώποις κακὸν  
γυναῖκας ἐς φῶς ἡλίου κατώκισας;  
εἰ γὰρ βρότειον ἦθελες σπεῖραι γένος,  
οὐκ ἐκ γυναικῶν χρὴν παρασχέσθαι τόδε."

898—908. "*For either he never shall,*" &c. In addition to the interest of this passage in itself, it has an interest arising from its evident applicability to the circumstances of Milton's own life—especially those of his unsuitable first marriage. In not a few passages where Eve is spoken of it is possible to suppose a recollection by Milton of the incidents of his own married life; but in few passages is the personal reference so distinct as in this. Observe, however, that the words "*his happiest choice too late,*" &c., are ambiguous. They may be read as meaning that the man, when already linked and wedlock-bound to a fell adversary, may meet the woman of his real choice, and have to lament that it is too late; and most editors do understand them in this way, and see an allusion therein to Milton's own alleged desire to take steps for his marriage with a certain Miss Davis, after his first wife, Mary Powell, had forsaken him. But it is possible to read the words as implying that the man may meet his true choice too late, inasmuch as *she* may be then already married, and, what is worse, married to a fell adversary—to one on the opposite side. The second would have seemed quite an acceptable reading but for the use of the word "*shame,*" which consists better with the other.—Newton compares the well-known passage in *Mids. N. Dream* (I. i.), "*The course of true love,*" &c.

909—913. "*He added not,*" &c. Here and in the following speeches editors have supposed a recollection by Milton of the scene of his



reconciliation with his first wife, when she returned and threw herself at his feet.

931. "*Against God only*." Ps. li. 4. (Gillies.)

953. "*that place*": *i.e.* the place of judgment (line 932).

978. "*As in our evils*": considering our evils. It is a Latinism, of which Richardson cites this example from Cicero:—"Non nihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum."

989, 990. In the First, Second, and Third Editions these two lines are printed thus:

•        "*Childless thou art, childless remaine:*  
              *So Death shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two*"—

the first line having two syllables defective of the usual measure, and the second two in excess. It is possible, but far from likely, that Milton intended this, to give emphasis to the first line.

1001, 1002. "*Let us seek Death, or, he not found*," &c. Hume interprets the proposal as being first to seek death by exposure to every possible chance of it (wild beasts, &c.), and then, that failing, to commit suicide.

1066. "*shattering*": so in *Lycid.* 5, "shatter your leaves."

1069. "*this diurnal star*": *i.e.* the Sun. Compare *Lycid.* 168.

1071. "*sere*," dry; "*foment*," nourish or keep alive. The allusion is to a burning-mirror, wherewith to gather the sun's beams and kindle dry leaves.

1073. "*attrite to fire*": made into fire by attrition—an allusion to the process of obtaining fire by rubbing or striking bodies together.

1075. "*Tine*": to light or kindle. (A.-S. *tendan*: whence "tinder"). The word occurs in Spenser, and Todd quotes an instance from Phineas Fletcher:

"Oh! why should earthly lamps then seem to tine  
Their lamps alone at that first Sun divine?"

1078. "*supply*": be a substitute for.

1091. "*Frequenting*": *i.e.* filling, in the sense of the Latin *frequentare*: *e.g.* "*Italiam coloniis frequentavit*."

1098—1104. "*They forthwith*," &c. This repetition of the words preceding with only the due changes of tense and mood is in imitation, as Hume noted, of Homer and Virgil.

*Final Note to Book X.* It may be worth noting that in the First Edition of the poem there are two errors in the numbering of the lines of this



Book. By a miscounting of fourteen lines for ten after line 810, what should be line 824 becomes 820; and this omission of four lines in the reckoning is continued to 880, where, by over-reckoning in the previous ten, the numbering becomes right again. But again it becomes wrong by four lines after line 940, which error again rectifies itself at line 1010. The errors do not affect the sum of the lines at the end, which is 1104, as in our edition.

## BOOK XI.

1, 2. "*stood praying*": merely means continued praying; for their posture was not that of standing, but of prostration (see X. 1099).

4. "*The stony from their hearts,*" &c. Ezek. xi. 19. (Todd.)

6, 7. "*which the Spirit of prayer inspired.*" Rom. viii. 26. (Hume.)

10—14. "*the ancient pair . . . Deucalion,*" &c. The fable was that, after the destruction of the race of mankind by a deluge, the survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha, consulted the oracle of Themis as to the means by which the race should be restored. In Ovid's version of the fable (*Met.* i.), which Milton has in view, the pair are represented as prostrating themselves on the steps of the Temple and praying to Themis.

14—17. "*To Heaven their prayers flew up, nor missed the way,*" &c. There is a distinct reference here to the passage (III. 444, *et seq.*), describing the Limbo of Fools. *There*, the vain hopes, and devotees of such, that would ascend to Heaven, never reach it, but, when they are at its door, are blown by violent cross winds (III. 487) "ten thousand miles away" over the outside of the Physical Cosmos. Not so the sincere prayers of Adam and Eve *here*.

17. "*Dimensionless*": without length, breadth, or depth, as not being material substances.

17—20. "*then, clad with incense, where the golden altar fumed,*" &c. Rev. viii. 3, 4. (Hume.) Compare Milton's Sonnet XIV.

28. "*manuring.*" See note, IV. 628.

33, 34. "*his advocate and propitiation.*" 1 John ii. 1. (Hume.)

38. "*The smell of peace.*" Gen. viii. 21 (Keightley). Levit. iii. 3—5 (Hume).

44. "*Made one,*" &c. John xvii. 21, 22. (Hume.)

52. "*Eject him,*" &c. Levit. xviii. 25. (Stillingfleet.)

74—76. "*heard in Oreb,*" &c. Exod. xx. 18, and 1 Thess. iv. 16. (Hume.)

84—98. "*O Sons,*" &c. In this speech Milton has in view Gen. iii. 22—24.

86. "*defended*": forbidden, as in French, *défendu*.

91—93. "*longer than they move, his heart I know,*" &c. The meaning is, "Except while these motions of mine move him, I know how variable and vain his heart is, being then self-left."

99. "*Michael,*" &c. Bishop Newton has pointed out that there is a poetical fitness in the selection of Michael for this errand—first, because Michaël was the Archangel of Severity, who had already been sent to execute similar justice on the rebel Angels; and, secondly, because less has been heard hitherto of this Archangel, in the main story of the poem, than of Uriel, Gabriel, and Raphael.

128—133. "*Four faces each,*" &c. Ezek. x. 12—14. The "*Arcadian pipe*" is the shepherd's pipe with which Hermes, or Mercury, charmed to sleep the hundred-eyed Argus, employed by Juno to watch Io; the "*opiate rod*" is the caduceus or wand of Mercury, which had the power of sending to sleep.

133—135. "*Meanwhile,*" &c. Here begins the last day of the action of the poem.

135. "*Leucothea*": the "Bright Goddess" of the Greeks, identified by the Romans with their *Matuta*, the Morning-goddess.

157, 158. "*the bitterness of death is past.*" 1 Sam. xv. 32. (Newton.)

159. "*Eve rightly called,*" &c. Gen. iii. 20. Bishop Newton's note on the passage is, "He called her before *Ishah*, Woman, because she was taken out of *Ish*, Man (VIII. 496); but he now denominates her *Eve* or *Havah*, from a Hebrew word which signifies *to live*." But she has already been called Eve in the poem by Milton himself.

185—189. "*The bird of Fove,*" the Eagle, "*stooped*"—a term of falconry, thus explained: "*stooping* is when a hawk, being upon her wings at the highest of her pitch, bendeth violently down to strike the fowl."—"Tour," either for "tower" or in our present sense of "wheeling motion."—"the beast that reigns in woods": the lion.—Milton, in introducing these omens, has imitated Virgil and other classical poets; but it may be noted how exactly he has made the omens chosen foreshow what is to follow. The "*two birds*" of line 186, and the "*gentle brace, hart and hind,*" of lines 188, 189, typify the human pair.

193. "*further;*" spelt "*further*" in the original editions.

205. "*yon western cloud.*" This implies that Michael approaches Paradise on its western side; which, as Mr. Keightley notes, is the more fit because he had to expel Adam and Eve on the eastern side.

210. "*halt*;" again spelt "*alt*" in the original text, as at VI. 532.

213—215. "*Not that . . . in Mahanaim*," &c. Gen. xxxii. 1—2.

216—220. "*Nor that . . . in Dothan*," &c. 2 Kings vi. 13—17.

231, 232. "*Potentate, or of the Thrones*": i.e. either one of those high Spirits who sit on Thrones in Heaven, or perhaps even a Potentate among these.

242, 243. "*Melibæan*," from Melibœa, a city in Thessaly.—"*grain of Sarra*": the purple of Tyre, named *Sar* after the name of the shell-fish from which the dye was procured. See note, V. 285.—"*Sarrano indormiat ostro*" is a phrase of Virgil's (*Georg.* 11. 506), quoted by Hume.

259—262. "*But longer*," &c. Observe that Michael, in delivering his message, repeats the exact words of the Almighty—(see *antè*, lines 48 and 97, 98). This is in accordance with the well-known practice in Homer.

264. "*Heart-strook*." See note, II. 165.

270. "*native soil*." Eve may say so, Hume notes, as having been created in Paradise; but Adam was created outside of Paradise, and brought into it.

280. "*Thee, lastly, nuptial bower*." Suggested, Todd thinks, by the passage in the *Alcestis* of Euripides (249 *et seq.*) where Alcestis, from the palace platform, looks her last on the scenes around her:—

Γαῖά τε, καὶ μελάρων στέγαι,  
Νυμφίδιαι τε κοῖται  
Πατρίας Ἴωλκοῦ.

296, 297. "*Thrones*," &c. See lines 231, 232, and note.

316. "*from his face I shall be hid*." Gen. iv. 14. (Gillies.)

324. "*turf*;" spelt "*terfe*" in the original text.

325, 326. "*in memory or monument to ages*." Bentley asks "What's the difference of *memorial* and *monument*, that *or* must separate them?" and he proposes to read *a* for *or*; but by "*memory*" Adam may mean a mark by which he himself may remember.

332, 333. "*skirts of glory*." Exod. xxxiii. 22, 23. (Newton.)

336. "*Not this*," &c. This line is peculiar, as having a distinct syllable of over-measure.

356—358. "*I am sent*," &c. Dan. x. 14. (Todd.)

369. "*slept'st*;" in the original "*slepst*."

377. "*In the visions of God*." Ezek. xl. 2. (Hume.)

385—411. "*His eye . . . El Dorado*." In this splendid geographical survey there is a certain order:—(1) Lines 387—395, the eye sweeps

eastward in a wide circuit over what is in the main ASIA. It begins with the vast central region, from the Arctic sea southwards to the confines of China and the heart of Asia, known in Milton's time as Tartary (now divided between the Chinese and Russian Empires), and there singles out the sites of two future cities—Genghis Khan's reputed great capital of Cambalu, in the province of Cathay, to the west of the great Chinese wall, and Tamerlane's original tent of Samarcand, much more to the west, in the heart of what is now Independent Tartary, and considerably to the north of the river Oxus. Thence it stretches to China in the extreme east, represented by its capital Paquin or Peking. Thence it returns by the Indian countries in the south of Asia, singling out as representative sites there Agra and Lahore, in northern Hindostan, both celebrated cities of the Mogul monarchs, and glancing at the still more eastern Indies as far as the golden Chersonese, or the peninsula of Malacca. It concludes the circuit with a glance at the more western dominions of Asia—Persia, with its successive capitals of Ecbatana and Ispahan, Russia or Moscovia, with its capital Moscow (considered as belonging to Asia in the early part of the seventeenth century, and so included in the maps of Asia of that period), and Turkey, with its capital Byzantium or Constantinople. (2) Next, AFRICA comes into view, lines 396—404. Here first appears Abyssinia, the Emperor of which is called 'Negus' in the native Ethiopic language, and the northernmost port of which on the Red sea is Ercoco (Arkecko in modern maps). Then are seen the "*less maritime*," i.e. smaller maritime, kingdoms of the east coast—Mombaza, Quiloa, Melinda (names still in our maps, north and south of Zanzibar), and Sofala (still farther south, in the Mozambique channel, and thought by some to be the Ophir whence Solomon fetched his gold). So round the Cape to the states of Congo and Angola on the opposite coast of the Continent, Angola being the southernmost of these two; and finally thence, by the Niger, to the Atlas mountains, with the Barbary States on the northern margin of Africa, once included in the vast dominions of Al-Mansur (the second of the Abbaside Khalifs)—towns or divisions of which, taken indiscriminately, are Fez, Sus (Susa or Tunis), Morocco, Algiers, and Tremisen (Tlemsin in West Algeria?) (3) EUROPE is then merely glanced at, lines 405, 406, as concentrated all in all in Rome. (4) But perhaps it was given to Adam, in spirit, to see not only the hemisphere of the Earth on which he was, but also AMERICA beyond the Atlantic, lines 406—411. If so, his eye would rest chiefly on—Mexico, the capital of the native Mexican Emperor Montezuma, whom Cortes conquered; Cusco, the capital of Peru, whose last native ruler, Atabalipa, was conquered by Pizarro; and the great country of Guiana in the north of South America, as yet uninvaded by Geryon's sons (the Spaniards, so called from Geryon, a fabulous early King of Spain) in their persevering quest after its inland city of supposed infinite wealth, which they called El Dorado.—In this whole passage, as in others, Milton shows not only his geographical

knowledge—remarkably accurate for one who had to depend only on his recollection of maps—but also his delight in what may be called the poetry of proper names. Most great poets have had the same delight in such strings of proper names, selected partly for their historical and poetical associations, and partly for the music of their sound; but Milton had it pre-eminently.

411. “*to*,” for “in order to.”

412. “*Michael from Adam’s eyes the film removed.*” So, as Hume noted, in the *Iliad* (v. 127) Minerva clears the sight of Diomedes, and in the *Æneid* (ii. 604) Venus that of Æneas. In Tasso’s *Ger. Lib.* (xviii. 93), as Newton noted, the Archangel Michael does the same for Godfrey, to enable him to see the Angelic army aiding him.

414. “*euphrasy and rue.*” Euphrasy, popularly called “eye-bright,” was supposed to have a specific effect in clearing the sight; and among the medicinal virtues attributed to rue—which was called “herb of grace” (*Richard II.*, III. 4, and *Hamlet*, IV. 5)—was also that of strengthening the eyes. Both were used for the purpose, either internally or as local applications; and Milton may have had experience of them in his own case. Shenstone celebrates Euphrasy in his *School-mistress* :—

“ Yet Euphrasy may not be left unsung,  
That gives dim eyes to wander leagues around.”

416. “*the well of life.*” Ps. xxxvi. 9. (Gillies.)

432. “*I’ the midst.*” Printed “*I’t’h’ midst*” in the original editions.

433. “*sord.*” So spelt in the original—sward, or turf. The spelling is found in other poets. The word *sward*, now meaning the grassy surface of the earth, meant originally the thick hard skin of the pig, or other such animal (A.-S. *sweard*); and “sword of bacon” was a common old phrase. Hence “*greensward*” for the green skin of the earth; and hence, by the omission of “*green*,” our present simple word.

433—447. “*Thither anon*,” &c. In this account of the murder of Abel by Cain, Milton has followed Gen. iv. 2—8, but has adopted some of the additions made by commentators in their interpretations of that passage.

447. “*Groaned out his soul*,” &c. Hume quotes *Æn.* ix. 349 :—

“ Purpuream vomit ille animam.”

and x. 908 :—

“ Undantique animam diffundit in arma cruore.”

467—469. “*many shapes of Death, and many are the ways*,” &c. Newton compares Seneca, *Phænissæ*, l. 131 :—



" Ubique Mors est . . .  
 . . . . . mille ad hanc aditus patent."

477—493. "*Immediately a place before his eyes appeared,*" &c. In this passage we see Milton remembering his intention as far back as the year 1640 or 1641, when he wrote out his fourth sketch of his projected Tragedy on the subject of *Paradise Lost* (see *Introd.* p. 46). "The Angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise ; but, before, causes to pass before his [Adam's] eyes, in shapes, a masque of all the evils of this life and world : " such is one part of the old sketch.—The commentators have compared Milton's splendid poetical enumeration of diseases here with similar enumerations in older poets. Warton, in his account of the *Piers Plowman* poems in his *Hist. of English Poetry*, associates this very passage of Milton with a striking one in Langland, where Kind or Nature, at the bidding of Conscience, sends forth a train of Diseases, with Age and Death, from the planets ; and Dunster refers to a briefer passage in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, 739 *et seq.* Perhaps the longest enumeration of diseases in English metre is in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (3rd Part of the 1st Day of the 2nd Week), where they are divided into four Regiments, and the names and descriptions of them fill seven quarto pages.

479. "*lazar-house,*" hospital. *Lazar* meant "a beggar," and was derived from Lazarus, the beggar in the Parable, who was covered with sores.

485—487. "*Demoniac phrenzy, moping melancholy,  
 And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,  
 Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence.*"

These three lines do not occur in the First Edition, but are inserted in the Second, where "*moon-struck*" is so spelt, and not "*moon-strook*" (see note, II. 165).—"Marasmus" is consumption (μαρασμός).

494. "*deform.*" This word (from the Latin *deformis*) is repeated from II. 706. (Keightley.)

495—497. "*Adam could not, but wept,  
 Though not of woman born : compassion quelled  
 His best of man, and gave him up to tears.*"

An interesting example, as Dunster pointed out, of Milton's recollections of Shakespeare :—

" I bear a charmed life, which must not yield  
 To one of woman born.  
*Macd.* Despair thy charm ;  
 And let the angel whom thou still hast served  
 Tell thee, Macduff was from his mother's womb  
 Untimely ripp'd.  
*Macb.* Accursed be that tongue that tells me so,  
 For it hath cowed my better part of man."

*Macb.* V. 7.



Again :—

“ The pretty and sweet manner of it forced  
Those waters from me which I would have stopped ;  
But I had not so much of man in me,  
And all my mother came into mine eyes,  
And gave me up to tears.”

*King Henry V.*, IV. 6.

514. “*for his Maker's image sake*”: a construction like “for conscience sake,” where no sign of the possessive case is given, unless sometimes an apostrophe, “conscience' sake.”

519. “*Inductive*”: inducing, or conducting.

531. “*The rule of Not too much*”: the classic aphorism, *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, or *Ne quid nimis*. (Keightley.)

535—537. “*till like ripe fruit thou drop . . . mature*.” Bishop Newton supposed that Milton may have had in mind a passage in Cicero's *De Senectute*, “Quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sint, avelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas.”

543—546. “*in thy blood will reign*,” &c. Todd quotes from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* a passage, where, speaking of the causes of melancholy, he says, “The first of these, which is natural to all, and which no man living can avoid, is Old Age; which, being cold and dry, and of the same quality as Melancholy is, must needs cause it, by diminution of spirits and substance, and increasing of adust humours.” Milton, like Burton, followed the old physiological system, in which “humours” of various qualities performed so important a part.

549. “*cumbrous* ;” spelt “*combrous*” in the first three editions.

551—552. “*Of rendering up, and patiently attend  
My dissolution. Michael replied :*”

This is an expansion, in the Second Edition, of what formed but one line in the first, thus

“ Of rendering up. Michael to him repli'd.”

Gillies compares Job xiv. 14.

554. “*permit to Heaven*.” Newton quotes Horace, *Od.* 1. 9. 9. : “*Permitte divis cætera*.”

556—573. “*whereon were tents*,” &c. Gen. iv. 20—22.

561—563. “*his volant touch*,” &c. Musicians admire much this description ; so technically exact is it to the nature of fugue-music. For a longer description of the same kind, though in a different spirit, see Mr. Browning's piece entitled “Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha.”

573. “*Fusil or graven*” : *i.e.* by casting or carving.

573—592. "*After these . . . a different sort,*" &c. : *i.e.* the children of Seth, "*on the hither side,*" or nearer to Paradise than the descendants of the banished Cain. Some of the particulars respecting the Sethites are from Josephus and Jewish tradition ; others from Gen. vi. 1—2.

582. "*bevy,*" a company, from the Italian *beva*, a covey of birds—a frequent phrase with old writers, in the same connexion as in the text.

590. "*They light the nuptial torch.*" Milton had used this phrase in his *Treatise on Divorce* : "while they haste too eagerly to light the nuptial torch."

607—608. "*the tents of wickedness.*" Psalm lxxxiv. 10. (Todd.)

614. "*For that fair female troop thou saw'st*" : *i.e.* "in proof of which, thou hast seen that fair female troop."

621—627. "*To these that sober race of men,*" &c. Here Milton adopts that opinion which makes the sons of God who married the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 1—2) to be the Sethites ; elsewhere, however, he adopts the opinion which supposes them to have been the Angels. See *Par. Lost*, V. 447, and *Par. Reg.* II. 178—181.

627. "*The world,*" &c. Compare IX. 11.

632—633. "*Man's woe . . . from Woman.*" Perhaps a play upon the words, according to the popular old etymology which derived *woman* from "woe to man."

638—673. "*He looked and saw,*" &c. In the whole of this vision Milton has in view the famous description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* (xviii. 478 *et seq.*), and takes hints from it. Newton, who noted the fact, says "The description of the shield of Achilles is certainly one of the finest pieces of poetry in the whole *Iliad* ; and Milton has plainly shown his admiration and affection for it by borrowing so many scenes and images from it : but I think we may say that they do not, like other copies, fall short of the originals, but generally exceed them."

651. "*makes.*" So in the Second Edition, but in the First it was "*tacks.*"

661. "*To council in the city gates.*" Gen. xxxiv. 20, and other texts.

665. "*Of middle age one rising*" : *i.e.* Enoch, 365 years old when he was translated—*i.e.* not half the full age attributed to the oldest patriarchs. See Gen. v. 24 and Jude 14.

669. "*exploded*" : execrated, hissed at, drove off the stage by hissing—the literal meaning of the Latin *explodo*, from *ex* and *plaudo*.

679. "*massacre* ;" spelt "*massacher*" in the original text.

681, 682. "*But who,*" &c. The syntax of these two lines is very peculiar, the word *whom* having to be resolved, not as usual into *and*

him, but into *who . . him*—"that just man who, had not Heaven rescued him, had been lost."

688. "*these Giants*." Gen. vi. 4.

693—695. "*shall be held . . and, for glory done, of triumph*." There is some difficulty in the construction here, and several meanings have been proposed. The true one seems to be "to overcome in battle, &c., shall be held the highest pitch of human *glory*, and to be styled great conquerors, &c., shall be held the highest pitch of *triumph* for glory achieved."

700. "*the seventh from thee*." Jude 14.

706. "*Rapt*," &c. The manner of Enoch's translation is supposed to be the same as the manner of Elijah's. 2 Kings ii. 11.

723—725. "*preached conversion and repentance*," &c. 1 Peter iii. 19, 20. (Hume.)

729—753. "*Began to build a vessel*," &c. Gen. vi. and vii. But with his description of the Flood Milton has interwrought recollections of similar descriptions in Ovid (*Met.* 1) and other poets.

743. "*ceiling*;" spelt *ceeling* in the original text.

750. "*Sea without shore*"; from Ovid (*Met.* 1. 292), "*deerant quoque littora ponto*." (Hume.) \*

766. "*dispensed*": distributed; literally "weighed out."

773, 774. "*neither . . . and*." A peculiar construction, in which *neither* is not followed as usual by *nor*. Bentley supposed a misprint; but Bishop Newton pointed out that the construction is according to Latin precedent (thus Cicero, *De Orat.* "Homo neque meo judicio stultus, et suo valde sapiens"); and Todd quotes an example of it from Milton's prose-writings: "The Jews, who were neither won with the austerity of John the Baptist, and thought it too much license to follow," &c.

801—805. "*therefore, cooled in zeal*," &c. Possibly there is a tacit reference here to the condition of the English Puritans after the Restoration.

824—828. "*all the cataracts*," &c. Gen. vii. 11, where, as Newton observed, the word translated "windows" in our version is in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other versions, translated "cataracts."

829, 830. "*Then shall this Mount*," &c. Adopting the opinion that Paradise was obliterated by the Flood so that its exact site cannot now be determined,\* Milton here disposes of it very poetically. It was pushed out of its place by the violence of the flood (called "the horned flood" because a flood meeting such an obstacle would divide itself into two horns or streams in flowing round it), and\* swept down "the great

river," *i.e.* Euphrates, to the opening of the Persian gulf, where it took root as a miserable island.

835. "*orcs*": whales, or other huge fishes, mentioned under this name, according to Todd, by Ariosto, Drayton, and Sylvester.

836—838. "*To teach thee*," &c. An undoubted expression of Milton's anti-ceremonialism in ecclesiastical matters.

840. "*hull*": *i.e.* to drift, as a mere hull, without the use of sails or other management.

842. "*North-wind*;" a particular derived from Ovid, *Met.* i. 328, to be added to the main description, which is from Gen. viii.

846. "*their flowing*;" a liberty of syntax, seeing that "*wave*" in the preceding line is in the singular.

866. "*three listed colours*." "*Listed*" is "striped" (A.-S. *list*, a hem or edge: Mid. Latin and Italian *lista*). The three colours meant are perhaps red, yellow, and blue—into which colours, or some similar three, and not into the seven now noted, the rainbow was usually resolved before Newton's time. Here is the description of the rainbow in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*:—

"Noah looks up, and in the Air he views  
A semicircle of a hundred hues,  
Which, bright ascending towards the ethereal thrones,  
Hath a line drawn between two Orizons  
For just diameter—an even-bent bow  
Contrived of three; whereof the one doth show  
To be all painted of a golden hue,  
The second green, the third an orient blew,  
Yet so that in this pure blue-golden-green  
Still, opal-like, some changeable is seen."

870. "*O thou, who*." So in the Second Edition; improved from "*O thou that*" in the First.

880. "*Distended as*," &c. In the original text there is a stop after "*Heaven*" in the preceding line, and none after "*distended*." This shows that the meaning is "Are they distended as the brow," &c.

884—901. In this speech of Michael's there is a coagulation of such texts of Scripture as these: Gen. vi. 6—12, viii. 22, and ix. 11—16, and 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.

901. This line, at which, in the Second Edition, Milton thought fit to close the Eleventh Book, stood as only line 896 in the First Edition. The discrepancy of five lines in the numbering is accounted for by the introduction of four new lines in the Second Edition (see notes to lines 485—487, and 551, 552) and by a wrong numbering in the First Edition, to the extent of a line, between lines 870 and 880.

## BOOK XII.

THE ARGUMENT.—As the present Eleventh and Twelfth Books formed together the Tenth Book in the original edition, it is the latter part of the Argument of that Book in that edition that now stands for the Argument of the Twelfth Book. Some words of the original Argument are altered for the purpose. Instead of the words “The Angel Michael continues, from the Flood, to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain who that Seed,” &c., the original Argument of the Tenth Book ran on thus: “Thence from the Flood relates, and by degrees explains who that Seed,” &c.

1—5. “*As one who . . . new speech resumes.*” These five lines were added in the Second Edition, to make a proper opening for the Twelfth Book. In the First Edition there is no such break in Michael’s speech, the line

“Thus thou hast seen one world begin and end.”

following immediately after what is now the last line of the Eleventh Book.

11. “*Henceforth . . . I will relate.*” Adam’s glimpses of things to come have hitherto been in visions, interpreted by the Archangel; but from this point all is to be in mere narrative by the Archangel. The reason given by Michael is that Adam’s organs of sight would be fatigued by farther gazing at supernatural visions; the poet’s own reason, as Mr. Keightley saw, is that, as his poem is reaching its end, it is necessary to be more summary in what remains.

13—24. “*This second source of men . . . under paternal rule.*” In these twelve lines Milton sketches what has been called the Silver Age of the World, or that in which the “second source of men” (*source* in the sense of stream or stock), Noah’s descendants, lived under patriarchal or family government, in a state of peace and religiousness inferior indeed to that of the Paradisaic time before the Fall, but superior to what was to follow.

24—37. “*till one shall arise,*” &c. This is Nimrod. See Gen. x. 8—10. It is characteristic of Milton that he understands the Scriptural account of Nimrod as an account of the origin of kingly government or individual tyranny among men. Nimrod’s *hunting* he understands, with the Jewish and other commentators, to be of men—the oppressive

driving to and fro and insidious snaring of his fellow-creatures. The phrase translated in our version "before the Lord" is explained by the commentators in two ways—as meaning either "in opposition to or in despite of God," or "in subordination to God;" and Milton (lines 34, 35) gives the choice of these two explanations—making Nimrod either usurp his sovereignty in spite of Heaven, or claim it *jure divino*, as God's vice-gerent. There are various etymologies of the name Nimrod; but the one which Milton adopts derives the name from a Hebrew word *marad*, signifying to rebel. Observe, as characteristic, the use made of this etymology. Kings and tyrants are always accusing their subjects of "rebellion," although the very first of their own order had a name which signified that he was "the rebel" *par excellence*.—Recent commentators on Gen. x. 8—10 deny that the passage necessarily implies the character attributed to Nimrod by the traditional interpretation; and they find no authority in the Bible for connecting Nimrod with the building of the Tower of Babel.

40—62. "*Marching from Eden*," &c. Gen. xi. 2—9.

42. "*the mouth of Hell*": not the Hell of the rest of the poem, but the Hell of the ordinary mythology—Tartarus under the Earth.

56—59. "*Forthwith a hideous gabble*," &c. The following is the description of the Confusion of Tongues in Sylvester's Du Bartas:—

' This said, as soon confusedly did bound  
Through all the work I wot not what strange sound—  
A jangling noise, not much unlike the rumours  
Of Bacchus' swains amid their drunken humours.  
Some speak between their teeth, some in the nose,  
Some in the throat their words do ill dispose;  
Some howl, some hollo, some do stut and strain.  
Each hath his gibberish. . . . .  
And so thou mayst conceipt what mingle-mangle  
Among this people everywhere did jangle.  
' Bring me,' quoth one, 'a trowel quickly;' quick  
One brings him up a hammer. 'Hew this brick.'  
Another bids, and then they cleave a tree;  
' Make fast this rope,' and then they let it flee:  
One calls for planks, another mortar lacks;  
They bear the first a stone, the last an axe:  
One would have spikes, and him a spade they give;  
Another asks a saw, and gets a sieve.  
Thus crossly-crost they prate and point in vain," &c.

69—71. "*man over men he made not lord*," &c. Hume compares a passage in St. Augustine's *De Civ. Dei*, where it is said of God's having made man in his own image, "noluit nisi irrationalibus dominari, non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori." •

85. "*dividual*": divided, separate. See note, VII. 382; also note, IV. 486.

95; 96. "*tyranny must be, though*," &c. Matt. xviii. 7. (Todd.)



97—101. "*Yet sometimes,*" &c. Todd quotes from Milton's *History of England* (Book V.) the same idea: "But, when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all Estates of the Government are alike unable to prevent it."

101—104. "*witness the irreverent son,*" &c. Gen. ix. 22—25. Michael assumes that the story of Ham is known to Adam, though, as Thyer noted, there is no mention of it as having been as yet told him.

106—108. "*till God,*" &c. Isaiah xliii. 24, Hos. v. 6. (Dunster.)

115. "*Bred up in idol-worship.*" As Abraham's father Terah is mentioned, Josh. xxiv. 2, as having "served other gods," it is assumed that Abraham was bred up in a false religion.

117—120. "*While yet the patriarch lived who,*" &c. Noah, according to the Biblical chronology, survived the Flood 350 years, while Terah, Abraham's father, was born 222 years after that event. Bishop Newton says that, according to Jewish tradition, Terah, and his father Nachor, and *his* father Serug, were "statuaries and carvers of idols."

120—126. "*voutsafes to call by vision,*" &c. Gen. xii. 1—3; but see also Acts vii. 2, 3. (Hume.)

127. "*Not knowing,*" &c. Heb. xi. 8. (Newton.)

130—137. "*Ur of Chaldæa,*" &c. Milton here traces Abraham's route from his native Chaldæa (between the Euphrates and the Tigris) into Palestine. First, leaving Ur (now Orfah, once Edessa) in Chaldæa, he sees him crossing the Euphrates at a ford, with all his wealth and retinue (his father Terah among them, as we learn from Gen. xi. 31; where indeed Terah is represented as heading the expedition), and arriving in Haran in Mesopotamia. There, hardly allowing time for that stay in Haran during which Terah died (Gen. xi. 32, and Acts vii. 4), he follows Abraham in the continuation of his journey westward till he reaches Canaan, and settles first about Sichem in the plain of Moreh, near the centre of the land (Gen. xii. 4—6).

137, 138. "*There, by promise,*" &c. Gen. xii. 7.

139—146. "*From Hamath,*" &c. A poetical survey of the extent of the Holy Land, according to these texts—Numb. xxxiv. 3—12, Deut. iii. 8, 9. *Hamath* is a town in northern Galilee; the *Desert* is the desert of Zin, bordering Palestine on the south; *Hermon* is the range of mountains of that name to the east of upper Jordan; the *great western Sea* is the Mediterranean; *Mount Carmel* is on the Mediterranean coast; *Jordan* is called "the double-founted stream" as being formed by the junction of two streams in the extreme north of Palestine; *Senir* is properly another name for Mont Hermon (Deut. iii. 9), but seems to be used by Milton for some range, also east of Jordan, but stretching farther to the south.

152. "*faithful Abraham*:" Gen. xvii. 5; but the exact phrase, as Mr. Keightley points out, is from Gal. iii. 9.

173, 174. "*who denies*," &c. Exod. v. 2.

180. "*emboss*": cover with lumps or swellings (Fr. *bosse*, a lump, or swelling). Shakespeare, as Todd noted, has the phrase "an embossed carbuncle" (*Lear*, II. 4).

190, 191. "*the river-dragon*." So in the Second Edition, but *this* in the First. Hume noted that the authority for the phrase, as a name for Pharaoh, is Ezek. xxix. 3.

207. "*Darkness defends between*": *i.e.* intervening darkness forbids.

208—210. "*Then through*," &c. Exod. xiv. 24.

210. "*craze*," break (Fr. *accraser*, to break, bruise, crush).

217. "*Lest, entering*," &c. Exod. xiii. 17, 18.

220—222. "*for life*," &c. The meaning is: "For life is more cared for by those who are not trained to military exercises, whether they are constitutionally noble or ignoble, than by those who are so trained—except in those cases where mere rashness may lead untrained men to risk their lives."

227. "*whose grey top*," as covered with clouds and smoke. Exod. xix. 16-18.

238. "*he grants what they besought*." So in the Second Edition, but in the First "*he grants them their desire*."

242—244. "*Of whose day he shall foretell*," &c. Acts iii. 22—24.

250. "*of cedar*." Mr. Keightley notes this as an error—the sanctuary being of shittim-wood or acacia.

255. "*as in a zodiac*," &c. That the seven lamps had this astronomical significance is, as Newton noted, an idea of Josephus.

256—260. "*Over the tent*," &c. Exod. xi. 34 *et seq.*

265—267. "*Sun, in Gibeon*," &c. Josh. x. 12.

267. "*so call the third*," &c.: *i.e.* call him *Israel*.

277. "*His day*," &c. John viii. 56.

283—306. "*So many laws argue*," &c. On the question here propounded by Adam, and on Michael's reply, Bishop Newton remarks, "The scruple of our first Father, and the reply of the Angel, are grounded upon St. Paul's Epistles, and particularly those to the *Ephesians*, *Galatians*, and *Hebrews*. Compare the following texts with the poet—Gal. iii. 19; Rom. vii. 7-8; Rom. iii. 20; Heb. ix. 13-14; Heb. x. 4-5; Rom. iv. 22-24; Rom. v. 1; Heb. vii. 18-19; Heb. x. 1; Gal. iii. 11, 12, 23; Gal. iv. 7; Rom. viii. 15. Milton has here, in a few verses,

admirably summed up the sense and argument of these and more texts of Scripture." Most of the texts had been traced by Hume.

310. "*But Joshua, whom the Gentiles Jesus call.*" Jesus is used as the Greek equivalent to Joshua in the Septuagint, and also in Acts vii. 15, and Heb. iv. 8. Joshua, Jeshua, Jehoshua, Hoshea, Oshea, and Jesus, are, in fact, but various forms of the same word, meaning either "whose help is Jehovah" or "God the Saviour."

322—330. "*a promise shall receive,*" &c. 2 Sam. vii. 16; Psalm lxxxix. 34-36; Isaiah xi. 10; Luke i. 32, 33. (Hume.)

338. "*Heaped to the popular sum*" : *i.e.* added to the aggregate of the sins of the whole people.

348—350. "*Returned from Babylon,*" &c. B.C. 536. The "Kings" meant are Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes. See the Book of Ezra.

353—358. "*But first among the priests,*" &c. The events of later Jewish history here referred to are—the contest for the high-priesthood between Jason and Menelaus, in consequence of which Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, came to Jerusalem, plundered and polluted the Temple, and put the Maccabees to death (B.C. 173); the union of the kingly power with the high-priesthood in the person of Aristobulus, eldest son of the high-priest John Hyrcanus (B.C. 107); and, finally, the abolition of this native dynasty by Pompey (B.C. 61), who appointed Antipater, the Idumæan, to the government. Antipater's son, Herod, became King of Judæa, B.C. 38, in whose reign Christ was born.

366—367. "*They gladly thither haste,*" &c. Milton, as Dunster observed, has here deviated from the exact Scriptural account; which is that the carol of angels was heard by the shepherds in the fields, and before they set out for Bethlehem (Luke ii. 8—18).

374. "*which these;*" a very peculiar construction.

393. "*recure*" : *i.e.* recover, heal again. The word, though now obsolete, was once common. It occurs in Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

394. "*his works,*" &c. 1 John iii. 8. (Hume.)

401. "*appaid,*" paid, satisfied—a word used by Chaucer and Spenser.

402—435. "*The Law of God,*" &c. Among the texts recollected in these thirty-four lines Hume pointed out these—Rom. xiii. 10; Gal. ii. 16 and iii. 13; Col. ii. 14; Matt. xxviii. 1. Gillies added Rom. vi. 9.

409—410. "*his merits to save them,*" &c. The construction is "who shall believe . . . his merits to save them," &c.

436—465. "*Nor after resurrection,*" &c. Among the texts recollected or cited in these thirty lines are—Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Rom. iv. 16; Col.

ii. 15; Rev. xx. 2; Luke xxiv. 26; Eph. i. 20—21 and iy. 8; Luke xxi. 27. Most of them were pointed out by Hume.

442. "*Baptizing in the profluent stream.*" Mr. Keightley notes that it was Milton's opinion, expressed in his *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, that baptism ought to be by immersion in running water.

486—497. "*Be sure,*" &c. Texts recollected in these lines are—John xv. 26; Luke xxi. 49; Gal. v. 6; John xvi. 13; Eph. vi. 11—16; Psalm lvi. 11. Hume pointed out three of them; Newton and Keightley the others.

508—530. "*Wolves shall succeed,*" &c. There are references in these lines to the following texts. Acts xx. 29; 1 Pet. v. 2—3; 1 Cor. ii. 14; Jer. xxxi. 33; 2 Cor. iii. 16, 17. The whole passage is interesting as a summary of those opinions of Milton, as to the state of the Church from the Apostolic time downwards, which he had expressed more at large in some of his prose-pamphlets.

522—524. "*laws which,*" &c. The meaning is "laws which none shall find either in Scripture or to be such as accord with what the Spirit tells the heart to be true."

537—551. "*So shall the world,*" &c. Rom. viii. 22, Acts iii. 19, Matt. xxiv. 30, and xvi. 27, 2 Thess. i. 7, 2 Pet. iii. 12, 13.

540. "*respiration*": an equivalent to the word ἀνάψυξις, translated "refreshing" in our version, Acts iii. 19. In one Latin version the word *respiratio* is used.

552. "*last*": i.e. for the last time.

561—568. "*Henceforth I learn,*" &c. 1 Sam. xv. 22; 1 Peter v. 7; Psalm cxlv. 9; Rom. xii. 21; 1 Cor. i. 27.

581—585. "*only add,*" &c. 2 Peter i. 5—7; 1 Cor. xiii. 2 and 13. (Hume.)

588—589. "*top of speculation*": both literally and metaphorically,—literally, as they were on a mountain-top, whence they could watch or look far around; and, metaphorically, as they had just attained the highest point of philosophy or speculative wisdom.

608. "*found her waked*": not quite consistent with the phrase in the Argument prefixed to the Book—"wakens Eve."

611. "*For God is also in sleep,*" &c. Numb. xii. 6 (Hume); and Newton quotes Homer, *Iliad*, i. 63.

καὶ γὰρ τ' ὕπνῳ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν.

615. "*In me is no delay.*" Bishop Newton quotes Virg. *Ecl.* iii. 52: "In me mora non erit ulla."

630. "*marish*": the old form of "*marsh*," used down to Milton's time, and found, as Keightley notes, in the English Bible (Ezek. xlvii. 11).

634. "*which*" : *i.e.* the sword.

635. "*adust*" : scorched, burnt : from the Latin *adustus* (*adurere*), Ital. *adusto*. The word is not uncommon in old English writers. Burton has it, and also the noun *adustion*, in his *Anat. of Melancholy*; and Bacon has the verb *adure* : "Such a degree of heat which doth neither melt nor scorch . . . doth mellow and not adure" (*Nat. Hist.* § 319).

636—639. "*whereat in either hand the hastening Angel caught our lingering parents, and,*" &c. Addison has pointed out that here Milton "helped his invention by reflecting on the behaviour of the Angels who, in Holy Writ, have the conduct of Lot and his family" from the doomed city. Gen. xix. 16 : "And while he (Lot) lingered, the men [*i.e.* the angels] laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife. . . and they brought him forth, and set him without the city."

648, 649. "*They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way.*"

Commenting on these closing lines of the poem, Addison ventured to suggest that it would have been better, both on account of their inferiority, as he thought, to the lines immediately preceding, and in deference to the principle of the critics, that an epic poem should end happily, if they had been omitted altogether, so that the poem should have ended thus—

"The world was all before them, where to choose  
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."

This remark of Addison's set subsequent critics on a busy discussion of the point. Bentley was for retaining the two lines, but proposed, after his usual manner, to accomplish this and yet obviate objections by taking a little liberty with them. The concluding five lines of the poem, he said, ought to stand thus—

"Some natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon ;  
The World was All before them, where to choose  
Their place of Rest ; and Providence their guide :  
*Then hand in hand with social steps their way  
Through Eden took, with Heavenly comfort cheer'd.*"

"Horrible ! O horrible" the reader now will exclaim ; but, though most of the critics after Bentley have declined his emendation, it shows what a power is exercised by great names, that commentators have gone on faintly differing from Addison here, instead of simply recognising Milton's ending of the poem as consummately beautiful. Adam and Eve have just been led down the steep from Paradise on its eastern side to the level Eden beneath it, around which and stretching away on all sides is all the rest of the earth ; looking back they behold the whole eastern side of the steep waved over the flaming sword, and the gate thronged



with dreadful faces and arms of fire ; they shed a few natural tears at the sense of their expulsion for ever from that happy seat ; then, slowly, and hand in hand, they take their way, irresolute whither, but trusting in the promised guidance, through Eden, towards the rest of a vague and unknown earth. This is our last sight of them ; and, instead of wishing the final lines away, we prolong the sight to ourselves, at a distance growing greater and greater, by fondly repeating them :

“ They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way.”

#### APPENDIX: ON CALLANDER'S MS. COMMENTARY.

Having had access to Callander's MS. Notes on *Paradise Lost*, described at pp. 101, 102 of this volume, and having examined them with some care, I think it but justice to a laborious and too slightly remembered commentator to give some farther account of them.

The nine thin folio volumes of MS. now in the Library of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh contain Callander's Notes to Books II.—XII. of the poem. The Notes to Book I. had been detached, I suppose, to be printed anonymously with the separate edition of that Book published from the Foulis press at Glasgow in 1750. The intention probably was that, should the reception of that specimen be favourable, the Notes to the other eleven Books should follow at leisure. The whole Commentary seems to have been ready, in first draft at least, before the publication of the Foulis specimen ; for at the end of the Notes to Book XII., as now preserved in the MS. state, I find the date “ Jan. 4, 1749,” with the annexed pious ejaculation by the commentator over the completion of his work, “ Ἐν θεῷ μόνῳ αὐτοκράτορι δόξα ” (“ Glory to God the sole absolute ruler ”). Even after that seeming close of his labour, however, Callander went back upon it, inserting fresh notes, and extensions of his former notes, in the blank spaces of his MS. sheets (generally on the left-hand pages, which had been left blank purposely) ; and there is every evidence that the appearance of Newton's Variorum edition in 1749 (which may have hastened, by the spur of rivalry, the separate publication of the Notes to Book I.) furnished many new suggestions and led to enlargements and recasts. Indeed a considerable portion of the commentary in the present MS. volumes consists of duplicate or recast bound up with the first drafts ; and at the end of such duplicate or recast of the Notes to Book IV. there is the date “ Jan. 1752,” verifying the assurance already given (p. 101) that



Callander hung over this, his *opus magnum*, for a series of years. He evidently bestowed fond pains upon it. The handwriting, both in the first drafts and in the portion of perfected duplicate, is clear, formal, and business-like ; all the Greek, Latin, and other quotations with which the notes are loaded are transcribed in full, the Greek generally without the accents, but sometimes with them, and almost always with a Latin translation appended ; and the references to the books and editions quoted from are given punctually either in the text or at the foot of the page. Were the whole Commentary printed as it stands, without the poem, it would make, I calculate roughly, more than 600 pages of type such as the present ; and it would then appear that, while all the poem is annotated very profusely, the annotation in some parts is more dense and minute than in others.

There is little chance that the Commentary ever will be printed ; nor, so far as *Paradise Lost* is concerned, is there much reason why it should. Perhaps, indeed, had it been published in Callander's life-time—say between 1750 and 1760, when Newton's Variorum edition was the one in possession of the field—it would have procured some credit for the author, and taken rank as an operose, and not altogether useless, addition to the mass of commentation on Milton then already accumulated. Even then, however, its value towards any farther elucidation or criticism of *Paradise Lost* would not have been great. It is largely built, and with too little acknowledgment, on the early commentary of Patrick Hume, with the incorporation of hints from Addison, and of hostile references to Bentley, and also with transferences into it of a great deal from Newton and his coadjutors in the Variorum edition of 1749. The very quotations and parallel passages, from Latin, Greek, Italian, and English authors, which had appeared in Hume and in Newton, are reproduced in Callander's Notes—with additions, it is true, from his own readings, but these additions seldom very luminous or pertinent. For any essential purpose, those who had Newton's edition at hand, with its collection of matter from all previous commentators back to Hume, might have dispensed with Callander. And since that time any little interest that might have attached to what was his own in the Notes has been all but extinguished by the publication of the abundant notes of Todd, Keightley, and other subsequent commentators, some of them of superior taste and acumen, and with a far better notion of the true business of a commentator on Milton. Callander's notion of the business was less that of the elucidation of the text and meaning of his author by furnishing all necessary references and explanations with due lucidity and brevity, than that of starting off at every possible point into a little excursus of independent research, suggested by some phrase, or passage, or proper name, in the poem, so as to make his commentary a kind of Bayle's Dictionary, or repertory of information, about all things and sundry mentioned or alluded to in *Paradise Lost*. There had been too much of this in Hume, and even

in Newton, and there was to be more in Todd; but Callander outdoes them in sheer miscellaneous dissertation, or ranging on and on among particulars and quotations, under the pretext of comment. Milton's "*Limbo*" (III. 495) sends him out on a note on that idea and its history which extends itself to seven folio pages of close writing; one of Milton's invocations of his Muse sends him out on a dissertation nearly as long on the classical habits of such invocations; on the line "*Like those Hesperian Gardens famed of old*" (III. 568) there are two folio pages of geographical comment, with Latin and Greek quotations; the passage "*Eden stretched her line,*" &c. (IV. 210) suggests an account of the controversy as to the site of Eden, filling six folio pages; Milton's sentiment "*Whatever hypocrites austere talk,*" &c. (IV. 744 *et seq.*), is expanded and illustrated through eight folio pages of remark and quotation; Milton's casual reference to his favourite fancy of the music of the spheres in the phrase "*not without song*" (V. 178) occasions three pages and a half of disquisition on the Pythagorean doctrine; and Milton's brief sketch of the rise of Episcopacy and of the secular ambition of the early Bishops, put into the mouth of the Archangel Michael in the last Book of the poem (515 *et seq.*), leads to a long string of extracts on these subjects from Church-historians, ending "In short, Grotius is perfectly just, *P. I., Epist. 2: Qui ecclesiasticam historiam legit, quid legit nisi Episcoporum vitia?*" Scholarship is certainly shown in these notes, and in the shorter notes amid which such long ones are interspersed; and there is ample proof independently, in Callander's other remains, published or in manuscript, that he was a laborious Scottish scholar of his time, not only familiar with the ordinary Greek and Latin classics, but also unusually conversant with the minor fragments of antiquity, and the works of scholiasts, critics, and historians. Not only, however, was his scholarship of the bygone type of the middle of last century, often concerning itself with questions and forms of questions that no longer exist; it was even of a rather dull and provincial variety of that type. With a real love of literature and research, and a good deal of plain sense, he had no high critical faculty, and little force, felicity, or radiance. Hence, though I suppose that there may lie in some parts of his commentary on *Paradise Lost* quaint gatherings of a feeble sort of lore, the fruits of an old scholar's readings, I do not believe it could be made to yield anything of novelty now for the real purposes of annotation, unless it might perhaps be an occasional parallel passage from a Greek or Latin writer, to be added to those collected, only too plentifully, by Hume, Newton, Todd, and the rest. I doubt whether there could be much happy addition from Callander even of this kind. In several cases where I noted a really apt illustrative quotation which I thought at the moment to be Callander's own, I found it after all in Hume or Newton.

The following is perhaps as favourable and as various a specimen as could be given of Callander's shorter notes:—

II. 113, 114. "*could make the worse appear the better reason.*" Gellius has described Protagoras' rhetorick much in the same way, L. 5, c. 3: "Protagoras insincerus quidam philosophus, sed acerrimus Sophistarum, fuit. Pecuniam quippe ingentem cum a discipulis acceperat annuam, pollicebatur se id docere, quam verborum industria causa infirmior posset fieri fortior: quam rem Græce ita dicebat, *τον ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν.*" For, agreeably to what Ovid says, *Trist. I. El. 1.* :—

"Causa patrocínio non bona pejor erit."

II. 245. "*Ambrosial odours.*" So Spencer in *Faery Queene*, Book II. iii. 22 :—

"Like roses in a bed of lilies shed  
The which ambrosial odours from them threw."

Again, Book IV. xi. 46 :—

"The which ambrosial odours forth did throw."

It is common for poets to apply this epithet to express anything sweet. So Theocrit. *Id. 11, v. 48*, λευκὰς ἐκ χιονὸς ποτὸν ἀμβροσίον: ex candida nive potum divinum. Schol. το θεῖον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ το γλυκυτάτον.

II. 409, 410. "*arrive the happy Isle.*" Similar phrase of Shakespeare, *Henry*, Part 3 :—

"those powers that the queen  
Hath raised in Gallia have arrived our coast."

Again, *Julius Cæsar*, Act I. :—

"But ere we could arrive the point proposed."

Newton observes that our author in his prose works uses this word in the same manner.

II. 642. "*Ply stemming nightly toward the pole.*" To understand this, we must remember that ships coming from the East Indies towards the Cape of Good Hope have the great *Æthiopian* sea open to the south of them, and generally, for fear of falling in with the land during the night, by reason of the great currents that run in those seas from the South Pole, they keep off to sea towards the south. Therefore, as Milton justly expresses it, they are obliged in this course to *stem* those currents, which set from south to north.

III. 22 *et seq.* "*but thou revisit'st not these eyes,*" &c. This digression on his own blindness has been blamed, as not according to the rules of *Epick Poetry*. [So] that in B. IV. 750, on *Conjugal Love*, and in IV. 312, on *Adam and Eve naked*; in B. V. 434, *Angels eating*. Lucan fails often in this, when he lets drop his main subject for the sake of his *diverticula*, as Scaliger calls them, as when he relates the prodigies preceding the *Civil War* and makes long declamations on that occasion. Mr. Addison, in his observations on Milton, remarked that the longest reflection in the whole *Æneid* is when Turnus adorns himself with the spoils of Pallas, whom he had just slain, *Æn. x. 501* :—

"Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ,  
Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis:  
Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum  
Intactum Pallanta, et cum spolia ista diemque  
Oderit."

We must observe here that, according to critical rules, Virgil has most improperly made this reflection in the midst of a fierce engagement, while Milton's digressions come in while the reader's mind is vacant and unoccupied; which occasions less confusion in his narration.

IV. 110. "*Evil, be thou my good.*" The manners of an *Epic Poem* (says Bossu) ought to be *poetically* good, but it is not necessary they should be always *morally* so.

They are poetically good when one may discover the virtue or vice, the good or evil inclinations, of everyone who speaks or acts. They are poetically bad when persons are made to speak or act out of character, inconsistently, or unequally. Thus the manners of Satan and Uriel are equally good, poetically considered, because they equally demonstrate the piety of the one and the impiety of the other.

IV. 165. "*old Ocean smiles*." So Lucetius (lib. i. v. 8):—

"tibi ridet æquora ponti."

The metaphor is frequent with the poets. Thus Hesiod. (*Theog.* v. 40):—

"γέλα δὲ τε δῶματα πατρὸς  
Ζηνὸς ἐριγδουποιο, θεῶν δ' ὅππῃ λειριόεσση  
Σκιδναμένη."

(Ridet verò domus patris Jovis tonantis, deorum suavi voce dispersa.) And Theocritus, (*Idiom.* init.):—

"ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη,  
Γηθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἄλος πολίης."

(Risit terra magna, letatus etiam est profundus pontus cani maris). Callimachus (*Hymn.* in *Dian.* v. 43):—

"Χαίρε δὲ Καιράτος ποταμός μεγα, χαίρε δὲ Τηθύς."

(Letabatur Cæreatus fluvius maxime, letabatur et Tethys). And Apollonius (*Arg.* l. ii. v. 162):—

"περὶ δὲ σφὶν ἰαίνεται νηνεμός ἀκτὴ  
Μελομένοισι."

(Ipsis vero canentibus litus tranquillum letabatur). They also express the curling of the top of the wave, especially where it falls upon the beach, by the word γέλως. And thus Oppian:—

"μαλὰ πάντες ὀλλέες ἐγγὺς ἐπονται  
κυμάτων ἀκροτάτοιον γέλωσ ἔθι χερσὸν ἀμείβει."

(Omnes admodum densi pone sequuntur fluctus extremi iisus ubi terram attingit) In the same sense Æschylus (*Prometh.* v. 89):—

"πόντιων τε κυμάτων  
Ἀνηριθμόν γελασμά."

(maiorum fluctuum cœspatio innumerabilis). This serves to explain a passage in Strabo which is generally misunderstood by the translators. That geographer, speaking of the outlets of the river Cyrus, in Albania, [says] (lib. xi. p. 501): "εἰς στομάτα δώδεκα φασὶ μεμερισθαι τὰς ἐκβολὰς, τὰ μὲν τυφλά, τὰ δὲ παντελὺς ἐπιγέλωντα." (Ferunt hunc duodecim ostiis exire, partim cæcis, partim late fluctibus patentibus). This seems to be the proper meaning of the Greek, and not "fluctum refringentibus," as it is commonly translated, which carries no meaning at all. It is in this sense too that Apollonius expresses the breaking of the waves upon the shore (*Arg.* lib. ii. v. 572):—

"Λευκὴ καγχαζόντος ἀνεπτύε κυμάτων ἀχνη."

(Albam ferventis expuit undæ spumam). By a similar licence as those above mentioned we find Theocritus saying (*Idyll.* ii. 38): σιγᾷ μὲν πόντος, and Callimachus (*Idiom.* v. 18) εὐφημεῖ καὶ πόντος. (Bona verba dicit pontus, seu silet).

IV. 785. "*Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear*." The ancients generally used these words of command to soldiers, instead of what we now call right and left. Thus the author of the little dictionary of military terms generally printed at the end of Suidas' Lexicon: κλισίς ἐπὶ δορυ ἔστι ἢ ἐπὶ τα δεξιά· κλισίς ἐπ' ἀσπίδα ἔστι ἢ ἐπ' ἀριστερά κλισίς (Aciei in hastam inclinatio est ea quæ fit in dextrum latus; in clypeum inclinatio est ea quæ fit in sinistrum latus). Thus, too, Ælian (*Tact.* p. m. 320):

“Declinatio est motio militum singulorum cum vel in *hastam*, hoc est dextrorsum, sese convertunt, vel in *scutum*, hoc est sinistrorsum.” And below: “Duplicata declinatio partem versus eandem ora militis in hostilem a tergo conatum transfert; quæ res immutatio dicitur, et vel in hastam vel in scutum fieri solita est.”

XI. 713. “*The brazen throat of war had ceased to roar.*” Homer, *Il. x. v. 8*, has an expression of the same kind:—

“πολεμοιο μεγα στομα πευκεδανοιο.”

Mr. Pope has translated this verse in our poet’s phrase:—

“Or bids the brazen throat of war to roar.”

Eustathius observes that *the vast jaws of war*, as it is in the original, is very proper to give us the idea of the mischiefs of war under the emblem of an insatiable monster. Cic. pro Archia: E totius belli ore et faucibus.

XII. 646—649.—

“*The world was all before them, where to choose  
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:  
They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way.*”

Mr. Addison thinks these two last verses supernumerary and useless here, as beginning a new subject and therefore extraneous. Bentley, who saw the error, has amended it in such a manner that it had better remained as it was than to be changed in the manner he has done it. I imagine the last four verses would read more connectedly if one might be allowed to transpose them in this manner:—

“They hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way:  
The world was all before them, where to choose  
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.”

This manner of reading the verses (though not warranted by any edition) is at least preferable either to Addison’s scheme, who is for rejecting them altogether, or to that of Dr. Bentley, who mangles them by his horrid alterations so that they are no longer discernible to be the production of our great poet. We still retain all the words of the text, and only place them so as to close the subject with propriety and grace. Neither would I have adventured to offer the alteration, but that I have the example of that learned critick Grævius before me, who has taken the same liberty with a passage of Hesiod. It is in *Erg.*, v. 207. All the editions read it thus:—

“Δειπνον δ’, αἰκ’ ἐθέλω, ποιησομαι, ἥε μεθησω.  
Ἀφρων δ’ ὅς κ’ ἐθέλοι προς κρεισσονας ἀντιφεριζειν.  
Νικης τε στερεται, προς τ’ αἰσχεσιν ἀλγεα πασχει.  
Ὡς ἔφατ’ ὠκυπετης ἱρηξ, τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.”

Grævius thus rejected the two last verses, because (said he) it is absurd to introduce heroes repeating moral sentences. Grævius has evaded the difficulty by changing the order of the verses as follows:—

“Δειπνον δ’, αἰκ’ ἐθέλω, ποιησομαι, ἥε μεθησω.  
Ὡς ἔφατ’ ὠκυπετης ἱρηξ, τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.  
Ἀφρων δ’ ὅς κ’ ἐθέλοι,” &c.

Heinsius has explained another passage of the same poet very successfully by a similar transposition: *Erg.*, v. 374. Thus it is commonly read:—

“Μονογενης, δε παις σωζοι πατρωιον οἶκον  
Φερβεμεν’ ὥς γαρ πλουτος ἀξεται ἐν μεγαροισι.  
Γηραιος δε θανοις, ἕτερον παιδ’ ἐγκαταλειπων:”

which is scarce to be made sense of. Heinsius inverts it as follows:—



“ Μονογενὴς δὲ παῖς σῶζοι πατρῷον οἶκον·  
 Γηραιὸς δὲ θανοῖς, ἕτερον παῖδ' ἐγκαταλείπων  
 Φερβεμεν' ὥς γὰρ πλοῦτος ἀέξεται ἐν μεγάροισι.”

(Unicus vero filius domum paternam servet,  
 Senex vero priusquam moriaris alium relinques  
*Crescentem.* Sic enim divitiæ in ædibus crescunt.)

He rightly interprets *φερβεμεν* “growing up,” not “feeding,” as the common versions have it.—Since writing the above I observe that Peck (*Mem.* 201) mentions this transposition, which he approves of. I am glad to find him of my opinion.

These are not uninteresting; and, though they have been selected precisely on that account, others as interesting may be found. On the whole, though Callander's Commentary is past date, and its publication now is utterly out of the question, one would not regret if some literary antiquarian, investigating the state of scholarship in Scotland in the last century, and thinking it worth while to pay some little attention to Callander, should include his Milton commentary rather specially in a survey of his writings. He did his best, and worse men have had more credit. During his last years, it is said, he lived in complete retirement, the victim of a deep religious melancholy.



NOTES TO PARADISE REGAINED.



## PREFATORY NOTE.

ALTHOUGH "explanatory notes" are advertised in Tonson's 1695 edition of *Paradise Regained*, with *Samson Agonistes*, and the Minor Poems, the first real Commentary on *Paradise Regained* appeared in 1752, when NEWTON completed his edition of the Poetical Works collectively by adding the single quarto volume containing *Paradise Regained*, *Samson*, and the Minor Poems to his two quarto volumes of 1749 containing the *Paradise Lost*. Besides Newton's own Notes to *Paradise Regained* there appeared Notes to the Poem from some of his coadjutors on the *Paradise Lost* (see p. 101), especially THYER, JORTIN, and WARBURTON, and also from some new coadjutors, among whom was MR. CALTON, a Lincolnshire clergyman. Not satisfied with what had thus been done, and thinking that *Paradise Regained* had been unduly neglected in comparison with *Paradise Lost*, CHARLES DUNSTER, M.A., issued in 1795, in a handsome quarto volume, a separate edition of the Poem, with the text in large type, and abundant footnotes in small type, partly a reproduction of those of Newton and his coadjutors, partly contributions by himself. The Notes in this Variorum edition of *Paradise Regained* by Dunster were substantially preserved by Todd in his successive Variorum editions of the Poetical Works of 1801, 1809, 1826, and 1842, where indeed (Dunster's own volume being scarce) they are most accessible. In these, however, there were additional Notes by TODD himself, with some derived from other sources, more particularly from MSS. of the two brothers THOMAS WARTON and JOSEPH WARTON, communicated to Todd by their nephew. Since Todd the only annotators of the Poem that need be mentioned here are MR. KEIGHTLEY, MR. R. C. BROWNE, and MR. J. M. ROSS, (see *antè*, p. 103). The Notes of Mr. Ross, however, are only to Books III. and IV.—So far as use has been made in the following Notes of the materials provided by these preceding commentators, it has been on the principles explained in the Preface to the Notes on *Paradise Lost*, pp. 103—106.

# PARADISE REGAINED.

## NOTES.

### BOOK I.

1—7. “*I, who,*” &c. In this manner of referring, at the opening of a new poem, to his previous poem of *Paradise Lost*, Milton, as Newton noted, follows precedent. Prefixed to the *Æneid* are the lines, attributed by some to Virgil himself—

“ Ille ego qui quondam gracili modulatus avenâ  
Carmen,” &c.

Spenser also opens his *Faery Queene* with the following reference to his smaller pastoral poems which had preceded it :—

“ Lo ! I, the man whose Muse whilom did mask,  
As time her taught, in lowly shepherd’s weeds,  
Am now enforced—a far unfitter task—  
For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds.”

But there is a far closer relation between the *Paradise Regained* and *Paradise Lost* than between either the *Æneid* and Virgil’s preceding poems, or the *Faery Queene* and the preceding pastoral poems of Spenser. As these first seven lines indicate, the one is a sequel and retrieval of the other.

4—7. “*By one man’s firm obedience,*” &c. On this passage, as announcing the theme of the entire poem, see pp. 5, 6 of the *Introduction*. It may be added that Milton in this poem resumes the history of his former hero, Satan, in order to show the fulfilment of the prophecy with which his former poem ended, that the seed of the Woman should bruise the head of the Serpent. It is to be recollected that the passages of Scripture on which the poem is mainly founded are Matthew iii. and iv. 1—11; Mark i. 1—15; Luke iii. 2—23 and iv. 1—14; and John, chap. i. In line 4, as Newton noted, there is a reference to Rom. v. 19, and in line 7, as Dunster noted, to Isaiah li. 3.

8—17. "*Thou Spirit*," &c. With this compare the similar invocations, *Par. Lost*, I. 1—26, and VII. 1—39; also IX. 13—47. See notes on those passages.

8. "*Eremit*," the old and more correct form of *hermit*, from the Greek ἐρημίτης, a dweller in the desert. Todd notes that the spelling *hermit* is older than Milton's time; indeed *hermite* and *heremite* alternate with *ermite* and *eremite* in the oldest English writings.

14. "*full summed*." See *Par. Lost*, VII. 421, and note there.

18—32. "*Now had*," &c. Matt. iii. 13—17; Luke iii. 23; and John i. 33. Dunster quotes also Isaiah lxviii. 1.

33—35. "*That heard the Adversary*, &c." *Satan* means "Adversary." Dunster quotes Job i. 7.

39—42. "*Flies to his place*," &c. Compare *In Quintum Novembris*, 7 *et seq.*

42. "*consistory*." It is not unlikely, as Thyer noted, that Milton chose this word as being the name more particularly of ecclesiastical courts, Papal or English. In *Par. Lost*, X. 457, the council of evil Spirits is called "their dark divan." (Dunster.)

44, 45. "*O ancient Powers of Air*," &c. It is to be remembered that, at the loss of Paradise, such a road or bridge was established over Chaos between Hell and the Universe of Man that the Fallen Angels were able thenceforth to go and come at their pleasure between the two, and in fact to consider the Universe an extension of their infernal empire. They are here supposed, accordingly, to have since then resided more in the Universe of Man—"this wide World"—than in Hell; and chiefly they are supposed to have made the Air their residence. See Ephes. ii. 2, and vi. 12 (Dunster), and refer to *Par. Lost*, X. 188—190, 260, 261, 320—324, 375—381, 399, 400, 463—467.

62. "*infringed*": in its primary sense, "broken in upon," "shattered."

74. "*Purified to receive him pure*." 1 John iii. 3. (Newton.)

83. "*A perfect dove*": i.e. a real dove, not a seeming one. Luke iii. 22.

84. "*souvan*." Though in the original editions of *Paradise Lost* this word is always spelt *souvan*, it is here spelt *sou'raign* both in the First and in the Second Edition—propably because the person who saw *Paradise Regained* through the press inclined to our present form of the word, *sovereign*, which derives it from the French rather than from the Italian. The present is the only case in which the word occurs in *Par. Reg.*; nor does it once occur in *Samson Ag.*

85. "*This is*," &c. One rather wonders why Milton did not dictate in this line "*I am*" instead of "*am*." The metre of the line would still have been as good as that of many another line in the poem.

90. "*When his fierce thunder,*" &c. See *Par. Lost*, VI. 831—866.

91. "*Who this is,*" &c. Satan does not as yet know that Jesus is the Messiah.

94, 95. "*the utmost edge of hazard.*" Newton noted that Shakespcarc has the phrase, "*the extreme edge of hazard.*" *All's Well*, III. 3.

97. "*well-couched,*" well concealed.

100. "*I, when,*" &c. See *Par. Lost*, II. 430 *et seq.*

103, 104. "*a calmer voyage,*" &c. ; for then the expedition was from Hell through Chaos up to the Starry World ; now it is only from Mid-air to Earth.

104. "*the way found prosperous once*" : *i.e.* the method of guile, previously successful in causing Adam to fall.

117. "*yea gods*" : *i.e.* not only possessors and rulers of regions of the Earth and Air, but actually gods to men, in consequence of that process by which the Fallen Angels had in course of time been transmuted into the false gods of the various Polytheistic systems. See *Par. Lost*, I. 361 *et seq.* and note there.

128. "*frecuence*" : assembly (Lat. *frequentia*).

129. "*to Gabriel.*" Gabriel, as Bishop Newton remarks, is here selected as the Archangel whom Scripture mentions as particularly employed in embassies relating to the Gospel. He is the Angel of Mercy, and appears in *Par. Lost* as the Guardian of Paradise.

137. "*Then told'st*" : a Latinism for "*then thou told'st,*" unless we choose to suppose "*then*" a misprint for "*thou.*" See Luke i. 34, 35.

146. "*apostasy*" : for apostates. Dunster refers to *Par. Lost*, XII. 132, for an instance of the same figure : "*numerous servitude.*"

157, 158. "*the rudiments of his great warfare.*" Dunster quotes Virgil (*Æn.* XI. 156) :—

" Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, bellique propinqui  
Dura rudimenta ;"

and Statius (*Sylv.* v. ii. 8) :—

" Quid si militiæ jam te, puer inclyte, primæ  
Clara rudimenta, et castrorum dulce vocaret  
Auspicium."

159. "*To conquer Sin and Death,*" &c. See *Par. Lost*, X. 585 *et seq.*

160. "*By humiliation,*" &c. In the original edition this line runs on with the preceding, and there is a semicolon after "*sufferance.*" But almost certainly, as Mr. Keightley observes, the present is the true reading.



166. "*This perfect man*," &c. It has been noted that throughout this speech to Gabriel and the Angels there is a suppression or keeping back for the present of the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. "The Angels," says Calton, "are first to learn the mystery of the incarnation from that important event which is the subject of the poem." Yet Michael had known it, and foretold it to Adam (*Par. Lost*, XII. 360 *et seq.*).

171, 172. "*the hand sung with the voice*," meaning that instrumental music accompanied the voice. The Latin *cano* is used sometimes in the sense in which Milton here uses "sing." Calton quotes Tibullus, III. iv. 41 :—

"Sed postquam fuerant digiti cum voce locuti."

175. "*But to*." A line very peculiar metrically, unless, with Jortin, we suppose "*vanquish*" accented on the last syllable, *vanquish*. Todd finds the word so accented in Shakespeare, *Henry VI.*, Part I. III. 3 :—

"I am vanquished : these haughty words of hers  
Have battered me like roaring cannon-shot."

Here, however, vanquished is perhaps a trisyllable.

182. "*vigils*." The nocturnal service of the Roman Catholic Church is so called; why the word should be used here is not obvious.

184. "*in Bethabara*." John i. 28, and Judges vii. 24. Bethabara was a town on the east bank of the Jordan in the middle part of its course between the Lake of Gennesareth and the Dead Sea. There was another town, called Betharaba, on the west shore of the northern end of the Dead Sea, and not far from the Jordan at that point; and the similarity of the name has misled some commentators. But see II. 19—24, and note.

185. "*much revolving in his breast*." Dunster compares Virgil, *Æn.* x. 890 :—

"Multa movens animo."

193. "*He entered now the bordering Desert wild*." The Desert or Wilderness which was the scene of the Temptation was, according to the Scriptural account (Matt. iii. 1—5; Luke iii. 2, 3, and iv. 1), the same in which John had been preaching, and from which he had gone up the Jordan to Bethabara baptizing. It was called the Wilderness or Desert of Judea, and extended from the Jordan along the whole western coast of the Dead Sea—different parts of it receiving special names from mountains or towns situated in it. The middle part was called the Wilderness of Ziph (1 Sam. xxiii. 14), from the mountain Ziph, and the northern part, due east from Jerusalem, the Wilderness of Engedi or Engaddi (1 Sam. xxiv. 1), from Engaddi, one of the so-called cities of the Desert (Josh. xv. 62). The "bordering desert wild," into

which Milton supposes Christ gradually straying after having been led on step by step (line 193) from Bethabara, was either this Wilderness of Engedi, or (as that is more than a day's journey south from Bethabara) possibly some desert part of the valley of the Jordan itself higher up. But it is clear from the sequel of the poem that he supposes that Christ, in his forty days of wandering, may have penetrated farther south into the Wilderness of Judea, and even reached the great Arabian desert itself; for he identifies the scene of the temptation with the desert through which the Israelites were led on their way to Canaan, and where Elijah spent forty days (see *seq.* 350—354). Indeed there are some topographical difficulties in the poem, arising from this very general use of the term Desert or Wilderness; and it is possible that Milton's recollections of the maps and distances had somewhat failed him.

201—206. "*When I was yet a child,*" &c. It is difficult to avoid feeling that here Milton may have had thoughts of his own childhood; and, accordingly, these lines were printed under Cipriani's etching in 1760 from the original portrait of Milton as a boy of ten.

205. "*Born to that end,*" &c. John xviii. 37. (Newton.)

207, 208. "*The Law of God,*" &c. \* Psalm cxix. 103, and Psalm i. 2. (Dunster.)

214. "*And was admired,*" &c. Luke ii. 47.

221. "*Yet held,*" for "yet I held," a Latinism similar to that noted in line 137.

226. "*subdue.*" In the original text the word was "*destroy*"; but there was a direction among the Errata to change the word into "*subdue.*"

240. "*Thou shouldst,*" &c. Luke i. 32, 33.

242—244. "*a glorious quire,*" &c. See *Par. Lost*, XII. 364 *et seq.*

248. "*For in the inn,*" &c. Luke ii. 7.

249—251. "*A star,*" &c. See *Par. Lost*, XII. 360 *et seq.*

254. "*thee king,*" &c. This is the reading in the First Edition, and is the correct one. In the Second "*the*" was substituted for "*thee*," and the error has been continued in subsequent editions.

255—258. "*Just Simeon,*" &c. Luke ii. 25 and 36.

257. "*vested*" : *i.e.* clad in his vestments.

269. "*waited*" : *i.e.* waited for.

271. "*Not knew by sight.*" Peculiar syntax for "but whom I knew not by sight." See John i. 31—33.

287. "*Now full.*" Gal. iv. 4. (Newton.)

292, 293. "*I learn not yet,*" &c. In the spirit of such texts as Luke ii. 52, and Mark xiii. 32, and in accordance with the view of some theologians, Milton makes Christ as Man not omniscient, but acquiring knowledge gradually.

294. "*our Morning Star.*" Rev. xxii. 16. (Newton.)

297, 298. "*The way he came,*" &c. In the original edition these two lines are pointed thus:—

" The way he came not having mark'd, return  
Was difficult, by humane steps untrod ; "

and this pointing has been retained. It seems to me, however, clearly erroneous, yielding a bad syntax and a clumsy sense. I have therefore altered it.

299. "*still on was led*": *i.e.* farther into the desert. See note to line 193.

302. "*Such solitude,*" &c. A line with twelve syllables, or a whole supernumerary foot; as has also the line *Par. Lost*, IX. 249, so similarly worded.

307. "*is not revealed.*" And yet the supposition that Christ "harboured in one cave" all the forty nights of his stay in the desert, implying as it would that he kept near one spot, would appear to be inconsistent with what Milton himself assumes in the story. See note to line 193.

310. "*Among wild beasts.*" Mark i. 13.

313. "*The lion and fierce tiger,*" &c. Dunster compares *Par. Lost*, IV. 401—403.

314—320. "*But now an aged man,*" &c. Note the manner of Satan's first appearance here, and how stealthy and mean-looking he is, as compared with the fallen Archangel of *Paradise Lost*. It is as if, in the interval, the great Satan of that poem had been shrinking into the Mephistophcles of the modern world.

320. "*Perused him.*" Dunster quotes *Par. Lost*, VIII. 267, for a similar use of the word *peruse*, and also instances from Shakespeare: *e.g.* *Romeo and Juliet*, V. 3, "Let me peruse this face."

333, 334. "*aught . . . what,*" for "aught that" or "aught which"; an obsolete use now of "what," except as a vulgarism.

334. "*fame also finds us out*": *i.e.* not only do we hear what is passing in the world by occasionally going to the nearest towns, but rumours are wafted to us even here in the desert.

339. "*stubs*": *i.e.* anything of stunted growth sticking up from the ground. The word is used by Chaucer. In A.-S. it is *styb*.

347—350. "*Is it not written ?*" &c. Deut. viii. 3.

350, 351. "*who fed our fathers here with manna?*" Either Christ is here made to connect the Desert of Judea in which he was being tempted (see note to line 193) with the Great Desert through which the Israelites had come from Egypt towards Canaan, or the word "*here*" is to be supposed as only part of the quotation from Deut. viii. 3.

353, 354. "*Elijah*," &c. This name occurs four times in the poem. Twice it is spelt *Eliah* in the original edition—viz. here and at II. 19; and twice *Elijah*—viz. at II. 268, and II. 277.—"*Wandered this barren waste*." Elijah's wanderings were from Beersheba into the Great Desert as far as Horeb (1 Kings xix. 1—8), and therefore not strictly in that Desert of Judea which is usually supposed to have been the scene of Christ's temptation. But see notes *antè*, lines 193 and 307.

368, 369. "*I came*," &c. Job. i. 6.

371—376. "*And, when . . . King Ahab*," &c. 1 Kings xxii. 19—23.

375. "*glibbed*": made glib or voluble. Milton seems to have coined the verb.

377—382. "*Though I have lost*," &c. See *Par. Lost*, I. 97 and 591.

385. "*attent*," a word used by Spenser and other old poets.

400. "*Nearer*." In the original edition the word is "*Never*"; but there is a direction among the Errata to change it into "*Nearer*."

414. "*gazed*": i.e. gazed at. See *Par. Lost*, V. 272.

417. "*imparts*," printed "*imports*" in the First Edition; where, however, there is a direction in the Errata to change the word to "*imparts*." The direction remained unattended to till Tonson's edition of 1747.

428. "*four hundred mouths*." 1 Kings xxii. 6. (Dunster.)

435. "*Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding*." Thyer thinks that Milton may have had in view what Eusebius says on the subject of the Heathen Oracles in the Fifth Book of his *Præparatio Evangelica*. He doubtless recollected famous instances of ambiguous answers said to have been given by the Delphic Oracle: such as that to Croesus, "Croesus, crossing the Halys, will destroy a great Empire," and that to King Pyrrhus, "Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse." Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Macb.* V. 8:—

"And be these juggling fiends no more believed  
That palter with us in a double sense."

But, on ambiguous prophecies and oracles, see also 2 *Henry VI.*, I. 4.

439. "*instruct*," instructed.

446—451. "*whence hast thou*," &c. Both the notions involved in this passage—to wit the notion that, whenever a pagan oracle spoke truth, it was derivatively and by permission, and the notion that different

parts of the earth had special or presiding Angels—were entertained by theologians. Thyer quotes Tertullian and St. Augustine ; and Warburton refers to the Septuagint version of Deut. xxxii. 8.

456. "*henceforth oracles are ceased.*" See *Hymn on the Nativity*, 173 *et seq.*

460. "*his living oracle.*" Acts vii. 38. (Dunster.)

463. "*an inward oracle.*" Mr. Keightley says that in Milton's own edition there was here the misprint of "*and*" for "*an*." This is a mistake. The misprint was in the edition of 1680 ; in the First Edition the reading is *an* as now.

480. "*tunable.*" The word occurs in *Par. Lost*, V. 151, and in Shakespeare, *Mid. N. Dr.* I. 1. "More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear."

488. "*to tread his sacred courts.*" Isaiah i. 12. (Dunster.)

498. "*His grey dissimulation.*" Satan had appeared in the guise of an aged man. See *antè*, 314—320. Dunster compares Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*, 77 *et seq.*

499. "*Into thin air diffused.*" Newton quotes *Æn.* iv. 278 :—"In tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram" ; and Dunster quotes Prospero's speech in the *Tempest* (IV. 2) : "Are melted into air, into thin air."

500. "*wings.*" In the First Edition "*wing*" ; but "*wings*," which is the better reading, occurs in the Second.—"*double-shade*" : *i.e.* doubly to shade.

## BOOK II.

1, 2. "*who yet remained at Jordan with the Baptist*" : *i.e.* near Bethabara. See Book I. 184.

7. "*Andrew and Simon,*" &c. See John, chap i.

15. "*Moses . . . missing long.*" Exod. xxxii. 1.

16. "*the great Thisbite*" : *i.e.* Elijah, the Tishbite, so called as being a native of Tishbe, or Thisbe, in Gilead, to the east of Jordan (1 Kings xvii. 1). Milton disliked the sound *sh*, and avoided it when he could ; and this may be an instance.

17. "*yet once again to come.*" Malachi iv. 5, and Matt. xvii. 11. (Newton.) On these texts the Early Church grounded an opinion that there was to be a new appearance of Elijah before the second coming of Christ.

19—24. “*so in each place these nigh to Bethabara,*” &c.: *i.e.* so the first disciples sought Christ in all places along the Jordan from Bethabara. (See note, I. 184.) The places named are: *Jericho*, which was called “the City of Palms” (Deut. xxxiv. 3), and which was to the west of the Jordan, a little north of the Dead Sea; *Ænon*, a town on the Jordan, considerably higher up and nearer the Lake Gennesareth, and mentioned in John iii. 23 as one of the places where John baptized; *Salem*, mentioned in the same text as near to *Ænon*, and mentioned also in 1 Sam. ix. 4 as Shalim, in the country round which Saul sought his father’s asses, and under the same name in Gen. xxxiii. 18 as a dwelling-place of Jacob (hence probably called “Salem old” by Milton, and not because, as some suppose, he identified it with the Salem of Melchizedek, Gen. xiv. 18); and finally *Machærus*, on the east of the northern angle of the Dead Sea. But they searched not these places only, but also every other town or city between the Lake Genezaret and the Dead Sea—whether on the west of the Jordan, or in the country called *Peræa* on the eastern side of that river. With regard to the distances of the places named from *Bethabara*, it may be mentioned that there is a dispute as to the site of Bethabara—some placing it, as at note, I. 184, on the eastern side of the Jordan, in the upper part of its course from the Lake of Gennesareth (in which case *Ænon* and *Salem* would be quite near it); but others maintaining that it was at a more southern point of the Jordan, not far north of the Dead Sea (in which case *Jericho* and *Machærus* would be the nearest to it of the four places named). If, as is possible, Milton took the latter view, and made Bethabara near *Jericho*, some of the difficulties of the topography of the poem mentioned in notes, I. 193, but by no means all, would be obviated.

24. “*returned in vain*”: *i.e.* it is to be supposed, to Bethabara.

27. “*Plain fishermen (no greater men them call)*”. Newton quotes from Spenser (*Shep. Cal.* i. 1) the similar line:

“A shepherd’s boy (no better do him call).”

30. “*Alas, from what high hope,*” &c. Newton quotes Terence (*Heaut.*, II. 2): “*Væ misero mihi, quantâ de spe decidi.*”

34. “*full of grace and truth.*” John i. 14. (Newton.)

44—47. “*Behold the kings,*” &c. Psalm ii. 2, and Neh. ix. 26. (Dunster.)

60—65. “*But to his mother Mary,*” &c. The construction of the word “*to*” in this sentence is rather difficult. Most probably it is “*But motherly cares and fears got head, within her breast, to his mother Mary,*” &c.

83. “*Full grown,*” &c.; construe “he being full-grown,” &c.



87—91. "*as old Simeon plain foretold,*" &c. Luke ii. 34, 35.

101. "*obscures*" : *i.e.* keeps unexplained.

103, 104. "*My heart hath been a storehouse,*" &c. Luke ii. 19.

111. "*Into himself descended.*" A recollection, as Newton pointed out, of a phrase in Persius (*Sat.* iv. 23), "*Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere.*"

119. "*without sign of boast,*" &c. In contrast to his triumphant return from tempting Adam. See *Par. Lost*, X. 460 *et seq.*

121—128. "*Princes . . . Demonian Spirits . . . expulsion down to Hell.*" There is some difficulty in the construction of this passage. I read it thus and point accordingly : "*Princes, Heaven's ancient sons, Ethereal Thrones, so called once when ye dwelt in Heaven—now rightlier called Dēmonian Spirits, each from that one of these nether elements which he particularly tenants and rules in ; i.e. rightlier called Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth—if, indeed, it may so be that we shall hold our place and these mild seats without new trouble ! Which, however, is doubtful ; for an enemy is risen to invade us who threatens nothing less than our expulsion from Man's world and its elements down again to that Hell whence we ascended to possess them.*" A reading preferred by some editors is "*Princes, Heaven's ancient sons, Ethereal Thrones, Demonian Spirits now—rightlier called Powers of Fire, &c.,*" which reading, however, does not so well bring out Milton's meaning. Mr. Keightley and others also prefer to take the words "*So may we hold, &c.,*" as the expression of a wish. They may be taken so ; but the reading I have adopted seems better to fit the sequel, "*Such an enemy, &c.*"

128. "*Threatens than.*" In the First Edition "*than*" was omitted, but there was a direction in the Errata to insert it. The direction was not attended to in the Second Edition, where moreover the passage was farther marred by changing "*who*" of the previous line into "*whom.*"

130. "*full frequence*" : *i.e.* full assembly : [Lat. *frequentia*, a great company.] Shakespeare, as Newton observed, has the word, *Timon*, V. 2 (unless the reading there should be *sequence*) :—

"Tell Athens, in the frequence of degree,  
From high to low throughout."

131. "*tasted him.*" Todd quotes several instances of this use of "*taste*" in the sense of "*try*" in old English. "*He began to taste his pulse*" is said of a physician visiting his patient, in an old English translation of Boccaccio (1620).

134—137. "*Though Adam,*" &c. The passage is somewhat obscure. I interpret it thus : "*Though it required his wife's allurements to make even Adam fall, however inferior he to this man ; who, if he be man*"

by the mother's side, is at least adorned from heaven with more," &c. In the original edition "If he be man by mother's side at least" is read continuously as one clause. Dunster proposed the comma before "at least."

150, 151. "*Belial . . . Amodai*." See *Par. Lost*, I. 490 *et seq.*, IV. 168 and VI. 365, and notes to these passages.

164. "*the rugged'st brow*." Dunster compares *Pens.* 58: "Smoothing the *rugged brow of Night*"; and Todd finds the phrase "rugged brow" in Spenser.

168. "*the magnetic*": *i.e.* the magnet, or loadstone.

175. "*doat'st*": so in the original edition, though possibly intended as a contraction for *doatedst*.

178—181. "*Before the Flood, thou*," &c. Compare *Par. Lost*, XI. 573 *et seq.* There Milton adopts the view that the "Sons of God" who are said (Gen. vi. 2) to have intermarried with the "Daughters of Men" before the Flood were Seth's posterity; but here he makes them the Fallen Angels.

182—191. "*Have we not scen . . . Calisto, Clymene, &c. . . Satyr, or Faun, or Silvan?*" One of those summaries from the ancient mythology in which Milton delights, and here recollected chiefly from Ovid. Calisto, according to the legend, was one of Diana's nymphs, seduced by Jupiter; Clymene, one of the Nereids, mother of Mnemosyné by Jupiter; Daphne, a nymph wooed by Apollo, and changed into a laurel when pursued by him; Semele, the mother of Bacchus by Jupiter; Antiopa, a nymph wooed by Jupiter in the form of a Satyr; Amymone, a nymph beloved by Neptune; Syrinx, a nymph chased by Pan, and changed into a reed in the pursuit.—"*Too long*," *i.e.* too long to enumerate.—"*scapes*," an old word, meaning "frolics" or "escapades."

196. "*that Pelleen conqueror*": *i.e.* Alexander the Great, born at Pella, in Macedonia. The allusion is to his treatment of the wife and daughters of Darius, and other captive Persian ladies, after the battle of Issus, when he was twenty-three years of age.

199. "*he surnamed of Africa*": *i.e.* Scipio Africanus, whose conduct in restoring, when in his twenty-fifth year, a young Spanish lady to her family, was considered so unusually generous and self-denying by the ancient writers.

210. "*vouchsafe*." So spelt in original edition: not "*voutsafe*" as in *Par. Lost*.

216, 217. "*How would one look from his majestic brow, seated*," &c. A not unfrequent construction with Milton, the "*his*" taken as equivalent to "*ejus*" or "*of him*" and "*seated*" taken as agreeing with that pronoun.

217. "*Virtue's hill*." Perhaps an allusion, as Newton thought, to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the *Πυθαγ* of Cebes, a book which Milton recommends in his Tract on Education. Keightley supposes rather a recollection of Hesiod, *Erg.* 287—289.

222—224. "*cease to admire, and all her plumes fall flat*," &c. An allusion to the peacock, and probably, as Dunster has pointed out, a recollection of Ovid's lines (*De Arte Am.* i. 627):—

"Laudatas ostentat avis Junonia pennas;  
Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes."

236, 237. "*Then forthwith*," &c. Matt. xii. 45. (Dunster.)

259. "*hungering more to do*," &c. John iv. 34. (Newton.)

262. "*hospitable covert*." Dunster quotes Horace, *Od.* ii. iii. 9, where the pine and poplar form "*umbram hospitalem*."

266. "*Him thought*": i.e. "it seemed to him." An old construction, like "methinks," "methought." Todd quotes an example from Fairfax's *Tasso*:—

"Him thought he heard the whistling wind."

On the word "methinks" Dr. Latham writes (*Eng. Lang.* 5th edit. p. 611), "In the Anglo-Saxon there are two forms—*thencan*, to think, and *thincan*, to seem. It is from the latter that the verb in *methinks* comes. The verb is intransitive; the pronoun dative."

266—278. "*by the brook of Cherith . . . Elijah . . . Daniel*." See 1 Kings xvii. 5, 6, and xix. 4, and Daniel i. 11, 12.

269. "*Though ravenous*," &c. A line hypermetrical by two syllables.

289. "*a bottom*," a sunken spot, or depression.

295. "*Nature's own work it seemed (Nature taught Art)*." The meaning seems to be, "It seemed the work of Nature herself—of Nature instructed in Art." Another possible meaning is, "It seemed the work of Nature herself (for Nature is the teacher of Art)." Todd, by printing "*Nature-taught*" as a compound word with a hyphen, suggests a third reading—"It was the work of Nature herself—of Art taught by Nature;" which, however, is inadmissible.—As a parallel passage Dunster quotes Spenser, *F. Q.*, ii. xii. 59. See also a speech of Polixenes on Art and Nature in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4.

302. "*officious*," ready to do service.

306—314. "*Others of some note*," &c.: i.e. first Hagar and her son Ishmael (here called Nebaioth by a strange license, that being the name of Ishmael's eldest son, Gen. xxv. 13); then the wandering Israelites; and lastly the prophet, Elijah, here called "native of Thebez" by mistake, Mr. Keightley thinks, Thisbe in Gilead being the Prophet's native

place, whereas Thebez was in Ephraim. See note to Book I. 353, 354. It has been remarked by Dunster that Elijah was a favourite character with Milton, and is frequently referred to by him. Among Milton's proposed subjects for Scriptural Dramas was one to be entitled *Elias Polemistes*.

309. "*found here relief*." Instead of "*here*," the First Edition has "*he*"; so has the Second; but "*here*" seems indubitably the true reading.

344. "*Grisamber-steamed*": *i.e.* steamed with ambergris. Perfumes were used in old English cookery—musk, for example, and ambergris, or grey amber—this last not being, as the name might suggest, a kind of amber, but quite a different substance. It is a substance of animal origin, found floating on the sea, or thrown up on the coast, in warm climates; is of a bright grey colour; and, when heated, gives off a peculiar perfume. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, associates ambergris with Cornwall, not as peculiar to that county, but because "the last, greatest, and best quantity thereof that ever this age did behold" had been found on the Cornish coast. He adds, "It is almost as hard to know what it is as where to find it. Some will have it the sperm of a fish; or some other unctuous matter arising from them; others that it is the foam of the sea, or some excrescency thence, boiled to such a height by the heat of the sun; others that it is a gum that grows on the shore. In a word, no certainty can be collected hereon, some physicians holding one way, and some another. But this is most sure, that apothecaries hold it at five pounds an ounce, which some say is dearer than ever it was in the memory of man. It is a rare cordial for the refreshing of the spirits, and sovereign for the strengthening of the head, besides the most fragrant scent, far stronger in consort, when compounded with other things, than when singly itself."—An old lady who remembered the use of grisamber in English cookery told the antiquary Peck that it melted like butter, and was used on great occasions "to fume meat with, whether boiled, roasted or baked," and that she had eaten it herself "laid on the top of a baked pudding." There are many allusions to such culinary use of grisamber or grey amber in the old poets and dramatists; and Newton quotes one from Beaumont and Fletcher's *Custom of the Country*, which shows that even wines were perfumed with the substance:—

"Be sure  
The wines be lusty, high, and full of spirit,  
And ambered all."

347. "*Pontus*," the Euxine, celebrated for its fish; "*Lucrine bay*," the Lucrine Lake in Italy, celebrated for its shell-fish.—"*Afric coast*," where fish of large size were caught.

353. "*Ganymed*," Jupiter's cup-bearer; "*Hylas*," a youth attending on Hercules.

356. "*Amalthea's horn*." Amalthea was the Cretan nymph who nursed Jupiter, and whose horn he invested with the power of pouring out fruits and flowers.

357. "*ladies of the Hesperides*." In the legend the Hesperides is the name for the ladies themselves—*i.e.* the daughters of Hesperus, the brother of Atlas, who were keepers of the garden containing the golden fruit, the obtaining of which was one of the labours of Hercules. Milton here applies the name to the Garden itself, or the locality.

358. "*or fabled since*," *i.e.* in modern romances, and particularly in the *Morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory, to which Milton proceeds to make special references.

360, 361. "*By Knights of Logres, or of Lyones, Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore*."

*Logres*, *Logris*, or *Loegria* is a name in the old legends for England proper, or the main part of England after the departure of the Romans; *Lyones* is a name for Cornwall. Lancelot in the *Morte d'Arthur* is a knight of Logris, while Tristram is a knight of Lyones. Pelleas and Pellenore were also knights of Arthur's Round Table, and figure in Spenser's *Faery Queene*.

369—371. "*These are not fruits forbidden*," &c. Note the reference to the object of Adam's temptation.—"*Defends*," forbids.

374, 375. "*Spirits of air*," &c. There seems an echo here, as Dunster noted, from Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

384. "*a table in this wilderness*." Ps. lxxviii. 19. (Richardson.)

401. "*far-fet*": *i.e.* "far-fetched." The form "fet" for "fetched" occurs in Chaucer, Spenser, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and other poets; and Milton may have preferred it, as Mr. Keightley remarks, from his dislike to the sound "sh" or "tch."

427. "*Get riches first*": Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 53, "*Quærenda pecunia primum est*." (Newton.)

439. "*Gideon, and Jephtha*." See Judges vi. 15, and xi. 1, 2.

446. "*Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus*." *Quintius* is Quintius Cincinnatus, who went from his plough to the dictatorship of Rome, and retired from the dictatorship again to his plough. *Fabricius* is the patriotic Roman who resisted all the bribes of King Pyrrhus, and died poor. *Curius* is Curius Dentatus, who refused the lands assigned him by the Senate in reward for his victories, and whom the Samnite ambassadors found sitting at the fire and roasting turnips. *Regulus* is the celebrated Roman who dissuaded his countrymen from peace with the Carthaginians, and then kept his word by returning to Carthage to be tortured.



457—486. "*What if with like aversion I reject riches and realms,*" &c. This passage, and, indeed, the whole speech of which it is a part, is very characteristic of Milton, and repeats a strain of sentiment frequent in his works. Observe the turn of the thought at line 457. He has been dilating on the theme, and proving by examples, that riches are not requisite for great actions, for feats even of worldly power and greatness. "But what," he now makes Jesus go on to say, "what if I equally reject riches and that kingly power in the world which you think them necessary to procure?" What follows is subtle in expression, and may escape the hasty reader. It may be thus given: "It is not because power, or the kingly state, brings discomfort and trouble that I reject it; it is the very nobleness of a true king that he makes up his mind to bear the toil and weight of his people's concerns; and such kings may be. But a man who has dominion over his own spirit is a real king, whether he rules a nation or not; and he who is not a king of himself will ill suit to govern a nation. And greater than political kingship is that sort of kingship which consists in spiritually teaching and guiding nations—intellectual and moral kingship." At lines 481—483, there is a reference to monarchs of ancient times who had abdicated power; and the last three lines of the book wind up the argument logically, thus: "You have tempted me with riches, for their own use, and as a necessary means to political power; and I have answered you by showing them needless whether in the one respect or in the other."—Keightley compares lines 458—465 with a passage in *2 Hen. IV.*, III. 1, and one in *Henry V.*, IV. 1; and Newton compares lines 466—468 with Horace, *Od.* II. ii. 9—12.

### B O O K III.

13—16. "*the oracle Urim and Thummim,*" &c. The "oraculous gems" Urim and Thummim (translated in the Septuagint *δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια*, i.e. Manifestation and Truth) were two gems, or images composed of gems, worn in the breast-plate of the High Priest and used, in some manner now unknown, for the purposes of augury or prophecy. See *Exod.* xxviii. 30; *Lev.* viii. 8; *Numb.* xxvii. 21; *Deut.* xxxiii. 8; *1 Sam.* xxviii. 6; *Ezra* ii. 63; *Neh.* vii. 65. While there were several ways of consulting as to the future, or "inquiring of the Lord," among the Hebrews—one being by dreams, and another by applying to the Prophets—the plan of inquiry by Urim and Thummim was adopted on certain solemn occasions. The High Priest on these occasions determined the doubtful point by something in the appearance of the



gems on his breast-plate, or by operating with them in some manner corresponding to lot-taking. In the present passage Satan is made to say that Christ's counsel would be as infallible as either the decision by Urim and Thummim resorted to on solemn occasions by the Hebrews, or the decisions of the old seers and prophets who were more frequently consulted.

21. "*These godlike virtues wherefore dost thou hide?*" In all the modern editions there is only a comma after "hide," the line forming but part of an interrogative sentence ending at "wilderness" (line 23). I have restored the original punctuation.

25—30. "*glory—the reward,*" &c. Dunster aptly compares *Lycidas*, 70 *et seq.*

31—36. "*Thy years are ripe . . . . The son of Macedonian Philip . . . . young Scipio . . . . young Pompey,*" &c. At the time of the temptation in the wilderness, Jesus, according to Luke iii. 23, was about thirty years of age. Alexander had begun his reign at the age of twenty, and had overturned the Persian empire before he was twenty-five, and died at the age of thirty-two. Scipio assumed the command against the Carthaginians in Spain at the age of twenty-four, crossed into Africa at the age of thirty, and had gained his surname of Africanus by his victories there before he was thirty-three. As regards Pompey, there is an error in the text; for, though he had become a young hero, had earned from Sulla the designation of "Magnus," and had obtained the honour of a "triumph" by his victories in Africa before he was twenty-five, it was not till nineteen years after, when he was in his forty-fourth year, that he "rode in triumph" at Rome after his return from the East, where he had "quelled the Pontic king," Mithridates.

39—42. "*Great Julius . . . . wept,*" &c. Cæsar was nearly forty years of age before he had an opportunity of great political or military activity; and one of the stories told of him is that, once, when reading the Life of Alexander the Great (another account says, when looking at a statue of Alexander) he burst into tears, and, when asked the reason, declared that it made him wretched to think that he had done so little, when Alexander, at an earlier age, had achieved so much.

55. "*His lot who dares be singularly good.*" A sentiment and expression peculiarly Miltonic. In the whole passage (44—64) I trace a tinge of autobiographic reference.

64—67. "*Thus he did to Job, when,*" &c. Job i. 8.

81—82. "*must be titled Gods*" (like Antiochus, King of Syria, who was styled Θεός or "God"), "*great Benefactors of mankind*" (like Antiochus, King of Asia, and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, who were styled Εὐεργέται, or "Benefactors"), "*Deliverers*" (i.e. Σωτῆρες,

"Saviours," an appellation of several Greek sovereigns, including the two last named).

84. "*One is the son of Jove,*" i.e. Alexander; "*of Mars the other,*" i.e. Romulus.

101. "*young African,*" i.e. Scipio Africanus the elder, in his youth.

138. "*recreant,*" renouncing the faith, from the old French verb *recroire*, which again is from the mediæval Latin "*recredere*," to "believe back" or apostatize. *Miscreant* similarly is "misbelieving," from *mécroire*.

146. "*stood struck.*" See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

160—163. "*oft have they violated the Temple,*" &c.; as did Pompey, who even penetrated the Holy of Holies; and Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Maccab. ch. v.)

165—170. "*So did not Machabeus,*" &c.: i.e. Judas Maccabæus; from whom the name Maccabæus (i.e. "the hammerer"), conferred on himself for his warlike acts, was extended to his whole family. His father, Mattathias, was the great-grandson of Asmonæus, a Levite; after whom the family, who continued priests, and dwelt in the district of Modin, were called "Asmonæans." When Antiochus Epiphanes, Greek king of Syria, began his cruel persecution of the Jews, then his subjects, and sought to crush their religion, the patriotic revolt was headed by Mattathias, and his five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. In consequence of their successes (see the Books of the Maccabees) the sovereignty came into the hands of the family, who united, or shared among themselves, the offices of high-priest, supreme magistrate, and military chief. The dynasty lasted from B.C. 166 to B.C. 37; the following being the succession of princes: JUDAS MACCABÆUS (B.C. 166-161); his brother JONATHAN (B.C. 161-143), in whose time the Romans, with a view to the extension of their power against the kings of Syria, formed an alliance with the Jews; his brother SIMON (B.C. 143-135); his son JOHN HYRCANUS (B.C. 135-106); his son ARISTOBULUS (B.C. 106-104); his brother, ALEXANDER JANNÆUS (B.C. 104-78); his son HYRCANUS II. (B.C. 78-40); his nephew ANTIGONUS (B.C. 40-37). Satan, in his speech to Christ, is careful to call the Maccabæan or Asmonæan sovereignty a "usurpation" of the throne of David.

173. "*Occasion's forelock.*" Occasion or Opportunity was represented by the Ancients as a human figure with one lock of hair in front, but bald behind, so that when once it had passed it could not be seized. The representation has descended into modern poetry (see Spenser's *F. Q.* II. iv. 4), and we have the common proverb "to take time by the forelock."

175. "*Zeal of thy father's house.*" Ps. lxxix. 9; John ii. 17. (Dunster.)

182. "*And time there is for all things,*" &c. Eccles. iii. 1. (Newton.)

187. "*He in whose hand,*" &c. Acts i. 7. (Newton.)

194—196. "*Who best,*" &c. The sentiment, with even the phraseology, of these lines, is quoted from Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, by Dunster and Newton.

206. "*For where no hope is left,*" &c. Compare *Par. Lost*, IV. 108 *et seq.*

217. "*From that placid aspect,*" &c. Mr. Keightley suggests that the poet must have dictated "*For,*" and not "*From.*" Then it would be the "placid aspect and meek regard" that "would stand" between Satan and God's ire. Clearly, however, the construction is "From that placid aspect and meek regard I could hope that thy reign would stand," &c.

234. "*once a year Jerusalem,*" *i.e.* during Passover. Luke ii. 41.

238. "*quickest in sight.*" Generally now printed *insight*; but in the original the words "in sight" are separated, and this is the better reading.

253—264. "*It was a mountain at whose,*" &c. Pious tradition has fixed on Mount Quarantania, on the right bank of the Jordan, near the site of the ancient Jericho, as that "exceeding high mountain" (Matt. iv. 8) to which Satan took up Christ for the tempting vision of the kingdoms of the world. Milton, however, clearly imagines (see lines 267—270) that, by magical power, Christ and the Tempter have been transported through the air far out of the wilderness, and out of Palestine altogether. The mountain he has in view is perhaps one of the great Taurus or Armenian range north of Mesopotamia. Dunster argues for Niphates, on the top of which Satan had himself alighted on his first visit to the Earth (see *Par. Lost*, III. 742, and note to that passage). At all events the "two rivers" appear to be the Euphrates and the Tigris—the one describable as "winding," the other as "straight." The "champaign" between is Mesopotamia; which is, however, only a part of the vast plain embraced in the survey.

269—293. "*Here thou behold'st Assyria,*" &c. Following, on the map, the geographico-historical enumeration contained in these five-and-twenty lines, we see that Satan first directs Christ's view from the mountain-top over "THE EAST"—*i.e.* over those countries which, anciently included in the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires, were next comprehended in that of Persia, and so passed under Græco-Macedonian rule, till about B.C. 256, when the Parthians (a native people of the region south-east of the Caspian) threw off the government of the Seleucidæ and were formed into an independent power by their chief Arsaces. The power thus formed gradually became a great Parthian empire, extending from the Indus to the Euphrates, and from the Oxus, Caspian, and Araxes southwards to the Persian Gulf and Arabia. The Empire lasted, under the successors of Arsaces, till A.D. 226—holding the ascendancy of the East latterly even against Roman wars and

encroachments, and frequently making its power felt in the politics of Rome. At the time when the Tempter is supposed to show Christ these realms of the East from the mountain-top, the Parthian Empire was in its most palmy state; and the object of the Tempter, as we shall presently see, is to impress Christ with the extent and power of this Empire. In order to do so, after pointing out its boundaries, he calls attention to the famous cities with which it is studded. First is *Nineveh*, on the Tigris, said to have been built by primeval Ninus, and to have been sixty miles in circumference—the capital of the ancient Assyrian Empire, and the seat, accordingly, of that Salmanassar, of Shalmanezer, King of Assyria, who, B.C. 721, invaded Samaria, and carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (2 Kings xvii. 1—6). Next, on the Euphrates and more to the south is *Babylon*, as old as Nineveh, but rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar; who twice (see 2 Kings xxiv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7; and 2 Kings xxv., 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13—21) invaded Judæa and carried away the Jews into that captivity from which, after seventy years, they were set free by Cyrus, King of Persia. His (*i.e.* Cyrus's) capital, *Persepolis*, is also visible, much farther to the east, in Persia proper, and, still farther off, *Bactra*, the chief city of the Bactrian province of the Persian Empire. Then there is *Ecbatana*, the vast capital of ancient Media; also the famous *Hecatompylos*, or “Hundred-gated city,” south of the Caspian, the capital of Parthia proper, and of the Parthian Empire under the Arsacidæ; also *Susa*, in Susiana, the winter-residence and treasury of the old Persian kings, built near the Choaspes or Eulæus river, of whose waters alone, it was said, the Persian kings would drink, so that, wherever they went, a supply of this water was taken with them. All these were ancient historical cities; but “of later fame” were others, built either by the Emathians (*i.e.* Macedonians) during their empire in the East, or by their successors, and present rulers, the Parthians. Of these were great *Seleucia*, on the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and the founder of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, or Græco-Syrian kings; *Nisibis*, in Mesopotamia, also built by the Macedonians; *Artaxata*, the chief city of Armenia, on the Araxes river; *Teredon*, a town on the Persian Gulf; and *Ctesiphon*, near Seleucia, the winter-quarters of the Parthian kings.

294—297. “*All these the Parthian*,” &c. See preceding note. There has been great skill in the way in which the poet has led up by the previous summary to Satan's exact intention, which now begins to be developed, though it is not fully expressed till farther on (lines 347—385). All that is said about this part of the Temptation in the Scripture text (Matt. iv. 8, 9) is that the Devil showed Christ, from the mountain-top, “all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them,” and then offered to give them all to Christ on condition of an act of worship. But Milton imports a political significance into the narrative. He has already represented Satan as appealing to Christ's political ambition,

and trying to work upon the desire he fancies he may be secretly entertaining of some great enterprise whereby he may regain the kingdom of his father David and restore Hebrew independence, if not even found a Jewish empire. Now, in this portion of the temptation, he still keeps this in view. "Mark all these lands and cities," he says to Christ; "they are those Eastern lands which have been famous for ages; they have been possessed successively by different powers or dynasties—Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Græco-Macedonian; and now, for some ages past, they have been in possession of the Parthians. It was the great Arsaces, about 280 years ago, that first revolted from the Græco-Syrian kings, whose capital was Antioch in Syria; and his successors are still masters of all these splendid regions. These famous lands of the East now constitute, let me remind you, *The Parthian Empire!* Mark that; for I have a scheme to propound to you in consequence."

298—344. "*And just in time thou com'st . . . for now the Parthian king,*" &c. This episode of an actual expedition of the Parthian troops against the Scythians, as happening about the time of Christ's temptation, so as to allow a glimpse of their array and manœuvres from the mountain-top, seems to be a pure invention of the poet. We know too little of Parthian history to be able to specify its incidents in any one year, or even to give an accurate list of the Parthian kings. The invasion of the Parthian dominions by Crassus, which ended so disastrously for the Romans, took place B.C. 53, when the Parthian king was Orodes I. He was murdered and succeeded by his son Phraates IV., during whose reign (B.C. 37—A.D. 4) war was continued between the Parthians and the Romans; but latterly terms of peace were established, and four sons of Phraates were sent to Rome, as hostages, or to be educated. Murdered in turn, Phraates was succeeded by one of his sons named Phraataces, who, however, did not reign long; and from this time the affairs of Parthia appear to have gone more and more into weakness and confusion, though it was not till A.D. 226 that the empire of the Arsacidæ was nominally abolished, and a new dynasty founded in those regions by the Persian Ardashir Babegan. At the time supposed in the text, therefore, what was going on within the Parthian Empire, whether at Ctesiphon or anywhere else, is profoundly obscure; but the incident which the poet imagines—of a review of Parthian troops, preparatory to a march against invading hosts of Scythians from the north—is true to the possibility of the time; while it affords him an opportunity for a fine poetical description of those evolutions of the Parthian cavalry, shooting their arrows equally in retreat as in advance, which were so terrible to the Romans. Sogdiana, which the Scythian invaders are supposed to have wasted, was the extreme province of the Parthian Empire to the north-east, beyond the Oxus.

309. "*In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.*" All these, as Dunster explained, are ancient military terms. The "rhomb"



(ῥομβοειδὴς φύλαγξ) was an acute-angled parallelogram, with the acute angle in front; the “wedge” (ἔμβολον, or *cuneus*) was half of a rhomb, or an acute-angled triangle, with the acute angle in front; the “half-moon” was a crescent with the convex to the enemy; the “wings” (κέρατα, or *alæ*) were the extremes or flanks. Mr. Keightley says these names were used only for infantry formations.

311. “*the city-gates*,” i.e. the gates of Ctesiphon, where the muster takes place.

312, 313. “*In coats of mail . . . in mail their horses clad*.” True to the Roman accounts of the Parthian troops, according to which both horses and riders wore a kind of chain armour.

316—321. “*From Arachosia . . . to Balsara's haven*.” Another of those enumerations of well-sounding proper names of which Milton is so fond. *Arachosia* is nearly the modern Afghanistan; *Candaor* is probably the town Kandahar in Afghanistan; *Margiana* was a province on the northern frontier, adjoining the invaded Sogdiana; the “Hyrcean cliffs of Caucasus” stand for the province of *Hyrkania*, also in the north, bordering on Margiana; the “dark Iberian dales” are those of the province of *Iberia*, north of Armenia, and between the Euxine and the Caspian; *Atropatia* or *Atropatene* was part of Media proper; *Adiabene*, part of Assyria, near Nineveh; *Media* and *Susiana* explain themselves; *Balsara's haven* is the port of Balsara, or Bussorah, on the Persian Gulf.

324. “*arrowy showers*.” In the original edition “*shower*,” but with a direction, among the Errata, to change into “*showers*”—a direction not attended to in the Second Edition.

327. “*clouds of foot*.” Homer, *Iliad*, iv. 274, has νέφος πεζῶν; and Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 793, *nimbus peditum*. (Newton.)

337. “*Such forces met not*,” &c. Dunster compares *Par. Lost*, I. 574, and quotes Lucan, *Phars.* vii. 288 :—

“Coiere nec unquam  
Tam variæ cultu gentes.”

338—343. “*When Agrican . . . Charlemain*.” The romance here referred to is Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, where there is a description of the siege of Albracca, the city of Gallaphrone, King of Cathay, by Agricane, King of Tartary, in order to obtain possession of the fair Angelica, Gallaphrone's daughter, already known at Charlemagne's court and celebrated throughout the world. The numbers represented in the romance as engaged in this siege are prodigious—myriads on each side. Hence, as Warton pointed out, Cervantes in his *Don Quixote* refers to the siege very much as Milton here does: “Before



we are two hours in these crossways, we shall see armed men more numerous than those that came to Albracca, to win Angelica the Fair."

342. "*prowest*," bravest, most valiant, most approved.—*Prow* (Fr. *Preux*, Ital. *Próde*) and *Prowess* are supposed to be originally from the Latin *Probus*. Both words are found in the oldest English authors, and Spenser has the exact phrase "*prowest knight*."

343. "*Paynim*," Pagan. The two words are the same, save that *Pagan* is directly from the Latin (*Paganus*), while *Paynim* is through the French (*païen* or *payen*). *Paynim* as a noun singular, and *Paynims*, plural, are found in Robert of Gloucester.

350. "*show*": printed "*shewn*" or "*shown*" in most editions; but "*shew*" is the reading of the First.

357. "*of David's throne*," i.e. of all those dominions which had belonged to David in the palmy days of the Hebrew monarchy, before its diminution, or the division of Palestine into the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

358, 359. "*none opposite, Samaritan or Jew*," i.e. none opposing thee—neither the Jews or inhabitants of Judæa, nor the Samaritans, between whom and the Jews there had been such a mutual antipathy for generations, grounded on the fact that, in consequence of colonization since the carrying away of the Ten Tribes, the Samaritans were not a pure Hebrew race. Palestine consisted now of three political divisions—Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee; but, as the Galileans went with the Jews in the main, they are not here distinguished.

361, 362. "*Between two such enclosing enemies, Roman and Parthian*." Satan is now explaining more exactly the scheme he has been keeping in reserve. After having shown Christ the Parthian Empire and its resources, he bids him remember that the whole power of the world is then divided between that Empire and the Romans. The Parthians are in the ascendant in the east and the Romans in the west; these two are the rival powers; all others hold by these or are insignificant. Now in what state is Palestine—that country to the political deliverance and resuscitation of which Christ might be looking forward? Since B.C. 65, when the empire of the Seleucidæ was destroyed by Pompey, Syria, as a whole, had been annexed to the Roman Empire; but in Judæa, by sufferance of the Romans, the native dynasty of the Asmonæans or Maccabees (see previous note, lines 165—170) had continued to hold the kingly and priestly power for some time longer. The last prince but one of this dynasty was Hyrcanus II. (B.C. 78—40). Owing to disputes for the throne between him and his brother Aristobulus, the Romans did interfere in Jewish affairs; and Jerusalem, where Aristobulus had shut himself up, was besieged and taken by Pompey (B.C. 63).

Aristobulus was sent prisoner to Rome; and Hyrcanus was left in possession under Roman protection. But Antigonus, a son of Aristobulus, renewing the civil war, called in the aid of the Parthians, who were then trying to wrest Syria from the Romans. With their aid he dispossessed his uncle Hyrcanus, B.C. 40, and assumed the kingly title. The real power in Palestine, however, had passed by this time to the family of Antipater, the Idumæan, who, nominally the prime minister of Hyrcanus II., had actually governed for him. Antipater and his son Herod, whom he had made governor of Galilee, had been careful to ingratiate themselves with the Romans; and, going to Rome, Herod had little difficulty in obtaining from the Senate a grant of the kingdom of Judæa for himself. Antigonus, though backed by the Parthians, was unable to hold his place against Herod, thus backed by the Romans; he was taken and put to death, B.C. 37; and with him ended the dynasty of the Asmonæans or Maccabees, though scions of the family still remained, one of whom was Mariamne, the wife of Herod. With Herod, called **HEROD THE GREAT**, began a new dynasty in Palestine, which may be called the Idumæan dynasty. Herod's dominions included not only all Palestine proper, consisting of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, but also some adjoining regions; and, though, in the civil war between Augustus and Antony, he took the side of Antony, he afterwards managed to pacify Augustus, and retained his dominions till his death. This event occurred B.C. 4; for, though Christ was born in the last year of Herod's reign (Matt. i.), our chronology dates the Christian era from a point later by four years than the actual year of Christ's birth so fixed. On Herod's death, his dominions were divided, by his will, between two of his sons—**ARCHELAUS** taking the southern part, including Judæa and Samaria; and **HEROD ANTIPAS** (the "Herod" who caused John the Baptist to be beheaded) the northern part, including Galilee. The Romans, however, as the real masters, modified this arrangement, giving a certain share to **PHILIP**, Herod's son by Mariamne; and at length (A.D. 7) they deposed and banished Archelaus, and converted Judæa and Samaria into a Roman province, to be governed by "procurators" under the prefects of Syria. Pontius Pilate was procurator from A.D. 26, to A.D. 36, Galilee and other northern parts of Palestine remaining with Herod Antipas, who governed them as "tetrarch."—All in all, then, "David's throne," or that region which had formed the Hebrew monarchy in its palmy state, was now a fragment of the Roman Empire—the Romans viewing Palestine as a mere fraction of their rich Syrian prefecture. But beyond Syria were the Parthians, on whose empire the Romans, with all their efforts, had made little impression; and Syria itself was a kind of debateable land between the Romans and the Parthians. Here the two rival empires met; and, as often as the Romans tried to invade the Parthians, the Parthians retaliated by covering Syria with their clouds of horse. For an independent power to spring up, therefore, in Syria, and hold its own against two such great empires

nipping it between them, was all but impossible. So Satan represents to Christ ; and he then goes on to suggest that the best means of attaining the object which he supposes Christ to have in view will be to make alliance with one of the two rival powers. The real ingenuity of the policy so suggested is brought out, I think, by the historical circumstances which have been explained in this and previous notes.

363—368. "*the Parthian first . . . Antigonus and old Hyrcanus . . . maugre the Roman.*" Satan suggests that it may be better to try first what may be done through a Parthian alliance—first, because the Parthians are nearer and may be more easily negotiated with ; and, secondly, because recent events have shown both the willingness and the power of the Parthians to make a stroke against the Romans in Syria and Palestine. Here, however, well acquainted as Milton shows himself to be with the history of the Jews from the time of the Maccabees downwards, and aptly as he uses his knowledge, he falls into a slight error. The Parthians had certainly carried away "old Hyrcanus," *i.e.* Hyrcanus II., maugre the Roman (see preceding note) ; but they had never carried away Antigonus—who, on the contrary, had been the one to avail himself of the aid of the Parthians against his uncle Hyrcanus, and had been kept on the throne of Judæa three years by that aid (see preceding note). Satan's advice to Christ, in fact, is that he should repeat the feat of Antigonus. If he were to divulge to the Parthians his claims, by descent, to the throne of David—claims so much better than those of the Asmonæans, who, after all, were originally but heroic interlopers—might not the Parthians espouse his cause, and do even more for him than they had done for Antigonus ? This would be a beginning, and the rest would depend on himself. The reign of Antigonus had been but a short one—the Romans taking him in spite of the Parthians, and putting him to death (B.C. 37) to make way for Herod.—"Old Hyrcanus" may very well be called so ; for, though dispossessed by Antigonus, and carried away by the Parthians, B.C. 40—his ears having been cut off by order of Antigonus that he might be disqualified by that mutilation from ever being again High Priest—he returned to Jerusalem, and lived there under the protection of Herod till B.C. 30, when Herod, fearing a revival of the Asmonæan dynasty, put him to death at the age of eighty. Mariamne was the granddaughter of Hyrcanus.

370. "*by conquest or by league.*" Though *league* with the Parthians would be the more natural plan, the plan might be, if Christ preferred it, a *conquest* of the Parthian Empire in the first place, so as to be able to wield its resources against Rome. Anyhow only through these resources of Parthia could the enterprise succeed.

372—376. "*That which alone can truly reinstall thee . . . deliverance of thy brethren, those Ten Tribes,*" &c. Here is a farther development of Satan's plan, the splendid ingenuity of which has not, I think, been sufficiently noted. Not only on general grounds might one say that

only through Parthian influence could Syria and Palestine be wrested from Rome; but the very instrumentality by which the enterprise could be most nobly undertaken lay lodged within the Parthian Empire. For was it not "in Halah and in Hebor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes" (2 Kings xviii. 11), that Shalmanezar, King of Assyria, had put the Ten Tribes of Israel when he carried them away captive; and were not these cities now in the territories of the Parthians? To search out in those districts the offspring of the long-lost Ten Tribes, still serving there; to rouse and liberate them, or procure their liberation—what greater exploit could there be than this in itself, or through what agency would the farther exploit of the restoration of the Hebrew monarchy be more likely?

377. "*Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph.*" The ten captive tribes of Israel were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Ephraim, and Manasseh—the first eight being Jacob's sons, and the last two Joseph's. It has been objected that the text is therefore incorrect—that it should have been "*Eight sons of Jacob, two of Joseph.*" But it is correct enough. Joseph, being represented in Ephraim and Manasseh, brings the number of Jacob's sons concerned up to nine; and the tenth is Levi, many of whose descendants, the Levites, were, of course, carried away, mixed with the other tribes. The tribes left in Palestine were those of Judah and Benjamin, with Levites mixed with *them*.

384. "*From Egypt to Euphrates.*" Such is the extent of dominion promised to the seed of Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), and such is said to have been the extent of the Hebrew dominion under David and Solomon (1 Kings iv. 21).

394, 395. "*prediction else will unpredict (i.e. cancel itself), and fail me (disappoint me) of the throne*": said with reference to Satan's words at lines 354—356.

409—412. "*When thou stood'st up his tempter,*" &c. See 1 Chron. xxi. 1—14, where it is said, "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel," and the consequences are stated.

416—418. "*calves, the deities of Egypt, Baal next, and Ashtaroth,*" &c. The golden calves which Jeroboam set up for worship at Bethel and in Dan are supposed by some to have been in imitation of the animal-gods of the Egyptians; for the rest see 1 Kings xvi. 32, 1 Kings xi. 5, and 2 Kings xvii.

431, 432. "*let them serve,*" &c. Jer. v. 19. (Dunster.)

433—439. Isaiah xi. 15, 16. (Newton.)

## B O O K IV.

4--6. "*and the persuasive rhetoric that . . . won so much on Eve, so little here, nay lost.*" The construction is "and the persuasive rhetoric that won so much on Eve, being so little (or winning so little) *here* (i.e. with Christ), nay, being wholly lost or thrown away."

10--14. "*as a man who had been matchless held,*" &c. It is a shrewd guess of Dunster's that Milton may have thought here of his own antagonist, Salmasius.

15--17. "*Or as a swarm of flies,*" &c. Thyer compares *Iliad*, II. 469, Jortin *Iliad*, XVI. 641, and Dunster *Iliad*, XVII. 570.

18. "*Or surging waves,*" &c. Dunster compares *Æn.* VII. 586; but the image is a frequent one in poets.

25. "*the western side*"; for the coming vision is to be in that direction, and no longer over the Parthian dominions.

27--31. "*Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,*" i.e. the whole long strip of Italy, west of the Apennines—made visible, at such a distance as is suggested in the sequel, by mysterious means.—"*washed by the southern sea,*" i.e. the Tyrrhene Sea . . . "*backed with a ridge of hills,*" i.e. the Apennines.

31. "*thence,*" i.e. from the Apennines.

32, 33. "*off whose banks on each side,*" &c. I have ventured on a slight amendment in the text. The original and all other editions read "*of whose banks on each side,*" &c. The construction thus arising is awkward in itself—"of whose banks on each side" being a very unusual phrase for "on each side of whose banks"; and it gives a confused meaning—for how could one speak of an imperial city standing on each *side* of the *banks* of a river? I have little doubt that Milton dictated "off;" which, indeed, is but an emphatic form of "of."

33--39. "*an imperial city,*" &c. The city is, of course, Rome. Mr Keightley suggests that the poet is by no means careful, in his description of the city, to give only those features which were true of the Rome of the time of Tiberius, but includes some of the splendours of its state under the later emperors.—*presented* in line 38 connects itself with *city* in line 33.

40--42. "*By what strange parallax,*" &c. It was, of course, by some miracle or magical illusion that Rome could be seen from a mountain-top in Asia, and seen raised above the height of all intervening mountains. How it was done Milton declines to explain—whether



by some "strange parallax . . . multiplied through air," *i.e.* some strange atmospheric refraction causing an apparent elevation of the position of the object; or by "optic skill of vision," as in the use of a telescope. "Parallax" in astronomy is the difference between the position of a heavenly body as actually observed and its position as it would be seen from an assumed central point to which reference is made. Thus the parallax of the moon, the sun, or any of the planets is the difference between its position as seen from the earth's surface and its position as it would be seen from the earth's centre; while the parallax of a fixed star is the difference between its place as seen from the earth and its place as it would be seen from the centre of the sun. In either case the parallax is measured by the small angle made by two lines drawn to the object—one from the actual point of observation, the other from the centre of ideal observation. But Milton uses the word simply in its original etymological sense of "alternation" or "variation" (*παράλλαξις*); and perhaps the image he has in view is that suggested by the familiar experiment of the apparent raising of a coin in a basin, so as to make it visible farther off over the intervening edges, by merely pouring water into the basin.—The means by which Satan showed Christ all the glories of the world from the mountain-top was actually a subject of speculation among Biblical commentators, some of whom suggested that optical instruments might have been used.

50—54. "*Mount Palatine, the imperial palace . . . turrets . . . glittering spires.*" Here again Milton makes poetry overbear chronology and history. It was not till Nero's time that there was any such very splendid palace on the Palatine; and "turrets" and "spires" were hardly features of Roman architecture.

57. "*My aery microscope.*" An acknowledgment that some magical art was used for the vision. There is a propriety of the word "microscope" here, on account of the smallness of the objects to be mentioned next.

66. "*turms of horse and wings.*" *Turma* was the Latin word for a troop of horse, consisting of thirty or more; a wing would consist of several "turms."

68, 69. "*on the Appian road, or on the Æmilian,*" &c. The Appian road led from Rome to the south of Italy; the Æmilian to the north. It would be by the Appian way, therefore, that embassies from the south would approach Rome; from the north they would come by the Æmilian.

69—79. "*farthest south . . . Syene . . . the Tauric pool.*" Another of Milton's geographical enumerations. *Syene*, a town in Egypt, on the borders of Ethiopia, and accounted the southernmost bound of the Roman Empire; "*Meroe*," an island and city of ancient celebrity on the Nile in Ethiopia, far to the south of Syene, and within the tropics, so



that twice a year the sun would cross it vertically, changing the directions of the shadows of objects; "*The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea*," i.e. the inland kingdom of Gætulia in northern Africa (whose king, Bocchus, was the father-in-law of Jugurtha, King of Numidia, and betrayed him into the hands of the Romans), and also the adjoining kingdoms (Numidia, Mauritania, &c.) towards the Mauritanian or Moorish sea. Observe the dexterity of the parenthesis which reminds Christ that among the embassies from Asian kings were some from those very Parthians of whose resources he has just had a survey.—"*golden Chersoness*" (*Aurea Chersonesus*), Malacca in the East Indies; "*utmost Indian isle, Taprobanè*," i.e. Ceylon.—After glancing *southwards* to Africa, and then *eastwards* to Asia, there is a sweep of the eye over Europe; first *westwards* from Italy to Gaul, Spain (represented by the city of Gades or Cadiz), and Britain; then *northwards* to Germany, Scythia, and the Sarmatian regions beyond the Danube as far as "*the Tauric pool*," i.e. the lake Mæotis or sea of Azof.

70. "*both way*." We should now say "both ways," but as the word "*falls*" follows, Milton probably desired to get rid of the *s*.

76. "*turbants*." So in the original, and it is a frequent form in old writers. Milton uses it in his prose. It is the Italian form, *turbante*: the form *turban* is French.

84, 85. "*thou justly may'st prefer before the Parthian*": hardly consistent with what had been previously advised and declared by the speaker (III. 362—368, and 371). But it is the Serpent who is speaking.

85—89. "*these two thrones except*," &c. See preceding notes, III. 269—293, 294—297, and 361, 362.

90. "*This Emperor*": Tiberius.

95. "*a wicked favourite*": Sejanus.

102. "*A victor-people free from servile yoke*." In the original edition this line is spoilt by a comma after "*victor*"; but among the Errata there is a direction to remove it—a direction not attended to in the Second and various subsequent editions.

115. "*citron tables or Atlantic stone*." Citron-wood, from Mount Atlas, was much prized for the beauty of its veining and polish. Atlantic stone is probably Numidian marble.

117, 118. "*wines of Setia*," &c. The first three kinds of wine mentioned—that of Setia, that of Cales, and that of Falernus—were native Italian wines, grown near Rome; the wine of the Greek island of Chios, and that of Crete, were among the best imported wines.

119. "*myrrhine cups*." Myrra or Myrrha seems to have been the Roman name for porcelain. Propertius, in a passage quoted by

Newton (iv. v. 26), has "myrrheaque in Páthis pocula cocta focus," i.e. "myrrhine cups baked in Parthian fires." The porcelain, though only coming *through* Persia from China, was perhaps supposed, Mr. Keightley suggests, to be of Persian manufacture.

136. "*Peeling*," i.e. stripping or pillaging. *Pill* or *peel* was used in this sense: "a nation scattered and peeled" is a phrase in the English Bible, Isaiah xviii. 2.

142. "*the daily scene*." The daily frequenting of theatres. Mr. Browne suspects an allusion to the revived popularity of the stage in London after the Restoration.

147, 148. "*it shall be like a tree*," &c. Dan. iv. 11. (Newton.)

149, 150. "*a stone that shall*," &c. See Dan. ii. 44 (Newton), and Ps. ii. 9 (Todd).

151. "*And of my kingdom*," &c. Luke i. 33. (Newton.)

166—169. "*On this condition*," &c. Matt. iv. 9.

175—177. "*It is written*," &c. Matt. iv. 10.

185, 186. "*King of kings*," &c. 1 Tim. vi. 15, and Rom. ix. 5. (Dunster.)

201. "*Tetrarchs*," &c. So called as sharing among them the four elements. See II. 122, also *Pens.* 93, 94.

203. "*God of this World invoked and World beneath*." The connexion of *Paradise Regained* with *Paradise Lost* must never be forgotten. The feat of Satan in *Paradise Lost* was the ascent from Hell into the Starry Universe or World of Man and the annexation of that World to his empire proper of Hell beneath. Since then he has been supreme god of the two worlds—Hell and Man's Universe; recognised as such by all the inferior angels distributed among the elements with local powers. Dunster quotes 2 Cor. iv. 4.

216. "*When*," &c. Luke ii. 46.

217. "*wast*," a correction from "*was*" in the original edition.

219. "*Moses' chair*." Matt. xxiii. 2. (Newton.)

234. "*idolisms*," peculiar opinions or prejudices: a word apparently of Milton's own coining. Mr. Keightley suggests that he may have had Bacon's "*idola*" in his mind. See *Sams. Ag.* 453.

235. "*his own arms*." A remarkable instance of *his* where we should now say *its*.

236. "*this specular mount*." Compare *Paradise Lost*, XII. 588, 589.

240. "*the eye of Greece*." Newton notes, "Demosthenes calls Athens somewhere *the eye of Greece*, ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος; but I cannot at present recollect the place. In Justin it is called one of the *two* eyes of Greece,

Sparta being the other (Lib. v. c. 8)." Dunster adds "I cannot discover the passage in Demosthenes referred to by Bishop Newton. Thysius, in a note on Justin (Lib. ii. c. 6, *Ed. Varior.*) and on a passage of Valerius Maximus (*Ed. Varior.* Lib. i. c. 6; *Exempl. Extern.* 1), notices that Athens is mentioned by Demosthenes under this description, *the eye of Greece*; but no reference is made to the particular passage." The image, Dunster goes on to say, is mentioned in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. It has been repeated frequently in modern times. Thus the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been called the two eyes of England; while Ben Jonson called Edinburgh

"The heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye,"

London, of course, being the first.

241, 242. "*native . . . or hospitable*," i.e. either producing them or giving them welcome.

244—246. "*the olive-grove of Academe, Plato's retirement*," &c. The following is Mr. Grote's account of this celebrated place:—"The spot selected by Plato for his lectures or teaching was a garden adjoining the precinct sacred to the Hero Hekadêmus or Akadêmus, distant from the gate of Athens called Dipylon somewhat less than a mile, on the road to Eleusis, towards the north. In this precinct there were both walks, shaded by trees, and a gymnasium for bodily exercise: close adjoining, Plato either inherited or acquired a small dwelling-house and garden, his own private property" (*Plato, and the other Companions of Sokrates*, i. 122). The chief trees in this spot were the *μυρία* or "sacred olives."—The "*Attic bird*" is the nightingale, so called either because of the abundance of nightingales in Attica (especially at Colonos, as we gather from a famous chorus in Sophocles) or in recollection of the legend of the Athenian princess Philomela, who was changed into a nightingale. It has been objected by Mr. Keightley that the notion of the nightingale singing "*the summer long*" is contrary to fact.

247—249. "*Hymettus*," &c. A mountain near Athens, famous for its honey.

249, 250. "*Ilissus rolls his whispering stream*." The scene of Plato's *Phædrus* is on the banks of the Ilissus. Mr. Keightley notes "It *rolls* only in the poet's imagination, like Siloa and Cedron." (*Par. Lost*, III. 30.)

250—253. "*Within the walls then view . . . Lyceum . . . Stoa*." The Lyceum was the school of Aristotle, who had been Alexander's tutor. The Stoa was a portico in Athens, built after the Persian war, and decorated with paintings of scenes of the war: it became the lecturing-place of Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoics. Milton is wrong in placing the Lyceum within the walls; it was a little way out of town, on the eastern side.

254. "*There*," i.e. at Athens.

257. "*Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes*," i.e. Greek lyric poetry generally. Æolian charms (*charm* for "*carmen*," a song, as in *Par. Lost*, IV. 642) are the songs or lyrics of Alcæus and Sappho, who used the Æolic dialect; Pindar and other lyric poets used the Doric. "*Æolian charm*" is a literal translation of "*Æolium carmen*" in Hor. *Od.* III. xxx. 13.

258, 259. "*his who gave them breath . . . blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called*." Milton makes Homer the true father even of Greek Lyric poetry. According to the *Life of Homer* attributed to Herodotus, he was called *Melesigenes*, because born on the banks of the Meles in Ionia; but subsequently he was called *Homer*, on account of his blindness (ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν, "the blind man").

"260. "*Whose poem*," &c. Alluding, says Bishop Newton, to a Greek epigram in the first Book of the *Anthologia*, where Apollo is made to say—

Ἦέδον μὲν ἐγὼν, ἐχάρασσε δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος.  
('Twas I that sang; Homer but wrote it down.)

261—266. "*the lofty grave Tragedians*," &c. A singularly exact description of the Greek tragic poetry in so brief a space. Its two parts are Chorus in mixed verses and Dialogue in Iambics. The reference in "brief sententious precepts" may be chiefly to Milton's favourite, Euripides, who is called by Quintilian "*sententiis densus*," i.e. "thick with maxims."

268—271. "*Those ancient*," &c. The older Greek orators, such as Pericles and Demosthenes, were the greatest. It is these two that Milton is chiefly thinking of—Demosthenes being the one who fulminated over Greece to Macedon; Pericles the one whose fulminations reached the throne of Artaxerxes, or Persia. These four lines, I may mention, were a favourite quotation of a man of recent times more than usually entitled to appropriate them to himself—Dr. Chalmers.

273—276. "*the low-roofed house of Socrates*." In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes the house of Socrates is called οἰκίδιον, "a housey;" and Xenophon, as Newton noted, makes Socrates say of his house, that he believed, if he were lucky in a purchaser, he might get five minæ for it and all it contained.

275, 276. "*the oracle pronounced wisest of men*." Socrates is himself made, in Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, to tell the story of this oracular response. His friend and admirer Chærephon had asked at the oracle of Delphi the question whether anyone was wiser than Socrates of Athens, and had received the answer that none was wiser—which greatly perplexed Socrates, till he found out what the God probably meant. This was that, whereas most other men thought they possessed know-

ledge, he was pre-eminent in this—that he was firmly convinced of the deficiency of his knowledge. The precise words of the oracle are said, by tradition, to have been these :—

Ἄνδρῶν πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

(Of all men Socrates the wisest is.)

277—280. “*all the schools of Academics old and new*”: i.e. the original Academy of Plato (died B.C. 347) and its continuations, the Middle Academy, founded by Arcesilas (died B.C. 271), and the Later Academy, founded by Carneades, of Cyrene in Africa (died B.C. 128); “*with those surnamed Peripatetics*,” i.e. the disciples of Aristotle (died B.C. 322), called “the Peripatetic” from his habit of walking up and down in the Lyceum when teaching; “*and the sect Epicurean*,” founded by Epicurus (died B.C. 270); “*and the Stoic severe*,” or followers of Zeno (died B.C. 264). All these schools did derive themselves from the teaching of Socrates, who was the real father of the whole Greek philosophic movement.

286, 287. “*or, think I know them not, not therefore*,” &c. The meaning is “or, should you think I know them not, not therefore,” &c. I have pointed so as to bring out this meaning.

291—308. “*But these are false*,” &c. In this passage we have a less sympathetic appreciation by Milton of the worth of the various systems of Greek speculation than was to be expected; but what he has in view is their shortcoming of the higher wisdom offered by Christianity. The “first and wisest” is Socrates (see preceding note, lines 275, 276). “The next” who “fell to fabling and smooth conceits” is Plato—of whose spirit Milton himself had far more than this estimate would suggest. The “third sort” are the Sceptics, or followers of Pyrrho. The “others,” who placed happiness in virtue joined with wealth and long life, are perhaps the Aristotelians. The “*he*” is Epicurus—not worth naming again in full. It is notable that the Stoics are described most at length—perhaps, as Thyer suggested, on account of their superior ethical claims.

302, 303. “*all possessing, equal to God, oft shames not to prefer*.” This passage is read variously and pointed variously in different editions. I keep the original pointing, which gives the sense clearly enough as follows :—“The Stoic who, dwelling on his ideal of a virtuous man, wise, perfect in himself, and possessing all equal to God, is often not ashamed to prefer him to God,” &c.

316, 317. “*usual names, Fortune and Fate*.” Such terms were frequent with the Stoics.

320, 321. “*her false resemblance . . . an empty cloud*.” In allusion, as Newton noted, to the story of Ixion, who, thinking to meet Juno, met a cloud substituted for her by Jupiter.



321, 322. "*many books . . . are wearisome.*" Eccles. xii. 12. (Newton.)

324. "*A spirit and judgment,*" &c. A remarkably anomalous line, consisting of twelve or even thirteen syllables.

329. "*worth a sponge,*" i.e. deserving to be sponged out or obliterated.

330. "*As children gathering pebbles on the shore.*" In the original edition and in the second *pebbles* is spelt *pibles*. All know the story of Sir Isaac Newton's saying about himself that he was but as a child playing on the sea-shore and amusing himself with pebble after pebble, and shell after shell, while the great ocean of truth stretched unfathomable away from him. Had Newton read Milton's line, or was it a coincidence?

336, 337. "*in Babylon that pleased,*" &c. Ps. cxxxvii. (Newton.)

338. "*rather Greece from us,*" &c. It was a favourite speculation of the old theologians—never tenable, and now given up—that whatever was true or good among other ancient nations had been derived from the Hebrews.

341. "*personating,*" representing.

346—350. "*unworthy to compare with Sion's songs,*" &c. In Milton's *Reason of Church Government* there is a similar passage, where, after speaking of "those magnificent odes and hymns" of the Greek poets which he admired for some things, though thinking them "in their matter most and end faulty," he refers to "those frequent songs throughout the Law and Prophets" as "beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition."

351. "*Unless where,*" &c. The connexion is with line 346, "unworthy to compare . . . unless where," &c.

353—356. "*as those the top of eloquence,*" i.e. as those who were the top, &c.

354. "~~statists~~, ~~statesmen~~. The word had formerly this sense. Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Cymb.* II. 4, "Statist though I am none."

362. "*makes a nation happy and keeps it so.*" A recollection of Horace, *Epist.* I. vi. 47, "*facere et servare beatum.*" (Richardson.)

380. "*fulness of time.*" Gal. iv. 4. (Newton.)

382. "*contrary,*" on the contrary.

383—385. "*by what the stars voluminous,*" &c. The meaning is, 'by what I can read or spell out in the aspects of the starry heavens—whether the volumes (i.e. books) of the stars collectively, or single characters (individual planets) met in conjunction.'

387. "*Attends thee.*" So in the original; not "attend," as in most editions. The line is conspicuous, whether purposely or not, for its



hissing effect, arising from the frequency of *s* in it. So, indeed, the three lines 386—388.

391, 392. "*as without end, without beginning,*" *i.e.* as without end, so without beginning.

392, 393. "*no date prefixed directs me,*" &c. An image derived from the Prayer-book; the Rubric or red-letter Calendar prefixed to which gives the dates of the festival-days.

399. "*unsubstantial both,*" *i.e.* nothing in themselves, but only effects of the absence of light.

409, 410. "*either tropic,*" *i.e.* both north and south; "both ends of heaven," both east and west.—In the description of the storm which here begins and which extends to line 419, Newton, Richardson, and Dunster have traced shreds from similar descriptions in the *Æneid* and other poems. Milton wrote, I believe, with no idea of such patchwork.

411. "*abortive,*" as not conducing to production.

414. "*their stony caves.*" In the old mythology the winds were supposed to be kept in caves by the god Æolus.

415. "*the four hinges of the world.*" The four cardinal points; from *cardo*, a hinge.

419—425. "*ill wast thou shrouded then,*" &c. Warburton and Jortin suggested that in this passage Milton may have remembered the legend of the Temptation of St. Anthony in the Desert, or even pictures he had seen on that subject. Calton believed that he took hints from a description of Christ's Temptation in Eusebius, *De Dem. Evan.*—Dunster quotes from Tasso (*Ger. Lib. xvi. 67*) his description of the demons gathered round Armida in a storm:—

" Quanto gira il palagio udresti irati  
Sibili, ed urli, e fremiti, e latrati " :

Translated by Fairfax thus:—

" You might have heard how through the palace wide  
Some spirits howled, some barked, some hissed, some cried."

420. "*only,*" alone.

427. "*amice,*" robe; properly a priest's vestment fastened round the neck and covering the shoulders: from the Latin *amictus*, a garment. Dunster quotes the word from Spenser; and in Richardson's *Dict.* there is this quotation from Tyndall: "The amice on the head is the kercheve that Christ was blyndfolded with, when the souldieus buffeted him and mocked hym."

429. "*chased the clouds.*" A translation, as Thyer observed, of Virgil's *collectasque fugat nubes*, in his similar description of the laying of a storm. (*Æn. i. 143.*)

434—438. "*the birds . . . gratulate the sweet return of morn.*" In a Latin oratorical exercise of Milton during his days of Cambridge studentship, on the odd subject of the respective merits of Day and Night ("*Utrum Dies an Nox præstantior sit?*"), there are passages of description similar to some in this place. Thus, "How pleasant and desirable Day is to the race of living things what need is there to expound to you, when the very birds themselves cannot conceal their joy, but, leaving their little nests, as soon as it has dawned, either soothe all things by their sweetest song of concert from the tops of trees, or balancing themselves upward, fly as near as they can to the sun, eager to congratulate the returning light?"

449. "*in wonted shape.*" In his usual shape, no longer disguised.

454. "*flaws.*" See *Par. Lost*, X. 698 and note.—Mr. Ross annotates here:—"That it is derived from the Latin *flatus* is a mistake. It is from the same Teutonic root as *flag* and *flake*, and denotes a break, or crack, or sudden blast. The Swedish phrase for a 'flaw of wind' is a *vind-flaga*."

455. "*pillared frame of Heaven.*" Job xxvi. 11. (Thyer.) Compare *Comus*, 597 *et seq.*

457—459. "*Are to the main as inconsiderable,*" &c. : *i.e.* "are as inconsiderable to the physical universe, or sum-total of things, called the *macrocosm*, as a sneeze is to man's individual body, which is sometimes called the *microcosm*, or little universe." Satan has just said that, during the storm of the preceding night, he was himself far-off—away at such a distance in the physical universe that he could hear the roar going on without being in it.

467—475. "*Did I not tell thee . . . time and means.*" Dunster notes, "Here is something to be understood after *Did I not tell thee?* The *thing told* we may suppose to be what Satan had before said, Book III. 351 :—

" 'Thy kingdom, though foretold  
By prophet or by angel, unless thou  
Endeavour, as thy father David did,  
Thou never shalt obtain ;' &c."

There is certainly, as Dunster says, a sense of a deficiency of some words in the passage as it stands ; for, though the syntax is complete if we connect line 467 with line 473, and read "*Did I not tell thee . . . thou shalt be what thou art ordained,*" &c., the meaning so resulting is not perfect. This gives interest to a note of Mr. Browne's on the passage. "There is," says Mr. Browne, "a copy of this Poem [the First Edition of *Par. Reg.*] in the King's Library [British Museum] carefully corrected throughout, apparently at the date of publication, in accordance with the printed directions [*i.e.* according to the printed list

of Errata]. At this place, in the same handwriting, occurs the following alteration, for which those directions give no authority :—

“ ‘ Did I not tell thee, soon thou shalt have cause  
To wish thou never hadst rejected thus  
The perfect season offered, with my aid  
To win thy destined seat, prolonging still  
All to the push of Fate? Pursue thy way,’ &c.”

478—480. “*What I foretold thee*,” &c. See *antè*, line 374 *et seq.*

500. “*virgin-born*” : said sarcastically.

502. “*have heard*.” So in the original, but altered into “*had*” in most editions.

511. “*flocked*.” So in the original, but changed into “*flock*” in many editions.

517. “*which*,” *i.e.* “which phrase.”

519. “*stands*,” continues, endures.

533, 534. “*a rock of adamant*,” *i.e.* of diamond. The word also meant *steel*; but it originally meant simply “unsubduable” (from a priv., *ἀπαύω*, I subdue), and was transferred by metaphor to these substances.

534. “*as a centre, firm*” : from the notion of the necessary stability of the centre of any sphere. Dunster quotes a similar expression from Chaucer’s *Squire’s Tale* : “Of his couráge, as any centre, stable.”—In all the modern editions there is a semicolon after “*firm*” ; but there is no point at all in the original edition. Nor is it necessary ; for, instead of reading “both wise and good to the utmost of mere man,” we may construe “firm, as a rock of adamant and as a centre, to the utmost of a mere man who is both wise and good.”

542. “*hippogrif*” : in allusion to Ariosto’s Hippogrif, or winged horse, in the *Orlando Furioso*.

549. “*the highest pinnacle*.” Matt. iv. 5, and Luke iv. 9. In Matthew this incident of the Temptation occurs in the middle ; in Luke it comes last. Milton follows Luke. The word *πτερύγιον*, which in both places is rendered “pinnacle” in our version, meant rather the parapet or ridge of the roof, spires and pinnacles in our sense hardly belonging to ancient architecture. Clearly, however, what Milton imagines is the very point of a spire : hence he makes it an equal miracle to stand there or to escape thence unhurt.

554. “*progeny*,” descent, pedigree.

556. “*it is written*,” &c. Ps. xci. 11, 12.

560, 561. “*Also it is written*,” &c. Deut. vi. 16.

561. “*and stood*” : thus proving his divine power. *Stood* is emphatic, as also *fell* in the next line.

563. "*As when Earth's son, Antæus (to compare small things with greatest),*" &c. Twice in *Par. Lost* (II. 921, and X. 306) Milton has used this phrase from Virgil in introducing comparisons; and it occurs also in his Latin poems. Two comparisons are here brought in to illustrate Satan's fall from the pinnacle—that of the great Antæus, the son of Terra and Neptune, who, wrestling with Hercules (Alcides) in Irassa (a city in North Africa, where Pindar places the conflict), and always recovering from his falls by touching his mother Earth, was at length carried up into the air by the hero and there throttled; and that of the Theban Sphinx, who, when Œdipus solved her riddle, flung herself headlong from the Cadmeia, or citadel of Thebes (called here "the Ismenian steep" as being on the river Ismenus).

576. "*So, strook.*" See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 105.

581. "*So Satan fell.*" Observe that this is the fifth time that the word *fell* is introduced in the description. The poet dwells on the contrast between Satan's *falling* from the pinnacle and Christ's *standing*.

581, 582. "*a fiery globe of Angels*": literally a sphere or globular body. See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 512.

598, 599. "*enshrined,*" &c. John i. 14; 2 Cor. v. 1. (Dunster.)

600. "*whatever place*": i.e. in whatever place.

604. "*thief of Paradise.*" See *Par. Lost*, IV. 192.

605. "*debel*": war down, from the Latin *debellare*. Richardson in his *Dict.* gives an instance of the word from Warner's *Albion's England*, and instances of *debellate* and *debellation* from Bacon and Sir Thomas More.

611. "*his snares are broke.*" Ps. cxxiv. 7. (Dunster.)

612. "*be failed*": has disappeared—in allusion to the notion, assumed in *Par. Lost* (see XI. 829 *et seq.* and note), that after the fall, or at least at the Deluge, the site of Paradise was obliterated.

619. "*an autumnal star*": a meteor or falling star. These are frequent in August.

620, 621. "*or lightning,*" &c. Luke x. 18 (Newton), and Rom. xvi. 20 (Dunster).

624. "*Abaddon.*" In Rev. ix. 11, Abaddon or Apollyon is the name of the Angel of the bottomless pit; but in the Old Testament, as Mr. Keightley remarks, the word *Abaddon* (Destruction) is used for the pit itself, or as equivalent to Hell or Erebus.

628. "*thy demoniac holds,*" i.e. the terrestrial elements and all other haunts in our Universe—the expulsion of the Devils from which back to Hell was to be, according to the poem, the true consummation of Christ's victory. But there is a reference to demoniac possession of

the human body, as is shown by what follows. See Matt. viii. 28—32, and Rev. xviii. 2.

633. "*both Worlds*": Heaven, or the Empyrean World, to which the Angels who are singing belong; and the Universe, or Man's World.

634. "*Queller of Satan.*" Compare *Par. Lost*, XII. 311.

636—639. "*Thus they,*" &c. Warton thinks these four lines a rather feeble ending for the poem, and regrets that it did not end at line 635. Few will agree with him. On the contrary, the quiet ending of the poem by the private or unmarked return of Christ to his mother's house, thence to begin his mission, will seem fine to most.





NOTES TO SAMSON AGONISTES.



# SAMSON AGONISTES.

## NOTES.

PREFATORY NOTE.—It is unnecessary to give any separate account of the commentators on *Samson Agonistes*. Who they are, and in what circumstances their Notes appeared, will have been already learnt, or may now be learnt, from the Prefaces to the Notes to *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE. "*Of that sort of Dramatic Poem,*" &c. In connexion generally with this Preface, see our Introduction to the Poem, Vol. II. pp. 85—94. The following points may be noted here:—The "verse of Euripides" which St. Paul is said to have inserted into the text of Holy Scripture consists of the words "Evil communications corrupt good manners" (1 Cor. xv. 33). In the original Greek the phrase is *φθείρουσιν ἡθὴ χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί*—which is an Iambic verse, attributed by some to Euripides, and by others to the comic poet Menander, and found in the printed fragments of both.—The "Paræus" whose opinion as to the construction of the Apocalypse Milton cites, both here and in his *Reason of Church Government* (see the passage quoted from that pamphlet in our Introduction to this Poem, p. 88), was David Paræus, a German theologian and commentator on the Scriptures of high note among the Calvinists (1548—1622). There is an article on him in Bayle's *Dictionary*.—When Milton says "Though the Ancient Tragedy use no Prologue," he uses "Prologue" in its modern sense as a kind of Preface to the Play, detached from the Play itself, and intended to put the audience in good humour with it beforehand. Though the Comedians Plautus and Terence had Prologues of this kind, the ancient Tragedians had none. But, according to Aristotle (*Poetics*, chap. XII.), the Prologue in another sense was a regular part of every Tragedy, and consisted of all that part of the Tragedy which preceded the entrance of the Chorus.—In the phrase "that which Martial calls an Epistle" there is an allusion to the

"*Epistola ad Lectorem*" prefixed by Martial, by way of apology, to the First Book of his Epigrams.—The three terms of Greek Prosody introduced by Milton in his Preface, and printed in Italics—viz. *Monostrophic*, *Apolelymenon* and *Allceostrophic*—in their present connexion may be translated "Single-stanzaed," "Released from the restraint of any particular measure," and "Divers-stanzaed." Milton's purpose is to explain to prosodians the metrical structure of his choruses in *Samson*. These choruses, he says, may be called *Monostrophic*, inasmuch as they run on without division into stanzas, or into the mutually balanced parts called Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epodos in the regular musical chorus; the verse in which they are written is *Apolelymenon*, inasmuch as no particular measure is adopted, but each line is of any metre the poet likes; or, if the choruses do sometimes seem to divide themselves into stanzas or rhythmical segments, then *Allceostrophica* would be the name for them, inasmuch as the stanzas are of different metrical patterns.

4. "*There I am wont to sit*," &c. One recollects here the description given by the painter Richardson of the blind Milton's own habit in his last years. "An aged clergyman of Dorsetshire," he says, "found John Milton [in his house in Artillery Walk] in a small chamber, hung with rusty green, sitting in his arm-chair, and neatly dressed in black; pale, but not cadaverous; his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk-stones. He used also to sit, in a grey coarse cloth coat, at the door of his house, near Bunhill Fields, in warm weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as well as in his own room, received the visits of people of distinguished parts, as well as quality."

12. "*This day*," &c. Here Samson begins his soliloquy, the person who had guided him to the bank on which he was now sitting having left him to himself, as desired.

13. "*Dagon, their sea-idol*." Compare *Par. Lost*, I. 457—466, and note to that passage.

23—29. "*Oh, wherefore*," &c. See Judges, chap. xiii.

33. "*captived*," with the accent apparently on the last syllable. Newton cites the word, so accented, from Spenser (*F. Q.* II. iv. 16) and from Fairfax's *Tasso* (xix. 95).

66—109. "*But chief of all, O loss of sight*," &c. The reference, in this noble lamentation, to Milton's own great calamity will strike the reader at once; but some parts of it receive painful illustration from the domestic circumstances of Milton in his old age and blindness. Thus in connexion with the lines 75—78 it is impossible not to remember parts of the evidence given, on the occasion of the lawsuit between Milton's third wife and his three daughters by the first, as to the inheritance of his property. (See the particulars, *Introd. to Par. Lost*, pp. 67—69.)

87—89. "*silent as the Moon when,*" &c. The meaning is "as invisible as the Moon is when, from the fact that her dark side is turned to us, she seems to be out of the sky altogether, and lodged in some cave where she passes the time between the disappearance of one moon and the appearance of its successor. *Luna silens*, or "silent moon," was a Latin phrase for absence of moonlight.

111. "*steering.*" Compare *Ode on Nativity*, 146, and *Comus*, 310.

118, 119. "*carelessly diffused, with languished head,*" &c. Probably, as Thyer pointed out, a recollection from Ovid, *Epist.* III. iii. 8:

"Fusaque erant toto languida membra toro."

133. "*Chalybean-tempered.*" *Chalybéan* to be accented on the third syllable and not on the second, as some commentators suppose to be necessary. *Chalybean-tempered* is tempered like the Chalybean steel—so called from the Chalybes or Calybes, a people of Asia Minor, possessing excellent iron-mines, and celebrated as iron-workers.

134. "*Adamantean proof.*" It is doubtful whether this means "proof against adamantean weapons" or "proof as being itself adamantean." The second meaning is the likelier. *Adamant*, literally "unsubduable," usually meant steel.

138. "*Ascalonite,*" inhabitant of the Philistian city of Ascalon. See 1 Sam. vi. 17. (Newton.)

139. "*ramp*": *i.e.* spring (Fr. *ramper*, to mount). We speak yet of a lion "*rampant*," and we have the slang word "*rampageous*;" but "*rump*," both as verb and as noun, was common in old English. Spenser has it; and Milton in his *Animadversions on the Remonstrant* has the phrase, "Surely the prelates would have Saint Paul's words ramp one over another."

144. "*foreskins,*" *i.e.* uncircumcised Philistines.

145. "*In Ramath-lechi*": so called from "the casting away of the jaw-bone" there: the name implying the phrase. See Judges xv. 17.

147. "*Azza,*" or *Azzah*; same as *Gaza*. See Deut. ii. 23.

148. "*Hebron, seat of giants old.*" Hebron was the city of Arba, the father of Anak, whose children, the Anakim, were giants. See Numbers xiii. 33, and Josh. xv. 13, 14. (Newton.)

150. "*Like whom,*" *i.e.* like those giants whom, &c., to wit the Titans, and particularly Atlas.

165. "*Since man on earth,*" a classic idiom for "since man was on the earth."

172. "*the sphere of fortune*": *i.e.* the rotating 'globe on Fortune was represented as standing.

176. "*I hear the sound*," &c. The Chorus have been speaking hitherto at some distance from Samson.

181. "*From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale*": i.e. from Samson's native district in the tribe of Dan. See Josh. xv. 33 and xix. 41, and Judges xiii. 2 and 25. (Newton.)

191—193. "*In prosperous days*," &c. Perhaps from Milton's own experience after the Restoration, when, though distinguished foreigners would seek him out, his English friends were chiefly a few grave and little-known persons of his own way of thinking. Others, however, among whom was Dryden, paid him visits of respect.

209. "*drove me transverse*," i.e. out of my course, referring to the previous image of the ship.

219. "*at Timna*." See Judges xiv. 1, where the word is "Timnath."

219—226. "*she pleased me, not my parents*," &c. Judges xiv. 2—4. Perhaps there may be an allusion to Milton's own first marriage with Mary Powell, who was of a Royalist family, at the very time when he himself was a known Parliamentarian (1643).

222. "*motioned*": printed "mentioned" in the First Edition, but with a direction among the Errata to read "motioned."

227. "*She proving false*." Judges xiv. 5—20.

227—229. "*the next . . . Dalila*." Judges xvi. 4. Observe the pronunciation *Dalila*. See note, *Par. Lost*, IX. 1059—62.

241—255. "*That fault I take not on me*," &c.: with an occult reference perhaps to the conduct of those in power in England after Cromwell's death, when Milton still argued against the restoration of the King.

247. "*Used no ambition*": "ambition" here in its literal sense of "going about," or "canvassing."

252, 253. "*who then*," &c. Judges xv. 8.

263—276. "*But what more oft*," &c. A plain reference to the state of England, and to Milton's own position there, after the Restoration.

278—281. "*How Succoth*," &c. Judges viii. 5 *et seq.*

282—289. "*And how ingrateful Ephraim*," &c. Judges xii. 1 *et seq.*

297, 298. "*for of such doctrine*," &c. Ps. xiv. 1. Observe the peculiar effect of contempt given to the passage by the rapid rhythm and the sudden introduction of a rhyme in these two lines.

300—306. "*Yet more there be*," &c. Again observe the effect given in this passage by the peculiar versification, and the rhymes in the last four lines. We are reminded more of the metre in some parts of Goethe's *Faust* than of the older English metres.



318, 319. "*this heroic Nazarite*," &c. See Numb. vi. 1—21. Milton seems to think celibacy involved in the vow there described.

323—325. "*Though Reason here aver*," &c. Here, as in some of the preceding phrases, there is perhaps a hint of Milton's views of marriage, which regarded some of the current views as but so much "national obstruction." The meaning here seems to be, "Though rationally we must acquit Dalila of uncleanness, simply as being a heathen woman, yet, merely on this score, the Mosaic law did make her unclean; and we need not reason on the subject. Clean or unclean when married to Samson, she was subsequently unchaste—which, at any rate, was not his fault, if the marrying of her had been his fault." It seems to be a mere assumption that Dalila was a harlot; but Milton makes it (*P. L.* IX. 1060, 1061).

333. "*uncouth*," unknown.

336, 337. "*Your younger feet*," &c. It has been acutely remarked by Newton that this passage is artfully introduced to account for the later arrival of Samson's father than of the chorus of Danites. He had set out at once, but could not come so fast.

354. "*And such a son*": the word "And" is omitted in the First Edition, but there is a direction among the Errata to insert it.

373. "*Appoint not*," thought by some to mean "arraign not," or "blame not," according to old legal senses of the word; but perhaps simply "arrange not," according to the present sense.

390. "*scent*," spelt "*sent*" in the original, and always so spelt by Milton.

394. "*capital secret*": so in a double sense, as being the chief, and also as lying in the *head* (caput). Compare *Par. Lost*, XII. 383.

403. "*blandished*." To blandish is an old verb active, found in Chaucer.

424. "*I state not that*," *i.e.* I discuss not that.

434—439. "*This day*," &c. Judges xvi. 23.

453. "*idolists*," idolaters. See *Par. Reg.* IV. 234.

471. "*blank*," *i.e.* blanch, turn pale. Todd quotes Shakespeare, *Ham.* III. 2 :—

" Each opposite that blanks the face of joy."

496, 497. "*The mark of fool set on his front !  
But I God's secret have not kept, his holy secret*"

So printed in the original edition, and also in the Second—only eight syllables in the first line, while there are thirteen in the second. In

all recent editions the two lines are regularized by reading "But I" as part of the first line, thus—

"The mark of fool set on his front! But I  
God's secret have not kept, his holy secret."

I have preferred abiding by the original.

499—501. "*a sin that Gentiles in their parables condemn*," &c. The parables alluded to are such as that of Tantalus, condemned to Hell for divulging heavenly secrets.

516. "*what offered means who knows but*," &c. : "that offered means which who knows but," &c.—a peculiar Miltonic syntax. Mr. Keightley places a full stop at "means," and makes the next sentence interrogative, interpreting "set before us" as meaning "appointed us as a task." Besides being too arbitrary a deviation from the original pointing, this reading is harsh.

531. "*affront*," meeting face-to-face.

545. "*that cheers*," &c. Judges ix. 13, and Prov. xxiii. 31. Todd compares also *Par. Lost*, V. 633, and *Comus*, 673.

549. "*With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod*" : supposed by Dunster to be a recollection from Euripides (*Suppl.* 652)—

"Λαμπρά μὲν ἀκτὶς, ἡλίου κανὼν σαφὴς,  
Ἐβαλλε γαῖαν."

550. "*the clear milky juice*." Mr. Keightley notes as follows :— "This is certainly a strange periphrasis for pure running water. He had, however, already in *Par. Lost* (V. 306) termed water 'milky stream,' as resembling milk in sweetness; but 'juice' for fluid is surely a strong oxymoron. But he uses it with reference to the juice of the grape, to which he opposes it. He probably at this time had Æschylus read to him, who was addicted to the use of strong figures."

551. "*refreshed*," i.e. refreshed myself.

557. "*Whose drink*," &c. Samson was a Nazarite (Judges xiii. 7), and therefore under the vow of the Nazarites (Numb. vi. 2—5.)

569. "*Robustious*" : full of force. Shakespeare has the word—"a robustious periwig-pated fellow." *Ham.* III. 2.—Richardson in his *Dict.* quotes instances of "robustious" or "robustiousness" from Drayton, Ben Jonson, Fuller, and others.

571. "*craze*." See *Par. Lost*, XII. 210.

574. "*draff*," refuse grains from the brewhouse; hence, any kind of refuse. Dunster quotes from Chaucer (*Prol. to Parson's Tale*) :—

"Why shuld I sowen draff out of my fist  
When I may sowen wheat if that me list?"

581—583. "*caused a fountain . . . to spring,*" &c. Judges xv. 18, 19. In our version of this passage it is said that "God clave a hollow space" in the jaw-bone with which Samson had fought; but Newton points out that another interpretation, which Milton follows here, supposed that the hollow space was cloven in a piece of ground (or rock) called *Lehi*, or "The Jaw."

590—598. "*All otherwise,*" &c. Note the peculiar melancholy that breathes through this speech of Samson's—the singularly sorrowful cadence of the last five lines. In reading two of these, one feels as if Milton were remembering the similar two in one of Hamlet's soliloquies—

"How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable  
Seem to me all the uses of this world."

But the last line of all has a depth of its own—

"And I shall shortly be with them that rest."

600. "*humours black*": our word *melancholy* literally means "black humour" or "black bile," and preserves for us one of the notions of the old physiology, which accounted for diseases and states of the body and mind generally by the action of various kinds of "humours." This notion runs through the language of all our old writers; and Todd quotes a very apposite passage from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*:—"The spirits being darkened, and the substance of the brain cloudy and dark, all the objects thereof appear terrible, and the mind itself, by those dark, obscure, gross fumes, ascending from black humours, is in continual darkness, fear, and sorrow," &c.

605. "*healing words.*" Todd quotes the phrase from Euripides (Hippol. 478):—

"εἰσὶν δ' ἐπφθαί καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι."

610—616. "*But must,*" &c. Note the sudden rhymes in lines 610, 611, and lines 615, 616. See previous notes, lines 297, 298 and 300—306.

612. "*accidents,*" attributes, properties.

627. "*medicinal,*" in the original "*medcinal*"; and, therefore, if we spell "*medicinal,*" we must not pronounce *medicínal* as some propose, and as was common enough. *Medicinal* pronounced in our present way comes nearer Milton's metre. Todd compares *Comus*, 636.

628. "*Alp,*" used for mountain generally. See *Par. Lost*, II. 620.

632. "*swoonings,*" in the original "*swounings.*"

645. "*repeated,*" again and again made: the verb; and not, as Mr. Keightley supposes, a substitute for the adverb "repeatedly."

652—659. "*Many are the sayings,*" &c. In the original edition there is a full stop after "frail life"; but there is a direction in the Errata to

remove it. The construction is "Many are the sayings, &c., extolling patience as the truest fortitude, and many are the consolatories to the bearing well, &c., writ with studied argument, &c."

658, 659. "*with studied*," &c. Observe the rhyme. See previous note, 610—616.

659. "*Lenient of grief*." Newton quotes Horace, *Epist.* i. i. 34, "*lenire dolorem*."

667—686. Again here note the rhymes introduced—lines 668, 669, 672, 673, and 674, 675.

687—690. "*To life obscured*," &c. These four lines form a peculiar rhymed stanza. See previous note, lines 300—306.

693, 694. "*their carcasses to dogs and fowls a prey*" : a translation, as Newton observed, of a well-known phrase at the beginning of the *Iliad*.

694. "*captived*," the accent on the second syllable. See line 33 and note there.

695—702. "*Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times*," &c. There has been an occult reference all through this chorus to the wreck of the Puritan cause by the Restoration ; but in these lines the reference becomes distinct. Milton has the trials of Vane and the Regicides in his mind. He himself had been in danger of the law ; and, though he had escaped, it was to a "crude (premature) old age," afflicted by painful diseases, from which his temperate life might have been expected to exempt him. See note to line 4.

713, 714. "*Sailing like a stately ship*." The comparison of a full-dressed woman to a stately ship in full sail was, and is, common. Milton, as Todd noted, has the same image for a bishop in full canonicals. (*Of Ref. in England*.)

715, 716. "*Tarsus*" (in Cilicia) . . . "*the isles of Javan*," i.e. of Greece or Ionia . . . "*Gadire*," Gades in Spain.

720. "*amber scent*," i.e. scent of grey amber or ambergris. See note *Par. Reg.* II. 344.

748. "*hyæna*." This beast was said to deceive people to its den by cries like those of the human voice in distress. Todd quotes from Ben Jonson (*Fox*, iv. 2) :—

" Out, thou chameleon harlot ! Now thine eyes  
Vie tears with the hyæna."

759—762. "*That wisest and best men*," &c., Milton himself among them ; whose reconciliation with his first wife, in July or August 1645, after her desertion of him for about two years, is thus described by his nephew Phillips : "One time above the rest, he making his usual visit [at the house of a relative, named Blackborough, living in St. Martin's-

le-Grand], the wife was ready in another room, and on a sudden he "was surprised to see one whom he thought to have never seen more, 'making submission, and begging pardon on her knees before him. 'He might probably at first make some show of aversion and rejection; but partly his own generous nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to perseverance in anger and revenge, and partly the 'strong intercession of friends on both sides, soon brought him to an 'act of oblivion and firm league of peace for the future." The wife returned to her husband's house, and lived with him about seven years, bearing him three daughters before her death in 1652. Whether the reunion was as irksome as that described in the text can also be inferred: too probably it was.

778—789. "*Was it not weakness also,*" &c. The strain here much resembles that of Eve's speech to Adam, *Par. Lost*, IX. 1155 *et seq.*

785. "*parle*": treaty, negotiation. So Shakespeare, *Ham.* I. 1:—

"So frowned he once, when, in an angry *parle*,  
He smote the scolded Polacks on the ice."

840. "*Knowing . . . by thee betrayed*": i.e. knowing myself to be betrayed by thee. See the same idiom, *Par. Lost*, IX. 792.

850, 851. "*Thou know'st,*" &c. Judges xvi. 5.

934. "*Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms*": with a thought of Circe and the Sirens.

936. "*adder's wisdom*": a recollection, as Newton has pointed out, of Ps. lviii. 4, 5: "They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely."

939. "*could,*" so in the original, but altered into "*couldst*" in most of the editions since.

950. "*To thine*": compared to thine.

971—974. "*Fame,*" &c. The manner in which Fame is personified and equipped here seems due to Milton's own imagination. In Chaucer's *House of Fame* Fame is a goddess, attended by the wind-god Æolus, with two trumpets—one a black trumpet of foul brass, which may be called the Infamy or Slander trumpet; the other a gold trumpet, or trumpet of Praise. In the "*contrary blast*" Milton remembers this; but he makes Fame, or Rumour a god, and gives him also wings of opposite colours, on *both* of which the greatest names and reputations are carried as Fame flies.—There is a striking personification of Rumour or Fame as a goddess in Milton's Latin poem *In Quintum Novembris*. There he uses suggestions from Chaucer, but also introduces the notion of wings of different colours—*variis plumis*. Mr. Dunster quotes a passage from Silius Italicus, where Infamy, as one goddess, is repre-



sented as black-winged, and Glory and Victory, as different goddesses both white-winged. In one of Ben Jonson's masques, *Fama Bona* or Good Fame is white-winged. See also Shakespeare's personification of Rumour, Induction to *2 Henry IV*.

973, 974. "*On both his wings,*" &c. The rhyme in these lines is probably intentional.

982—984. "*the famousest of women,*" &c. : a distinct recollection, as Dunster observed, line 598 of the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides.

988—990. "*in Mount Ephraim, Jael,*" &c. Judges, chapters iv. and v.

1003—1007. "*Yet beauty,*" &c. See preceding note, lines 759—762.

1009. "*Love-quarrels,*" &c. Terence, *And.* III. iii. 23, "*Amantium iræ amoris integratio est.*" (Newton.)

1010—1061. "*It is not,*" &c. Again notice, throughout this chorus, the art of the versification, and the peculiar introduction of rhymes. Again one is reminded of the metre of parts of Goethe's *Faust*. See note, 300—306.

1016. "*thy riddle, Samson.*" Judges xiv. 12—18.

1020. "*Thy paranymp*" : i.e. Samson's companion who had acted as bridesman on his marriage with his first wife, and to whom she was afterwards given by her father, to Samson's disgust. See the story, Judges xiv. and xv. *Paranymp* is "bridesman" or "bridegroom's-man"—the *φίλος τοῦ νυμφίου*, mentioned in John iii. 29.

1034—1045. "*Whate'er it be,*" &c. Compare with this passage, so full of reference to Milton's own experience, the following from his first pamphlet on Divorce : "The soberest and best-governed men are "least practised in these affairs; and who knows not that the bashful "muteness of a virgin may oft-times hide all the unliveliness and natural "sloth which is really unfit for conversation." The same pamphlet (*Doct. and Disc. of Divorce*) abounds with passages describing the intolerable misery of an ill-assorted marriage.

1038, 1039. "*far within defensive arms a cleaving mischief*" : i.e. a mischief cleaving or sticking to one far inside the armour which might defend one against ordinary mischiefs. There is an allusion to the poisoned shirt sent to Hercules by his wife Dejanira.

1046—1049. "*Favoured of Heaven who,*" &c. : i.e. is he who finds, &c. See Prov. xxxi. 10 *et seq.* (Newton.)

1048. "*combines,*" agrees with him.

1053—1060. "*Therefore God's universal law,*" &c. A very decisive assertion of the doctrine, which Milton held, of the natural inferiority of woman to man. Compare *Par. Lost*, X. 144 *et seq.*



1075. "*fraught*," freight, burden. The word "*fraught*" (pronounced *fracht*) is still used in the north of Scotland, *e.g.* "a *fraught* of water," as much as can be carried at once from the well.

1079. "*Men call me Harapha*." No such giant is mentioned by name in Scripture; but see 2 Sam. xxi. 16—22. The four Philistine giants mentioned there are said to be sons of a certain giant in Gath called "the giant;" and the Hebrew word for "the giant" there is *Rapha* or *Harapha*. Milton has appropriated the name to his fictitious giant, whom he makes out in the sequel (1248, 1249) to be the actual father of that brood of giants.

1080, 1081. "*Og . . . Anak . . . the Emims . . . Kiriathaim*." See Deut. iii. 11, Deut. ii. 10, 11, and Gen. xiv. 5.

1081, 1082. "*Thou know'st me now, if*," &c. The same idea as in the much-quoted line *Par. Lost*, IV. 830:—

"Not to know me argues yourselves unknown."

1092. "*Gyves*," fetters. The etymology of the word is doubtful; but it is found in early English writers.

1095. "*ass's*": printed *asses* in the original, the apostrophe not then customary as a mark for the possessive.

1120, 1121. "*brigandine*," coat of mail (supposed by etymologists to be from *brigands* who wore such); "*habergeon*," mail for the neck and shoulders (same as *hauberk*, and derived from *hals*, the neck, and *beorgan*, to defend); "*vant-brace*," mail for the arms (*avant bras*); "*greaves*," leg-armour (*greve*, shin); "*gauntlet*," glove of mail (*gant*), for the hands.

1122. "*A weaver's beam*," like Goliath's, whose armour Milton has had in view in the preceding lines. See 1 Sam. xvii. 5—7.

1125. "*me*": *mee* in the original edition, and probably therefore emphatic.

1127 and 1129. "*shalt*." Mr. Keightley says that in both these lines the word in the original edition is printed "*shall*." This is a mistake. In the original edition the word is "*shalt*" in both cases; it is the *second* edition that has "*shall*."

1132, 1133. "*had not spells*," &c.: a reference, as Warton noted, to the belief that arms might be made unlawfully strong by magical arts. In the mediæval knightly combats the champions took oath that they trusted to no such arts, but to God only.

1137, 1138. "*bristles . . . ruffled porcupines*": possibly, as Newton thought, a recollection of Shakespeare, *Ham.* I. 8:—

"And each particular hair to stand on end  
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine."

1162. "*comrades*," accented on the second syllable.

1181. "*Tongue-doughty*," tongue-valiant; spelt in the original edition *tongue-doubtie*. A.-S. *dochtig*, valiant; Ger. *tüchtig*, solid.

1183—1191. "*Their magistrates*," &c. For the incidents referred to in this speech, see Judges xiv. 19, and xv. 10 *et seq.*

1195—1200. "*your ill-meaning politician lords*," &c. Judges xiv. 10—18. Milton follows Jewish tradition in supposing the thirty bridal friends there mentioned to have been spies appointed by the Philistines.

1220. "*appellant*," the challenger in a combat, as "defendant" was the challenged.

1222. "*thrice*," for the third time, as was the custom in challenges.

1224—1226. "*With thee*," &c. Criminals and persons of servile condition were disqualified for "the proof of arms," or trial by combat.

1231. "*O Baal-zebub*." Harapha fitly swears by this god, "the god of Ekron" (2 Kings i. 16), and again (line 1242) by the Phœnician goddess Astaroth.

\* 1235. "*My heels are fettered*," &c. Throughout the greater part of the play Samson is to be conceived, as this line informs us, chained or fettered at the ankles, though still so that he could walk slowly; but not handcuffed. See line 1092 and note.

1238. "*bulk without spirit vast*": *i.e.* vast bulk without spirit; the first three words almost forming one compound noun.

1248, 1249. "*Though fame*," &c. See previous note, line 1079. Four of the giant-sons of whom Milton takes the liberty of making his Harapha the father, were Ishbi-benob, Saph, and two others, whose respective fates are given in 2 Sam. xxi. 16—22; where it is also said, in our translation, that they were brothers of Goliath, previously slain by David. As the date of the death of Samson, in the Biblical chronology, is some eighty years before the accession of David to the throne, it is only on the supposition that the giants were unusually long-lived that Milton's accuracy in making the five sons of Harapha, who were all slain in David's time, full-grown in Samson's time, can be defended.

1278. "*feats . . . defeats*": a play on the words.

1308. "*Ebrews*." So spelt in the original edition, and also in the Second, but changed in all recent editions. Thinking the spelling intentional on Milton's part, I restore it. The word occurs five times in Milton's poetry—once in *P. R.* (IV. 336), three times in *Samson* (here, and in lines 1319 and 1540), and once in the translation of Ps. cxxxvi. (line 50). In the first instance and in the last the word is an adjective and is spelt "Hebrew"; in the other three it is a substantive and is spelt "Ebrew."

1309. "*manacles*," means here fetters at the legs, not handcuffs. See line 1235.

1377—1379. "*Yet that he may dispense*," &c. 2 Kings v. 18, 19. (Thyer.)

1418—1422. "*Lords are lordliest*," &c. In this passage may be detected a reference to England in Milton's time.

1461—1471. "*Some much averse I found*," &c. The different shades of feeling among the men in power in England after the Restoration may be supposed to be glanced at in this passage—obstinate and revengeful Royalism, strongest among the High Church party; and so on.

1481. "*part*," in the sense of "go" (*partir*).

1507. "*as next*," i.e. next in interest or kindred.

1512. "*inhabitation*" : community or inhabitants. So Shakespeare (*Macb.* IV. 1.) :—

"Though the yesty waves  
Confound and swallow navigation up."

1525, 1526. "*The sufferers*," &c. Is the rhyme here intentional?

1527—1535. "*What if . . . and tempts belief*." These nine lines are omitted in their proper place in the original edition, but printed on a page at the end, with a direction where to insert them. In the Second Edition they are rightly placed.

1529. "*dole*." The word has two meanings—a portion dealt out (as in "a beggar's dole"), and sorrow or grief (Lat. *doleo*). The two are combined here.

1537. "*Of good or bad*," &c. This line also is not in its proper place in the original edition, but comes as an *omission* at the end. It seems to me that it may have been an afterthought with Milton to break up what was at first a continuous speech of the Chorus, by inserting ten additional lines, distributed between the Chorus and Manoa, so as to prolong the suspense before the messenger arrives. Originally the Chorus ran on continuously thus :—

". . . . . Not much to fear.  
A little stay will bring some notice hither,  
For evil news rides fast, while good news baits.  
And to our wish I see one higher speeding—  
An Ebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe."

The sense is here complete; but the addition of the ten lines, and their distribution between Manoa and the Chorus, are certainly an improvement.

1540. "*An Ebrew*." See previous note, line 1308.

1552. "*here*": "heard" in the original text, but corrected in the Errata—a correction not attended to in the Second Edition.

1594. "*Eye-witness*," i.e. as having been eye-witness.

1605—1610. "*The building was*," &c. Conceive the building as follows:—There is a large semi-circular *covered* space or amphitheatre, filled up with tiers of seats—the roof of which semicircular building is supported by two great pillars rising from the ground about mid-point of the diameter of the semicircle. There is no *wall* at this diameter, but only these two pillars; standing near which Samson would look *inside* upon the congregated Philistine lords and others of rank, occupying the tiers of seats under the roof. *Behind* Samson was then an uncovered space where the poorer spectators could stand on any kind of benches under the open sky, seeing Samson's back, and, save where the pillars might interrupt the view, all that went on in inside.

1608. "*sort*," mark, distinction.

1619. "*cataphracts*," i.e. men in mail on horses also mailed: hence called *καταφρακτοι*, i.e. "protected."

\* 1627. "*stupendous*." Milton's own spelling is *stupendious*. See note, *Par. Lost*, X. 351.

1630—1634. "*he his guide requested*," &c. Judges xvi. 26.

1645. "*strike*," an ironical play on the word.

1651, 1652. "*The whole roof*," &c. The account of the feat and its effects is consistent with the imagined shape and structure of the building. See previous note, lines 1605—1610. The Scripture narrative (Judges xvi. 27) speaks of many *on* the roof of the building; but here nothing is said of such. The deaths are caused by the falling in of the roof upon those seated in the *covered* part of the theatre.

1667, 1668. "*in number more*," &c. Judges xvi. 30.

1669. "*Semichor*." Here the Chorus divides into two halves—the one continuing as far as line 1686.

1674. "*Silo*." Another instance of Milton's dislike of the sound *sh*. In Samson's time the tabernacle and the ark were in Shiloh. Josh. xviii. 1.

1686. "*struck*." See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

1687. "*Semichor*." This is the second Semichorus.

1692—1696. "*And as an evening dragon came*," &c. The first impression on reading these five lines may be that there is a confusion of metaphor. Samson comes as a dragon, and all at once the dragon is an eagle. To avoid this jar of figures, it has been supposed by some

commentators that there is an error of the press. They propose to read thus :—

“ And *not* as evening dragon came, &c.  
 . . . . *but* as an eagle, &c.”

or thus :—

“ *Nor* as an evening dragon came, &c.  
 . . . . *but* as an eagle, &c.”

It seems to me, however, that there is no necessity for supposing an error of the press, and that Milton's meaning is stronger and bolder as the text stands. The blind Samson came among the assembled and seated Philistines like an evening dragon among tame fowl perched on their roosts—*i.e.* a fearful object, certainly, but on the ground and darkly groping his way; but anon this enemy on the ground is transmuted into an enemy swooping down resistlessly from overhead, and he who came as a dragon ends as an eagle, the bird of Jove, dealing down thunderbolts from a clear sky. I am pretty sure Milton had the contrast strongly in his mind of the Philistines at one moment gazing at the terrible Samson on the ground before them from their rows of seats, and not sure but he might rush or spring among them furiously, and the next moment experiencing destruction coming from him in the direction where all had seemed safe—*i.e.* vertically downwards. To bring out the contrast he resorts to the bold change of metaphor.

1695. “*villatic fowl*,” *i.e.* farm-house fowl; villatic from *villa*, a country-house. Pliny, as Richardson noted, has the very phrase, “*villaticas alites*.”

1696. “*cloudless thunder*,” *i.e.* thunder from a clear sky, the more dreadful, because unexpected.

1697—1707. “*So Virtue*,” &c. Observe the complexity of rhymes in this passage.

1699. “*that self-begotten bird*,” the fabled Phoenix, periodically consumed by fire and rising again into life out of its own ashes. See *Par. Lost*, V. 272—274, and *Epitaph. Dam.* 181—189.

1700. “*embost*,” hidden, or the same as “embosked.” Todd and Keightley quote several instances from old poets in which a deer surrounded in the chase is said to be “embost.”

1702. “*holocaust*,” a sacrifice burnt entire.

1703. “*teemed*,” produced, sent forth. See *Par. Lost*, VII. 454.

1707. “*A secular bird*,” *i.e.* a bird lasting for many generations or centuries, *sæcula*. Newton, Todd and others, omitting the comma after *survives*, make that verb an active one governing “*a secular bird*,” and the meaning of the passage to be “Virtue, like the Phoenix, teemed out of its own ashes, revives, &c.; and, though her body die, her fame outlives for ages of lives any ordinary phoenix or bird living a few

centuries." This reading is singularly languid and does violence to the original text, which has a distinct comma after "*survives*," clearly put there to bring out the other meaning, *i. e.* "Virtue, like the Phoenix, &c., revives, &c., and, though her body die, her fame survives, a real phoenix, ages of lives."

1713. "*the sons of Caphtor*." Mr. Keightley says "This is spelt *Chaptor* in the original edition." Not so. It is spelt "*Caphtor*" there, and the error is in the Second Edition.—The "Sons of Caphtor" are the Philistines, said to have come from the isle of Caphtor or Crete.

1755. "*acquist*," acquisition. The word, sometimes in the form *acquest*, is not unfrequent in old writers.



## NOTES TO THE MINOR POEMS.



## PREFATORY NOTE.

AMONG the chief commentators on Milton's Minor Poems are, of course, to be remembered NEWTON, TODD, and KEIGHTLEY. As editors of Milton's Poetical Works generally, they did not confine their attention to *Paradise Lost*, or to that poem with *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, but bestowed also proportional pains on the Minor Poems, both English and Latin. From MR. R. C. BROWNE's edition of Milton's Poems for the Clarendon Press (1870) the Latin Poems are excluded, and also the Translations of seventeen Psalms and some others of the less important scraps of English verse; but the edition contains careful Notes to the Minor Poems with these exceptions. In MR. J. M. ROSS's School Edition of a selection from Milton's Poetry (1871) the Minor Poems included are the *Ode on the Nativity*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas*; and these poems are annotated by Mr. Ross. Incidentally also others of those mentioned in our lists of commentators on Milton's larger poems (pp. 101-103, and 281) have furnished elucidations of passages in the Minor Poems. The commentator-in-chief on these Minor Poems by themselves, however, is THOMAS WARTON. This well-known scholar, critic, and poet (1728—1790), remembered now chiefly by his "History of English Poetry," made a special study of Milton's Minor Poems, and published an edition of them in 1785, "with Notes, critical and explanatory, and other Illustrations," which may be said for the first time to have given them their true place among Milton's writings and shown their abundant and minute interest in connexion with his Biography. It is, indeed, with all deduction on account of the want of sympathy with some parts of Milton's mind and life natural in a critic in Warton's circumstances, one of the best books of comment in the English language. Before his death he had prepared a second impression of it, which was posthumously published in 1791. This second edition presents many

alterations from the first, and large additions; but there are also omissions in it of matter which had appeared in the first, chiefly of notes referring from the Minor Poems to *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. These omissions, or abbreviations, were caused, it is believed, by Warton's intention to put forth a separate edition of those two Poems, where the omitted matter would have found a more suitable place. As he did not live to fulfil this intention (see p. 281), his First Edition of the Minor Poems retains a certain value still, apart from the Second. Warton's Notes to these Poems, in fact, have been the stock from which all subsequent editors, and also all biographers, of Milton, from Todd to the present day, have derived a good deal of their material.

# THE MINOR POEMS.

## PART I: THE ENGLISH POEMS.

### NOTES.

#### PARAPHRASE ON PSALMS CXIV. AND CXXXVI.

PSALM CXIV. :—Several of the phrases and rhymes in this Paraphrase have been traced, by Warton and others, to older poets, whom Milton is supposed to have read in his boyhood. It is enough to say that, like everyone else, he inherited a traditional phraseology, and began with it. The observation of one critic, however (Mr. Dunster), is more special. A favourite book in English households in the early part of the seventeenth century was Joshua Sylvester's Translation of *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet Du Bartas; and there is evidence that Milton, in his childhood, had revelled in this quaint, but really rich and poetical, book. The verse employed in the present Paraphrase is the verse of Sylvester's Du Bartas; and some of the rhymes—such as *recoil*, *foil* (lines 9, 10), *mountains*, *fountains* (13, 14), and *crush*, *gush* (17, 18)—were already Sylvester's.

1. "*Terah's faithful son*" : *i.e.* Abraham. See Gen. xi. 24—27.

3. "*Pharian*" : *i.e.* Egyptian. Unless this is an ill-formed adjective from "*Pharaoh*," or from *Pharan* or *Paran*, the name of a part of the desert between Egypt and Palestine (Gen. xxi. 21, and 1 Kings xi. 18), it is from *Pharos*, the island in the Bay of Alexandria on the northern coast of Egypt, made to give its name, by extension, to Egypt itself. But clearly Milton had Buchanan's translation of the Psalm before him :—

"Barbaraque invisæ linqueret arva Phari."

Indeed, in Buchanan *Pharius* is a common word for "Egyptian." Thus in Psalm cxxxvi., the next of Milton's paraphrasing, Buchanan has

"Pharonem et P'arios submersit gurgite currus."

PSALM CXXXVI.:—Here also several of the phrases are, by Warton and others, traced to older poets. Thus, “watery plain” for the sea (line 23) is found in Spenser, in William Browne, and in Drayton; “golden-tressèd,” as applied to the sun (29), is in Chaucer; “hornèd moon” (33) is Spenser’s, Shakespeare’s, and everybody’s; “tawny king” (55) is in Fairfax’s translation of Tasso. These recollections may be unconscious and general; but perhaps the influence of Sylvester is direct. The rhymes *fell, Israël* (lines 42, 43), and *Israël, dwell* (73, 74), are after Sylvester.

10. “*Who doth the wrathful,*” &c. The initial pronoun “*Who*” in this line, and also in lines 13, 17, 21, and 25 is a substitute, in the Second Edition, for “*That*” in the first. This is worth noting.

45, 46. “*ruddy waves . . . of the Erythræan main*”: *i.e.* the Red Sea. The word *ἐρυθρός* (*erythros*) is Greek for “red,” and *ἡ Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλασσα* was the name for the Red Sea and Indian Ocean in Herodotus and later Greek writers. Various origins of the name have been assigned—the red coral reefs in the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, &c. Evidently, however, the name begot a popular idea that the water itself was red. Hence “ruddy waves” in this passage. Both that phrase and its adjunct “Erythræan” are from Sylvester’s *Du Bartas*. Thus, in a passage quoted by Dunster:—

“along the sandy shore  
Where th’ Erythrean ruddy billows roar.”

But Sylvester beats this in another couplet in his actual description of the drowning of Pharaoh’s host:—

“Another with loud lashes  
Scours his proud coursers through the scarlet washes.”

49. “*walls of glass.*” Sylvester has the phrase in his description of the crossing of the Red Sea; also “walls of crystal” and “bulwarks of billows.”

65, 66. “*Seon . . . Amorrean coast.*” The phrase in the Authorized Version is “Sihon King of the Amorites”; but Milton, as Todd points out, must have had Buchanan’s Latin before him:—

“*Stravit Amorrhæum valida virtute Seonem.*”

Todd, however, did not remark that, though the same line occurs in the preceding Psalm (cxxxv.) in more recent editions of Buchanan, as a translation of the same phrase “Sihon King of the Amorites,” older editions of Buchanan had this line in that Psalm:—

“*Quique Amorrhæis Seon regnavit in oris.*”

Milton all but translates this.



89. "*warble forth.*" Sylvester again; who, in the very opening of his translation of Du Bartas, has

"O Father, grant I sweetly warble forth  
Unto our seed the world's renowned birth!"

# ON THE DEATH OF A FAIR INFANT.

In Milton's own edition (1673) the date "Anno ætatis 17" is put *before* the title of the poem, instead of *after*, as now. This was done, I fancy, to avoid the absurdity of meaning that would arise if the date were *read* after the title and as part of it. There are instances of the same thing in the headings of the 2nd, the 3rd, and the 4th of the Latin *Elegies*, and of the 1st and 3rd of the *Sylvæ*.

1. "*O fairest flower,*" &c. This opening reminds us of that of a little piece in Shakespeare's *Passionate Pilgrim* :—

"Sweet rose, fair flower, untimely plucked, soon vaded,  
Plucked in the bud, and vaded in the spring!  
Bright orient pearl, alack, too timely shaded!  
Fair creature, killed too soon by death's sharp sting!"

Milton's taste in rhythm had by this time outgrown Sylvester's Du Bartas.

8—10. "*grim Aquilo . . . Athenian damsel got.*" Aquilo, or Boreas, the North Wind, dwelt in a cave in Thrace, and carried off Oreithyia, the daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus.

8. "*charioteer;*" spelt "*charioter*" in the original, and also in the only other line of Milton's poetry in which it occurs (*Par. Lost*, VI. 390). In all modern editions the spelling has been changed to "*charioteer;*" but I am not quite sure that Milton intended our modern stress on the last syllable.

12. "*infamous blot.*" The phrase, with the same pronunciation of *infamous*, occurs in Spenser, *Facry Queene*, III. vi. 13. (Todd.)

15. "*icy-pearlèd.*" Warton suggested "*ice-ypearlèd,*" on the analogy of *ychained* in the *Ode on the Nativity* (155) and *star-ypointing* in the lines on Shakespeare; but, on the other analogy, afforded by such words as *rosy-bosomed* (*Comus*, 986), *fiery-wheeled* (*Pens.* 53), we may keep the word as it is.—Sylvester calls hail "ice-pearl" and "bounding balls of ice-pearl."

23—27. "*For so Apollo . . . young Hyacinth . . . purple flower.*" The myth referred to is that of the beautiful youth, Hyacinthus, son of a king of Sparta or Laconia, in which territory is the river Eurotas. He

was killed unwittingly by Apollo at a game of quoits, and from his blood sprang the flower that bears his name.

31. "*wormy bed*." Warton cites the phrase from Shakespeare, *Mid. Sum. N. Dr.* III. 2. "Already to their wormy beds are gone."

39. "*that high first-moving sphere*": i.e. the *primum mobile*, or the outermost shell or sphere, enclosing, according to the Ptolemaic astronomy, all the other spheres of the mundane system, and separating that system from the unknown. See *Introd. to Par. Lost*, pp. 89—92.

44. "*shaked Olympus*." *Shaked* was not an uncommon form. Todd quotes the instance in Shakespeare, *Troil. and Cress.* I. 3: "O, when degree is shaked."

48. "*and thou*," &c. The word "wert" is implied before "*thou*."

50, 51. "*that just Maid who*," &c.: i.e. Astræa or Justice. Astræa, the daughter of Zeus and Themis, dwelt on earth during the golden age, when men were just, but at length forsook it, in disgust, for her true home among the stars.

52. "*camest*." Observe the curious change of person from *forsook* to *camest*. Yet it is natural and indeed inevitable; *came* would not have done. Possibly, however, *who* is not the nominative to *camest*, but the construction intended is *camest (thou)*?

53. "*Or wert thou [Mercy], that sweet smiling Youth?*" In the original this line is short of the just length by two syllables: evidently a word had dropt out in the printing. The suggestion of the word "Mercy" to fill the blank was first made in a periodical, about 1750, by a Mr. John Heskin, of Christ Church, Oxford, "who published," says Warton, "an elegant edition of Bion and Moschus." It is almost certainly correct, making the three personages of the stanza Justice (the maiden), Mercy (the young man), and Truth (the matron); which is the triad also in stanza 15 of the *Ode on the Nativity*.

54. "*crowned Matron*." In the original it is "*cowned Matron*," clearly a misprint.

59. "*prefixèd*": i.e. "pre-appointed."

68. "*Or drive away the slaughtering pestilence*." An allusion to the prevalence of the Plague in London and England when the poem was written. See Introduction.

76, 77. "*he will an offspring give*," &c. One cannot say that this prophecy was fulfilled in either Edward Phillips or John Phillips, the two sons of Milton's sister by her first marriage, born after the loss of the little infant girl of the poem; unless it be that we remember them through their uncle, and Edward Phillips especially for his *Life* of that uncle.

## AT A VACATION EXERCISE IN THE COLLEGE.

It is particularly necessary, in this case, that the Introduction to the piece (pp. 190—196) should be read. It throws a light over the whole, and saves many notes.

6. "*two years before.*" The reader may like to construe this into an information that Milton began to speak at two years old.

7—14. "*thy pardon ask . . . served up last.*" Milton here apologises to his Native Language for employing her only in the end of his long academic oration, the earlier and larger part of which had been in Latin prose (see Introd.). That Latin part, he explains, had been the worst in quality, and what was now coming in English would be better.

18. "*thy wardrobe.*" Here, and on to line 32, the quaint image is that of a wardrobe, or receptacle of all kinds of wearing apparel, possessed by the English Language, and from which she may select any variety of clothing, plain or rich, common or rare, according to the thought that is to be dressed. Sometimes, when the thought is very great and peculiar, she may have to rummage the whole wardrobe, and open all its drawers or "coffers" (lines 31, 32) before she finds the suitable articles. In Milton's edition of 1673 the word is spelt "*wardrope.*"

19. "*new-fangled.*" This is the only occurrence of the word in Milton's poetry; but it is a good old English word. Chaucer has it, in the form *newfangle*, (*Squire's Tale*):—

"So newefangel ben they of hir meete;"

and also the noun *newfangleness* (ibid.):—

"Men loven of proper kind newfanglesse;"

and instances, in later old writers, of the adjective *newfangle* or *new-fangled*, the noun *newfangleness* or *newfangledness*, and even the adverb *newfangly*, are quoted in Richardson's English Dictionary. In Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (V. 4) the word *fangled* occurs:—

"Be not, as is our fangled world, a garment  
Nobler than that it covers."

Richardson quotes from Udall an example of *fangle* as a noun: "full-grown age, which is not apt to swerve easily into new fangles." The derivation of the word *fangle*, whether noun or verb, seems uncertain. The word survives among us only in combination with *new*.

20. "*our late fantastics*": *i.e.* our recent literary coxcombs. The commentators have supposed a reference to John Lyly and his famous *Euphuism*; but Lyly had been dead since about 1601, and there were surely later "*fantastics*" in the English speech than he.

28. "*this fair assembly's ears.*" The assembly meant is that of the undergraduates and graduates of Christ's College, with guests from all the other colleges, met uproariously in Christ's College Hall to hear the speeches (see *Introd.*).

33—44. "*Such where . . . all his waves.*" Here breaks out the true poet. I hardly know a passage in Milton's earlier poetry in which the difference between poetic imagination and ordinary thinking may be more clearly seen. It is curious to note also the identity of the cosmological conception here with that in *Paradise Lost*. Heaven is represented as above the "wheeling poles," *i.e.* above or outside all the ten Ptolemaic spheres that compose our mundane system; and the poet is supposed to mount through and beyond these spheres to the very aperture of Heaven. (See *Introd. to Par. Lost*, 95, 96.) Looking in, he can behold the gods stretched at ease before the thunderous throne, listening to the singing of the unshorn Apollo, while Hebe brings nectar to Zeus. Then, descending again into the mundane system, and passing through its "spheres of watchful fire"—*i.e.* through the sphere of the Fixed Stars, and then successively through those of the seven Ptolemaic planets in their order earthwards (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon)—he reaches the atmosphere round our Earth. There are the "misty regions," where there are the "hills of snow" and "lofts of piled thunder." These too passed, he reaches at length the level surface of the ocean, the realm of Neptune.—"*Such where.*" *Such* refers to "graver subject"; and the construction is "a subject *such in which* (*i.e. such that in it*) the deep transported mind may," &c. The term "unshorn" for Apollo is a literal translation of the epithet for that god in Greek and Latin poets (ἀκερσεκόμης, *intonsus*); and "green-eyed" (γλαυκῶψ) is also a classical epithet, but rather of Proteus than of Neptune.—"Watchful fire" (*vigil flamma*) is from Ovid. In the passage about the "misty regions of wide air" there may be a recollection of some of Sylvester's meteorological descriptions; and Dunster quotes Sylvester's

●  
"Cellars of wind and shops of sulphury thunder."

46. "*beldam Nature*": *i.e.* "the old lady, Nature." "Hag," our present meaning of "*beldam*," is a curious degeneracy from the original meaning of *belle dame*, "fair lady."

48—52. "*Such as the wise Demodocus,*" &c. The recollection here is of the beautiful passage in the *Odyssey* (Book VIII.) where Demodocus, the blind bard of Alcinous, King of the Phæacians, is brought

in, by the order of Alcinous, to sing before the assembly of the Phæacians and the stranger Ulysses. While he sang of the Trojan War and its heroes, Ulysses, deeply moved, but ashamed to let the assembly see his emotion, covered his face with a veil, while the tears rolled down his cheeks. Alcinous alone marked his discomposure, and wondered who he could be.—This is an early instance of what is frequent in Milton's poetry, a fascination of his memory round the stories of great Bards and Prophets of the old world that had been blind. One can hardly call it less than a presentiment of his own later condition.

52. "*In willing chains and sweet captivity.*" Todd quotes from Sylvester's Du Bartas :—

"The willing chains of my captivity."

56. "*To keep in compass of thy Predicament*" : *i.e.* to keep within the part assigned thee in this present College Extravaganza ; which is that of representing ENS or BEING IN GENERAL, the supreme *Predicament* or *Category* in Aristotle's logical system, and the father of all the *Predicaments* usually so-called (see Introd.).

58. "*to the next*" : *i.e.* to the next speaker or actor in the Extravaganza

59. "*Good luck befriend thee, Son.*" Here begins the speech of Milton, as the leader of the Extravaganza, or old father ENS, to that undergraduate of Christ's College who "stood for SUBSTANCE with his Canons," *i.e.* who acted the part of SUBSTANCE, the eldest of the ten Predicaments, or sons of ENS, and kept to the rules of that Predicament. The reader must distinctly fancy Milton in person turning at this point to some booby of a student, and addressing him in mock-heroics.

59—66. "*at thy birth the faery ladies,*" &c. In the mythology of all the Teutonic nations fairies take an interest in child-birth, and secretly visit the chambers of new-born babies, to confer gifts, or the reverse, upon them. And so Milton makes them present at the birth of SUBSTANCE. There may be some pertinence to that category, or to its representative for the nonce, that now escapes us, in what the fairies are said to have done on the occasion. One thing they did is perfectly intelligible. They made SUBSTANCE invisible to mortals (lines 65, 66). Mortals cannot know the substance of things, or existence *per se* ; they can know only phænomena, or substance as modified by relation to themselves.

74—88. "*Shall subject be to many an Accident,*" &c. A prolonged pun on the logical doctrine that *Substance*, or Being in itself, underlies or is subject to its *Accidents*, *i.e.* the modifying conditions that translate it into phænomena. ACCIDENT, in fact, is the conjunct name for all the



nine Predicaments after SUBSTANCE itself—viz. Quantity, Quality, Relation, Where, When, Posture, Habit, Action, Passion. These are the brethren of SUBSTANCE, and his inferiors really; but yet they are his masters and treat him as they like, though they all depend upon him and are reconciled in him.

89, 90. "*What power . . . if not your learned hands,*" &c. The speech of the Sibyl about SUBSTANCE has ended in the previous line; and Milton now addresses his learned audience, saying it is for them to interpret the enigmatic speech.

91. "RIVERS, *arise.*" On this phrase and the poetical enumeration of English rivers which it introduces (91—100) Warton remarked: "It is hard to say in what sense, or in what manner, this introduction of the rivers was to be applied to the subject." It was a very natural remark, but is now unnecessary. The mystery has been explained, and very simply. RIVERS was the name of Milton's fellow-student in Christ's College who acted the part of RELATION in the Extravaganza; and the whole passage is a prolonged poetical jest on that fact. The merit of this neat little discovery belongs to Mr. W. G. Clark, Vice-Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and one of the editors of the Cambridge Shakespeare. Chancing, early in 1859, to read this piece of Milton's with some care, and fastening on the little bit of prose with which this concluding speech in it is introduced—"The next, QUANTITY and QUALITY, *spake in prose: then RELATION was called by his name*"—Mr. Clark made the acute guess that the explanation was to be understood literally, *i.e.* that, after the students personating the second and third of the ten Predicaments, QUANTITY and QUALITY, had said something in prose, the student who personated the fourth Predicament, RELATION, was called by his surname to take his turn. A reference to the Admission Book of Christ's College verified the guess by disclosing the Latin entry of which this is a translation: "May 10, A.D. 1628, GEORGE and NIZELL "RIVERS, sons of Sir John Rivers, Knight, born at Westerham, in the "county of Kent, and also grounded in letters there by Mr. Walter, "were admitted into Christ's College as Lesser Pensioners, the former "in the fifteenth year of his age and the latter in the fourteenth, under "the tutorship of Mr. Gell." It was one of these two boys, freshmen in the College, that had to stand for RELATION and have his name played upon by Milton. I ascertained one or two particulars of their subsequent history (see *Athenæum* for April 23, 1859); but it is enough here to say that they were sons of Sir John Rivers, of Chafford, co. Kent, Bart., by his wife Dorothy Potter of Westerham, and that the family and the baronetcy still exist.

92—100. "*utmost Tweed or Ouse,*" &c. In this passage Milton must have had in view Spenser's poetical enumerations of rivers (see especially *F. Q.*, iv. xi. 20 *et seq.*), but may have been indebted also to Drayton's *Polyolbion*. "Utmost Tweed" is plain; the Ouse and the



Don are in Yorkshire ; Drayton speaks of the "thirty streams" of the Trent ; the Mole, in Surrey, disappears in summer, for a part of its course, into a subterranean channel ; Severn derived its name in the legends from the maiden Sabra or Sabrina drowned in it, with her mother Estrildis, by Guendolen, the wife of Locrine, son of Brutus ; there are several Avons, but the one meant may be the Avon of Bristol ; "sedgy Lea" is near London ; the Dee, near Chester, was sacred with Druidical tradition ; Humber in the legend derives its name from a Hunnish invader in primeval times ; the other epithets explain themselves.

### ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

19—22. "*Now while the heaven,*" &c. This Ode of Milton's, as we learn from his *Elegia Sexta*, addressed to Diodati, was conceived at dawn on Christmas-Day, 1629 (see Introd.).

24. "*Oh ! run,*" &c. In Drummond of Hawthornden's *Flowers of Sion* (1623) there is a Sonnet on the Nativity, beginning

"Run, Shepherds, run where Bethlem blest appears !"

There are traces of a knowledge of Drummond's poetry in many parts of Milton.—"*prevent them*" : *i.e.* anticipate them, get before them.

27. "*the Angel Quire*" : the Angels heard singing by the shepherds in the fields at Bethlehem. Luke ii. 13, 14.

28. "*From out his secret altar,*" &c. Isaiah vi. 6. (Newton.)

41. "*Pollute.*" Direct from the Latin *pollutus*.

48. "*Down through the turning sphere*" : *i.e.* down, from Heaven's gate, through the wheeling orb of the whole Universe, hung from Heaven. "Down through the turning spheres" would have been more according to Milton's custom ; but here he views the aggregate of the spheres as one.

56. "*hookèd chariot.*" The war-chariots of different nations were armed with scythes or hooks, which cut whatever they met. Richardson, in his Dictionary, quotes this description from an old translation of Quintus Curtius : "The wheels were also full of iron pikes right forth, and of great hooks both upward and downward, wherewith all thing was cut asunder that came in their way."

64. "*whist*" : *i.e.* hushed, silenced. To *hush*, to *whist*, and to *hist* are all forms of one verb, meaning to silence, derived perhaps from the

mere sound *sh* or *st*, the interjection of silence. See *Pens.* 55. Todd quotes from the *Dido* of Marlowe and Nash, 1594, the line—

“The air is clear, and southern winds are whist.”

But there is also Ariel’s song in the *Tempest*, I. 2 :—

“Courtsied when you have, and kissed  
The wild waves whist.”

66. “*Ocean*” must be pronounced here as a trisyllable—not an unfrequent pronunciation in old poets. Sylvester has it occasionally. Thus—

“began  
To crystallize the Baltic ocean.”

71. “*Bending one way their precious influence*”: an image from Astrology.

77—84. “*And, though the shady gloom,*” &c. Warton detects here a recollection of a stanza in Spenser’s *Shepherd’s Calendar* (April)—

“I saw Phœbus thrust out his golden head  
Upon her to gaze;  
But, when he saw how broad her beams did spread,  
It did him amaze.  
He blushed to see another Sun below,  
Ne durst again his fiery face outshow.  
Let him, if he dare,  
His brightness compare  
With hers, to have the overthrow.”

86. “*Or ere.*” So printed in the original editions; but “*or e’er*” has been suggested instead, on the ground that “*or ere*” is a mere reduplication, as if Milton had said “*Ere ere the point of dawn,*” i.e. “Before before the point of dawn”—the word “*or*” in this sense being originally only another form of the word “*ere*” (old English, *ær*, before). But the reduplication occurs in writers before Milton. Mr. Aldis Wright, in his *Bible Word-Book*, quotes three instances—“This man . . . , *or ere* the clergy began, was wont,” &c. (Sir Thomas More); “*or ere* we meet” (Shakespeare, *K. John*, IV. 3); and again (Shakespeare, *Temp.*, I. 2) :—

“I would  
Have sunk the sea within the earth, *or ere*  
It should the good ship so have swallowed.”

Yet our form “*or ever*” did exist as well. Mr. Wright quotes from *Hamlet*, I. 2 :

“Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven  
*Or ever* I had seen that day, Horatio,”

informing us that the reading in the first quarto is “*ere ever.*” Now it might be argued that in the three instances of “*or ere*” given above, or

at least in the two instances from verse, "*or e'er*" would do as well, and may have really been what was intended. In the present passage in Milton, however, the fact that it is a substantive, "*point of dawn*," that is qualified, and not a verb, as in the three instances cited, increases the probability that "*or ere*" was intended, and that it was a naturalized duplicate preposition in English, as well as adverb, when Milton wrote.

88. "*little thought they than*." Note *than* instead of *then*. It is in the original editions, and is obviously a deviation from the usual spelling and pronunciation, for the sake of the rhyme with *Pan*. But it was only a revival of an old spelling and pronunciation, perhaps not quite obsolete. Our word "*then*," for "at that time," is the survivor of three forms once in use—*then*, *than* (or *thanne*), and *tho*. In Wycliffe's Bible we have "*Thanne* summe of the scribis and farisees answeriden to him"; and the same form, or *than*, occurs in *Piers Plowman*, in Chaucer, and in Gower (see Richardson's Dictionary, under *Then*).

89. "*the mighty Pan*" : *i.e.* the real being so long dreamt of as Pan, the God of Shepherds.

95. "*strook*." See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

98. "*As all*." To make the construction complete, suppose the "*such*" of line 93 repeated in connexion with "*divinely-warbled voice*."

101—104. "*Nature that . . . now was*," &c. The prose order of the words here is "Nature, that heard such sound thrilling the Airy region beneath the hollow round of Cynthia's seat, was now," &c.; and the meaning is, "Nature, on hearing such a sound thrilling through the Earth's atmosphere under the concave of the Moon's orbit, was now," &c.

106. "*its last fulfilling*" : one of the three instances in all Milton's poetry of the use of the word *its*. See *Par. Lost*, I. 254 and IV. 813, and notes there : also Essay on Milton's English.

116. "*unexpressive*" : *i.e.* unexpressible. The same word, in the same sense, is in *Lycidas* (176) ; and Shakespeare has it, *As you Like it*, III. 2 :—

"The fair, the chaste, and unexpressive She."

Warton fancies that Shakespeare may have coined it ; but search may find older instances.

117—124. "*Such music . . . when of old the Sons of Morning sung*," &c. A distinct recollection of Job xxxviii. 4—11. See also *Par. Lost*, VII. 557 *et seq.*

125—132. "*Ring out, ye crystal spheres,*" &c. In the whole of this stanza there is a use of the Pythagorean doctrine or fancy of the music of the spheres—*i.e.* of the actual physical spheres or orbs of the Universe. They are here made to be nine (line 131), though ten was the number in the latest development of the Ptolemaic astronomy. This doctrine of the music of the spheres was congenial to Milton's soil. See his academic oration, *De Sphærarum Concentu*, written perhaps about the same time as this Ode. In that prose piece there is an amplification of the hint of this stanza, that the mysterious celestial music, though rarely heard by mortals, may not be absolutely inaudible even yet, if there were minds of due preparation. See also Shakespeare's famous passage "Sit, Jessica" (*Merchant of Venice*, V. 1). It is rather difficult to say whether in "the bass of Heaven's deep organ" Milton had a precise reference to any portion of his optical diagram of space and the Universe, or merely brought in a musical effect as such. Warton's notion that it was a recollection of the organ he had heard in his school-time in St. Paul's Cathedral is somewhat bald. An organ was no rarity to Milton.

143, 144. "*Orbed in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing,  
Mercy will sit between.*"

This is a change in the Second Edition from what had been the text of the First, viz. :—

"Th' enameld Arras of the Rainbow wearing,  
And Mercy set between."

The change is evidently for the better, and proves that the Second Edition contains Milton's own corrections of the First. "Arras" was cloth, or tapestry, made at Arras in France; and "enamelled Arras" (*i.e.* tapestry coated or glazed with colours by a process of melting) is hardly conceivable.

156. There ought evidently to be only a comma at the end of this line, as the sentence is prolonged into the next stanza. There was only a comma in the First Edition, but it was changed into a full stop in the Second.

166. "*perfect;*" so spelt in First Edition, but "*perfet*" in the Second.

168. "*The old Dragon.*" Rev. xx. 2.

171. "*wroth;*" so in Second Edition, but "*wrath*" in the First.

172. "*Swinges;*" spelt "*swindges*" in both the original editions. As the word is spelt sometimes "*swinge*" and sometimes "*swindge*" in old books, and the *d* does not affect the pronunciation, the less ordinary spelling need not be kept. This is the only occurrence of the word in Milton's poetry.

173. "*The Oracles are dumb.*" Here begins an idea which is protracted through the following stanzas, as far as to line 236. The idea is that of the sudden extinction and disappearance of the gods and the ceremonies of all the old Polytheistic religions on the birth of Christ. There is an evident recollection throughout of a striking story originally told in one of Plutarch's writings, and often repeated in mediæval and modern books (e.g. in *Rabelais*), under some such title as "The Death of Pan." Milton, it has been suggested, even if he had not read the original story in Plutarch, might have known it through the version of it given in the "Glosse" or Notes appended to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* by Spenser's friend E.K. (Edward Kirke), the editor of the poem. Commenting on the line in the May Eclogue

"When great Pan account of Shepeherdes shall aske,"

E.K. writes as follows :—

"Great Pan is Christ, the very God of all shepherds, which calleth himself the Great and Good Shepherd. The name is most rightly, methinks, applied to him; for Pan signifieth *all* or *omnipotent*, which is only the Lord Jesus. And by that name (as I remember) he is called of Eusebius, in his fifth book *De Præparat. Evang.*, who thereof telleth a proper story to that purpose. Which story is first recorded of Plutarch in his book *Of the Ceasing of Oracles*, and of Lavater translated in his book *Of Walking Sprights*" [the book *De Lemuribus* by Lewis Lavater, of Zurich (1536—1586), of which there was an English translation by "R. H." in 1572]; "who saith that, about the time that our Lord suffered his most bitter passion, for the redemption of man, certain passengers sailing from Italy to Cyprus and passing by certain isles called Paxæ, heard a voice calling aloud *Thamus, Thamus!* Now *Thamus* was the name of an Egyptian which was pilot of the ship; who, giving ear to the cry, was bidden, when he came to Palodes, to tell that the great Pan was dead: which he doubting to do, yet, for that, when he came to Palodes, there suddenly was such a calm of wind that the ship stood still in the sea unmoved, he was forced to cry aloud that Pan was dead; wherewithall there was heard such piteous outcries, and dreadful shrieking, as hath not been the like. By which Pan, though of some be understood the great Satanas, whose kingdom at that time was by Christ conquered, the gates of Hell broken up, and Death by death delivered to eternal death (for at that time, as he saith, all Oracles surceased, and enchanted Spirits that were wont to delude the people thenceforth held their peace), and also at the demand of the Emperor Tiberius who that Pan should be answer was made him by the wisest and best learned that it was the son of Mercury and Penelope: yet I think it more properly meant of the death of Christ, the only and very Pan, then suffering for his flock." The reader will easily trace the influence



of this story in Milton's ode. He has already called Christ "the mighty Pan" (line 89), and now he expands from Plutarch's story the notion of the ceasing of the Oracles, and the going out of all the gods and rites of Paganism with wailings and moanings. Only, be it observed, he transfers this phenomenon from the death of Pan, the great Shepherd, at Jerusalem, to his birth at Bethlehem.

183. "*A voice of weeping heard.*" Matt. ii. 18, and Jer. xxxi. 15. (Warton.)

191. "*The Lars and Lemures moan.*" *Lar* in Latin means "a family-god," a god who presides over private house and land; *Lemur* is the Latin equivalent to ghost, spirit, or hobgoblin. Milton does not adopt the Latin plurals, *Lares* and *Lemures*, but treats *Lar* and *Lemure* as English words and gives them ordinary English plurals. *Lemures* must be pronounced as a dissyllable, and might have been spelt *Lemurs*.

194. "*flamens*": priests or archpriests.

195. "*the chill marble seems to sweat.*" Not an uncommon prodigy among the ancients was the weeping or sweating of the statues of their gods. Dunster cites Virgil, *Georg.* i. 480, where among the many prodigies on the death of Julius Cæsar there is this one:—

"Et mœstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant."

197—220. "*Peor and Baälin . . . that twice-battered god of Palestine . . . Ashtaroth . . . the Libyc Hammon . . . Thammutz . . . Moloch . . . the brutish gods of Nile . . . Isis, and Orus, and the dog Anubis . . . Osiris.*" For particulars about the oriental gods here mentioned see *Paradise Lost*, Book I. 392—489, with notes on that passage. The enumeration of the oriental gods here is so much the same as that afterwards worked into *Paradise Lost* that one must suppose that Milton referred to the former while writing the latter. The "twice-battered god of Palestine" must be the Philistine Dagon (*Par. Lost*, I. 457—466). *Anubis*, the only god here mentioned and not named in the passage in *Paradise Lost*, was an Egyptian god worshiped in the form of a dog.

201. "*Heaven's queen and mother both.*" This epithet of Ashtaroth is supposed by Newton to have been suggested by Selden's *De Diis Syris*, where she is called *regina cæli* as well as *mater Deüm*.

202. "*shune.*" There are instances of the same use of this word as a substantive in Spenser, Ben Jonson, and other poets.

213—220. "*Osiris . . . in Memphian grove . . . trampling the unshowered grass . . . his sacred chest,*" &c. Milton here blends Apis, the Egyptian bull-god, with Osiris. The "Memphian grove" means the fields round the Egyptian city Memphis; and the grass there is "un-



showered" because rain is rare in Egypt. In the myth of Osiris he is represented as induced once by conspirators to lie down in a richly-carved chest, which they immediately fastened up and threw into the Nile, where it had strange subsequent adventures.

223. "*eyn*": old plural of *eye*, also spelt *eyne* or *eyen*, common in Chaucer, Spenser, and others.

226. "*Typhon huge.*" Typhon is here the Greek name of the Egyptian god Set, or Suti, one of the brothers of Osiris. After having been worshiped as a god in Egypt, he came to be regarded as a kind of Devil, and the enemy of Osiris. He led the conspirators who shut up Osiris in his chest. In old Egyptian monuments he is represented in various beast-like forms, sometimes as a crocodile. The Greek Typhon is represented as a huge giant or dragon-headed monster buried underground for opposing Zeus.

227. "*Our Babe,*" &c. The "snaky twine" of the preceding line suggests the infant Hercules strangling serpents in his cradle.

23. "*orient*": *i.e.* eastern. The meaning of the whole of the image 229—231 is "So, when the sun rises."

232—234. "*The flocking shadows pale troop to the infernal jail,*" &c. An allusion to the common superstition that on the approach of morning ghosts vanish. Warton quotes a passage in Shakespeare (*Midsum. N. Dr.*, III. 2) as probably in Milton's mind:—

"And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger;  
At whose approach ghosts wandering here and there  
Troop home to churchyards: damned spirits all,  
That in cross-ways and floods have burial,  
Already to their wormy beds are gone."

235, 236. "*the yellow-skirted fays fly after the night-steeds, leaving,*" &c.: *i.e.* the fairies, who have been in the moon-lit woods all night, haste away in the morning, following the nightmares or night-hags. For by "night-steeds" Milton clearly means those creatures of ugliness, and not, as Warton supposes, the poetical steeds or horses of Night. Compare *Par. Lost*, II. 662.

240. "*youngest-teemèd star*": *i.e.* latest-born star, the star that appeared in the heavens on Christ's birth to guide the wise men. To *teem* is to produce.

244. "*Bright-harnessed*": *i.e.* bright-armoured. *Harness* was a frequent old word for armour. Newton quotes *Exod.* xiii. 18.

• UPON THE CIRCUMCISION.

1—5. "*Ye flaming Powers,*" &c. This opening connects the piece with the *Ode on the Nativity*. One may imagine it written on Jan. 1, 1629-30, that being Circumcision Day in the Church Calendar. The "flaming Powers" are the Seraphim (which name in Hebrew implies "burning"); the "wingèd Warriors" may be the Cherubim. Gabriel is styled the "wingèd warrior," *Par. Lost*, IV. 576. Todd quotes from Tasso the very phrase "wingèd warriors" ("*guerrieri alati*").

6—9. "*if . . . your fiery essence can distil no tear, burn in your sighs,*" &c.: *i.e.* "if it is impossible for your Angelic constitutions, formed as they are of fire, to yield tears, yet, by burning as you sigh, you may borrow the water of our tears, turned into vapour."

10. "*Heaven's heraldry*": *i.e.* the heraldic pomp of Heaven.—"*whilere*": a little while ago.

15, 16. "*O more exceeding love,*" &c. This begins the second stanza of the piece; which consists of two stanzas of fourteen lines each, of exactly the same construction. The stanzas are not separated in the original editions.—In the opening of the second stanza, as Richardson pointed out, there seems to be a recollection of two lines in Virgil's Eighth Eclogue (49, 50):—

"Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?  
Improbus ille puer: crudelis tu quoque mater!"

THE PASSION.

1—4. "*Erewhile of music,*" &c. This opening of the poem connects it with the *Ode on the Nativity*, and proves it to have been a sequel to that ode. Easter, 1630, is the probable date.

6, 7. "*In wintry solstice,*" &c. The order is "Like the shortened light in wintry solstice soon swallowed up," &c. The winter solstice is Dec. 22, when the day is shortest.

13. "*Most perfect Hero,*" &c. Heb. ii. 10. (Todd.) The word *perfect* is so spelt in both the original editions, and not *perfet* as often elsewhere in Milton's poetry.

19. "*mask*": in the sense of masque or drama. See line 2.

21. "*lies,*" for *lays*.

22. "*These latest.*" So in Second Edition, substituted for "*These*

*latter*" in First. The meaning of lines 22 and 23 is "It is to the latest scenes of the long drama of Christ's mortal humiliation, to his death at Jerusalem, that I am to confine myself in this poem."

25, 26. "*otherwise are found; loud o'er the rest Cremona's trump,*" *i.e.* the acts and temptations of Christ's life on earth may be found celebrated by other poets, and best of all by Marco Girolamo Vida of Cremona (1490—1566), in his Latin poem *The Christiad*.

28. "*still,*" *i.e.* soft-sounding, not like the trump.

34, 35. "*The leaves should all be black . . . and letters . . . a wannish white.*" To understand this conceit (for it is no better, and is found in other poets) the reader should see some of the old English books of Elegies or Funereal Poems. I have before me at present Joshua Sylvester's *Lachrymæ Lachrymarum, or The Spirit of Teares distilled for the un-tymely Death of the Incomparable Prince Panaretus*" (*i.e.* Prince Henry, eldest son and heir-apparent of James I., who died 1612). The book was printed by "Humfrey Lownes dwelling on Bred Streete hill, at the signe of the Starre," and Milton may have seen it. The title-page is wholly black, save that the words of the title are white; twelve of the succeeding left-hand pages are totally black, save for the royal arms in white, and smears of "a wannish white" through inefficient pressure of the black block; and the margins of the other pages, above and below the Elegies, are also black.

36—39. "*See, see the chariot,*" &c. The reference is to Ezekiel, chap. i. The poet supposes himself carried to Jerusalem in a mystic chariot like that which bore up the Prophet at the river Chebar.

43. "*that sad sepulchral rock*": the Holy Sepulchre.

51. "*Take up a weeping*": from Jereniah ix. 10. "For the mountains will I take up a weeping."

56. "*Had got a race of mourners,*" &c. The conceit is from the story of Ixion. So feeble and disagreeable an ending of the poem makes one agree the more willingly with the author's judgment of the whole, immediately appended. Observe the strange syntax of that prose addition.—Drummond, of Hawthornden, has three pieces on "The Passion" in his *Flowers of Sion* (1623). They may be compared with Milton's fragment.

## ON TIME.

3. "*Whose speed is but the heavy plummet's pace,*" *i.e.* the slow rate of descent of the leaden weights in a clock. The lines, as the draft of them among the Cambridge MSS. shows, were written "to be set on a clock-case." Compare Shakespeare's Sonnet lxxvii.

12. "*individual*": meaning here "indivisible," never to be separated. See *Par. Lost*, IV. 486, VII. 382, and XII. 85, with notes.

18. "*happy-making sight*": "the plain English," says Newton, "of Beatific Vision."

21. "*Attired with stars.*" Either "clothed with stars," or, as Mr. Keightley suggests, "crowned with stars." He produces instances of "attire" meaning head-dress.

### AT A SOLEMN MUSIC.

2. "*Sphere-born.*" In *Comus* (241) Echo is called "Daughter of the Sphere."

6. "*concent*," from the Latin *concentus*, "singing together," or harmony. In the First Edition it was printed "*content*."

7—16. "*sapphire-coloured throne*," &c. Ezek. i. 26; Rev. v. xi. and vi. 9.

20. "*nature's chime.*" Warton quotes the exact phrase from Ben Jonson.

23. "*perfect diapason*": *perfect* in First Edition, but "*perfet*" in Second. *Diapason* (literally "through all") is, in music, "the octave or interval which includes all the notes of the scale."

28. "*Consort*;" the word is so spelt in both Milton's own editions, and not "*concert*" as in some modern ones. *Consortium*, in Latin, means "society."

*Various Readings from the Cambridge MS. Drafts*:—There are three drafts of this piece in Milton's own hand in the Cambridge MS. volume (see Vol. II. 175—180); and they form an interesting example of Milton's habits of composition and care in correcting. From Todd's examination of these drafts it appears, in the first place, that the piece as it now stands does not contain several passages of the original sketch, these having been rejected by Milton's taste in revision. Thus between lines 4 and 5 in our present copy there came in the first draft these four lines:—

"And, whilst your equal raptures, temper'd sweet,  
In high mysterious spousal meet,  
Snatch us from earth a while,  
Us of ourselves and native woes beguile."

Again, after our present line 16, "*Singing everlastingly*," there came in the first draft this couplet, now omitted—

"While all the starry rounds and arches blue  
Resound and echo Hallelu."

Farther, after our present line 18 the first draft ran as follows, three lines now omitted standing instead of the present seven between 18 and 26 :—

“ By leaving out those harsh ill-sounding jars  
Of clamorous sin that all our music mars :  
And in our lives and in our song  
May keep in tune with Heaven,” &c.

But besides these positive omissions or recasts of whole passages, a scrutiny of the drafts in comparison with each other and with our present printed copy brings to light a great many minute variations. Thus *native* in the last line of the first of the now omitted passages is a substitution in the original draft itself for *home-bred*. For *whilst* in the first line of the same passage the second draft substitutes *as* and in the second line the second draft has the additional adjective *holy* before “spousal”—this word *holy* being again deleted and *happy* substituted in the margin—so in the second draft the first two lines of the third of the now omitted passages are altered thus :—

“ By leaving out those harsh chromatic jars  
Of sin that all our music mars.”

The following is an indication of the chief differences of the original phrasing in the lines as they are now printed, and of the successive verbal changes through which the present text of these lines was arrived at :—

Line 3 : originally,

“ Mix your choice words, and happiest sounds employ ; ”  
now,  
“ Wed your divine sounds and mixed power employ.”

Line 10 : originally *princely*, then *tripled*, now *burning*.

Line 11 : originally,

“ Their loud immortal trumpets blow ; ”  
then,  
“ Loud symphony of silver trumpets blow ; ”  
then,  
“ High-lifted, loud, and angel trumpets blow ; ”  
now,  
“ Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow.”

Line 12 : originally,

“ And Cherubim, sweet-wingèd squires ; ”  
now,  
“ And the Cherubic host in thousand quires.”

Line 14 : originally *the blooming*, now *victorious*.

Line 15 : originally *sacred*, now *holy*.

Line 19 : originally *could*, now *did*.

Line 28 : originally,

“ To live and sing with Him in ever-endless light.”

Subsequent successive variations :—

“ To live and sing with Him in ever-glorious light ; ”

“ To live and sing with Him in unecclipsèd light ; ”

“ To live and sing with Him where Day dwells without Night ; ”

“ To live and sing with Him in endless morn of light ; ”

“ To live and sing with Him in cloudless birth of light ; ”

“ To live and sing with Him in never-parting light ; ”

and now, finally,

“ To live with Him, and sing in endless morn of light.”

### SONG ON MAY MORNING.

Some of the phrases of this little piece,—such as “ Day’s harbinger,” “ comes dancing,” “ green lap,” “ pale primrose ”—belong to the traditional diction of poetry, and are found in poets older than Milton. Among instances cited, in unnecessary number, by Warton, take one from Spenser’s *Astrophel* :—

“ The dancing day, forth coming from the east.”

10. “ *And welcome thee,*” &c. Warton quotes from Chaucer’s *Knight’s Tale* :—

“ O Maye, with all thy floures and thy grene,<sup>1</sup>  
Right welcome be thou, faire freshe Maye.”

### ON SHAKESPEARE.

This is the simple title of the lines in Milton’s editions of his Poems ; but see, in *Introduction*, the fuller title in the Second Folio Shakespeare of 1632. Milton spells his great predecessor’s name “ Shakespear,” both here and in *L’Allegro* (line 133).

1—4. “ *What needs my Shakespeare,*” &c. One might almost suppose, from the wording of these lines, that there was a proposal, in or about 1630, to erect a monument to Shakespeare. It may be, however, that Milton had no such suggestion to move him, but merely thought for himself that Shakespeare did not need a monument. The famous monument in Stratford church had been put up at least as early as



1623, or seven years after Shakespeare's death, for it is mentioned in the lines by L. Digges to Shakespeare's memory prefixed to the First Folio, published in that year :—

“ Shakespeare, at length thy pious fellows give  
The world thy works—thy works by which outlive  
Thy tomb thy name must : when that stone is rent,  
And Time dissolves thy Stratford monument,  
Here we alive shall view thee still.”

By the bye, this fact that the monument was in existence in 1623 is an argument for the authenticity of the bust. Would not the parishioners of Stratford at that date, remembering Shakespeare's face perfectly as they did, remembering it as of quite recent Sundays when they had seen him walking to his place in the church, have resented the putting up of a bust glaringly unlike the original ?

4. “*star-ypointing*,” i.e. pointing to the stars. The word is hardly a correct formation, as the prefix *y* (German *ge*) belongs properly to the past participle passive, as in *yclad*, *yclept*.

8. “*livelong*.” So in both Milton's editions, but *lasting* in the Second Folio Shakespeare.

9, 10. “*to the shame of slow-endeavouring art, thy easy numbers flow*.” A reference to Shakespeare's extreme ease and fluency in composition, as attested by his fellow-players Heminge and Condell, the editors of the First Folio : “His mind and hand went together : And “what he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce “received from him a blot in his papers.” Ben Jonson testifies the same. “I remember,” he says in his *Discoveries*, “the players have “often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare that, in his writing, “whatsoever he penned, he never blotted out a line. My answer hath “been, Would he had blotted out a thousand ! Which they thought a “malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their “ignorance who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by “wherein he most faulted, and to justify mine own candour. For I “loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as “much as any. He was indeed honest, and of an open and free nature ; “had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions ; “wherein he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary “he should be stopped. *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of “Haterius.” This extreme ease in composition, or contentedness with first drafts, did not belong to Milton ; and he notes it in Shakespeare with admiration.

11. “*unvalued*” : invaluable. Todd quotes from Shakespeare (*Rich. III. I. 4.*) “unvalued jewels.”

12. “*Delphic lines*,” i.e. oracular lines, as if from Apollo's own temple at Delphi.

14. "*Dost make us marble with too much conceiving*": "dost change *us* into marble by the over-effort of thought to which thou compellest *us*"—a very exact description of Shakespeare's effect on his readers. I have ventured to emphasize the word *us* to bring out the sense; which is that we, Shakespeare's readers, are the true marble of his tomb or monument.

### ON THE UNIVERSITY CARRIER.

2. "*And here.*" In the First Edition "*A here*": evidently a misprint.

8. "*Dodged with him betwixt Cambridge and THE BULL.*" See Introd.—*Dodge* is an old English word, meaning, according to Wedgwood (*Dict. of Eng. Etym.*), "to jog, to move quickly to and fro; hence to follow in the track of anyone, to follow his ins and outs, also to deceive one by change of motion." Richardson, in his Dictionary, supposes the word akin to *dog* (to run after like a dog); but Wedgwood connects it with *dod* or *dad* (Scotticè *daud*), a lump of anything soft and moist, that may be flattened by throwing it against a wall or on the ground.

15. "*Showed him*": *i.e.* Death showed him; the nominative *Death* in the first clause of the sentence running on after the "*But*" of line 11.

### ANOTHER ON THE SAME.

5. "*Made of sphere-metal,*" *i.e.* of the same perfect and enduring metal of which the heavenly spheres are composed.

14. "*Too long vacation hastened on his term.*" The whole piece is a string of puns on Hobson's business and the circumstances of his death. The pun here is on the antithesis of the University *Long Vacation* and *Term* time.

18. "*If I may'nt carry,*" &c. Pun on the phrase "carry or fetch."

20. "*bearers,*" *i.e.* of the coffin.

29, 30. "*Obedient to the moon,*" &c. Hobson made four journeys every month—alternately from Cambridge to London and from London to Cambridge.

32. "*his wain was his increase.*" Pun on the two identical sounds—*wane*, wasting or diminution, and *wain*, waggon.

33. "*His letters,*" &c. Hobson acted as a postman between Cambridge and London, bringing letters from London to the College dons and students, and carrying back their answers.

AN EPITAPH ON THE MARCHIONESS OF WINCHESTER.

2, 3. "*wife of Winchester, a Viscount's daughter, an Earl's heir.*" See Introduction.

7, 8. "*Summers three times eight save one she had told*" : *i.e.* the lady was twenty-three years of age at her death.

13, 14. "*Nature and Fate had had no strife,*" &c. : *i.e.* had the lady lived to an age equal in length to her merits, her death would have been natural ; Nature and Fate would then have agreed in closing it, whereas now Nature quarrelled with what Fate had done.

17. "*The virgin quire*" : the bride's-maids.

18. "*The god that sits at marriage feast*" : *i.e.* Hymen, bringing his torch.

22. "*a cypress-bud*" : a bud of the funereal cypress, mixed with the marriage-wreath.

23—25. "*Once had the early matrons . . . and now,*" &c. : *i.e.* she had given birth to one child, a son ; and now, a second time, she was in childbirth. *Lucina*, among the Romans, was the goddess of childbirth (literally, of light, or bringing to light), and was identical with Juno or Diana.—The only son of the young Marchioness was Charles, called Lord St. John of Basing during his father's lifetime. He succeeded his father in 1674 as 6th Marquis of Winchester, and in 1689 was created Duke of Bolton.

28. "*Atropos*" : one of the three Fates, the other two being Clotho and Lachesis. While Clotho span the thread of life, and Lachesis decided what its length was to be, Atropos (*i.e.* the Inevitable) cut it across at the fated point.

33. "*languished.*" The verb "to languish" is here used actively, as meaning "to fatigue," "to cause to languish."

35—40. "*So have I seen,*" &c. The meaning is "So have I seen some tender plant completely plucked up by some careless swain who meant to pluck only its newly-shot flower."

47, 48. "*Gentle lady,*" &c. Warton compares the lines in *Cymbeline* (IV. 2):—

" Quiet consummation have,  
And renowned be thy grave."

50. "*seize*": in the peculiar legal sense of "to put one in possession of," "to settle one in a property."

56. "*Weept.*" So in original editions.

56. "*Helicon*": here used in its proper sense as the name of a mountain-range, or mountainous tract of country in Bœotia, sacred to the Muses, and in one spot of which was the fountain of Aganippe, which inspired those that drank of it. By mistake, Helicon became, with many poets, the name of this fountain, or of a river.

58. "*hearse*": not in our sense of a carriage for the dead, but in the older sense of a tomb, or framework over a tomb.

59. "*Sent thee from the banks of Came*": *i.e.* from Cambridge. The passage suggests that Milton's Elegy was but one of a number written, and perhaps printed, at Cambridge on the occasion; but no such volume is now known. (See *Introd.*)

62—70. "*Next her . . . that fair Syrian Shepherdess,*" &c.: *i.e.* Rachel, Jacob's wife. See Gen. xxix., xxx., and xxxv. 16—20.

74. "*No Marchioness, but now a Queen.*" Todd detects a reference in this and the preceding three lines to the story of Anne Boleyn's last message to Henry VIII., thanking him for advancing her first to be a Marchioness, then a Queen, and lastly a Saint in Heaven.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—The only important various reading presented by the interesting contemporary MS. copy of this Poem in the British Museum volume mentioned in the Introduction (Vol. II. p. 202, Note), occurs immediately after line 14. Instead of our present text from line 14 to line 24 the MS. has the following:—

" . . . to her life.  
Seven times had the yearlie starre  
In everie signe sett upp his carr  
Since for her they did request  
The god that sitts at marriage feast,  
When first the earlie matrons runne  
To greet her of her lovelie sonne.  
And now," &c.

If this is what Milton originally wrote, we can see how he improved the passage on revision.

### L'ALLEGRO.

1—3. "*Melancholy, of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born in Stygian cave.*" In the classic mythology it is Erebus, or Darkness, son of Chaos, that is the original husband of his sister Nyx or Night, their offspring being Aether (Sky) and Hemera (Day). But, in the same mythology, Night, quite apart from Erebus, is made the mother of

many other gruesome or mysterious beings, such as Thanatos (Death), Hypnos (Sleep), Nemesis, &c. Poets, accordingly, have added at will to her progeny by various husbands or without husband. Thus Spenser (*Teares of the Muses*) makes Ignorance one of her children, by her own son Sloth:—

“ Ignorance,  
Borne in the bosom of the black Abygge,  
And fed with Furies' milk for sustenance  
Of his weake infancie, begot amisse  
By yawning Sloth on his owne mother Night.”

Knowing all this, Milton chose to wed Cerberus to Night for the production of Melancholy. Some commentators have thought the conjunction inappropriate; and Mr. Keightley, to justify it, suggests that Milton “had in view the ordinary derivation of Cerberus, κῆρ-βυρός, *heart-devouring*.” Perhaps; but, without any such particularizing, was it not poetical enough to think of Melancholy as the child of Night and the Hell-dog?

6. “*his jealous wings*.” To explain the epithet “jealous” here, Warburton supposes an allusion to “the watch which fowls keep when they are sitting.”

7. “*the night-raven sings*.” The raven, from its black colour, its solitary habits, and its harsh croaking voice, has always figured as a bird of ill omen; and in the idea of the “night-raven,” heard in the darkness, this is intensified. The word occurs in Milton only in this passage; and the similar words “night-hag” and “night-steeds” also occur only once (*Par Lost*, II. 662, and *Od. Nat.* 236). Shakespeare has the “night-raven” in one passage: “I pray God his bad voice bode no mischief; I had as lief have heard the night-raven” (*Much Ado about Nothing*, II. 3). Among the night-fowls and solitary birds in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (5th Day of Week I.) are

“ The Skritch Owl, used in falling towers to lodge,  
Th' unlucky Night-Raven.”

8, 9. “*rocks, as ragged as thy locks*.” Whether “ragged” and “rugged” are only forms of the same word is disputed; some holding that “rugged” is from the root of the word *rough* (A.-S. *hruh*), and that this is distinct from A.-S. *hracian*, to tear, *hracod*, torn, whence “rag” and “ragged” are derived. The epithet “ragged” for rocks was not unfrequent. See Isaiah ii. 21, and Shaks. 3 *Henry VI.*, V. 4. The word occurs but once in Milton's poetry—*i.e.* only in this passage; the word “rugged” occurs six times.

10. “*dark Cimmerian desert*.” In the *Odyssey* the Cimmerians are described as a people dwelling “beyond the ocean-stream,” in a land of perpetual darkness; and, though they are known afterwards as a historical people, figuring round and near the Black Sea (whence the

name *Crimea*), this legendary idea of them and their country was perpetuated by the poets, so that the phrase "Cimmerian darkness" became hackneyed. The word occurs but in this passage in Milton's poetry.

11, 12. "*thou Goddess fair and free, in heaven yclept Euphrosyne.*" Warton and Todd quote several examples from our old poets of the conjunction of the epithets "fair" and "free" as denoting grace in women; the most apt of which in this connexion is one from Drayton (*Ecl.* iv.) :—

"He had, as antique stories tell,  
A daughter cleped Dowsabell,  
A maiden fair and free."

The word "yclept" (the old past participle of the verb *clepe* "to call," from the A.-S. *clepan*) occurs only in this passage in all Milton's poetry, and is spelt *ycleap'd* in the editions of 1645 and 1673. He uses the old verbal prefix *y* only twice besides—in the word *ychained* (*Od. Nat.* 155), and in the term *star-ypointing* (*On Shakespeare*).—EUPHROSYNE (*i.e.* Mirth or Cheerfulness), in the classic mythology, was one of the three Graces.

14—23. "*Whom lovely Venus,*" &c. The two sister Graces of Euphrosyne were AGLAIA (Brightness) and THALIA (Bloom), and the parentage of the three is given variously in the old mythology. Most commonly they are represented as the daughters of Zeus by Hera, or by one of several other goddesses, among whom Venus or Aphrodite is not mentioned. But Milton is his own mythologist here. He invents an option of two pedigrees for Euphrosyne. Either she is the daughter of Bacchus and Venus, born at one birth with the other Graces, Aglaia and Thalia—*i.e.* Cheerfulness may spring from Wine and Love; or, preferably, and by an airier and purer origin, she is the child of Aurora (the Dawn) begotten in early summer by Zephyr (the West Wind)—*i.e.* it is the early freshness of the summer morning that best produces Cheerfulness.

17. "*(as some sager sing).*" So in the original editions; corrupted into "sages" in some later ones.

18. "*frolic wind.*" Our customary adjective now is *frolicsome*, and *frolic* is generally used as a substantive; but Milton's use of *frolic* here as an adjective is quite correct. It is the same as the German *fröhlich* (cheerful, gay-like). On the only other occasion on which the word occurs in Milton's poetry (*Comus*, 59) it is also an adjective.

22. "*fresh-blown roses washed in dew.*" Shakespeare, as Bowle noted, has nearly the same: "morning roses newly washed in dew" (*Tam. of the Shrew*, II. 1).

24. "*So buxom, blithe, and debonair.*" The combination of two of these adjectives is found by Warton in Shakespeare's line, "So buxom,



blithe, and full of face" (Gower's prologue in *Pericles*, Act I.); and all three are found by Todd in the *Aristippus* of Thomas Randolph, published in 1635—"to make one blithe, buxome, and deboneer." *Buxom* means originally "flexible" or "easily bowed," from A.-S. *beogan*, to bow; hence "lively," or "lithe," and so to "handsome," though at present the word, by a forgetfulness of its original meaning, rather implies a stout kind of handsomeness. Milton uses it but twice—in its original sense in *P. L.* II. 842, and here in its nearest derivative sense. *Blithe* ("merry" or "gay"), an old English, or A.-S. word, is now mainly provincial or Scottish. *Debonair*, from the French (*de bon air*, good-looking), is a favourite word with the old Romancers.

27, 28. "Quips and Cranks and wanton Wiles,  
Nods and Becks and wreathed Smiles."

*Quip* is a smart or cutting saying, and is supposed to be the same etymologically as *whip*. Richardson, in his Dictionary, quotes a passage much to the point from Lyly's *Alexander and Campaspe*, 111. 2 :—

"Manes. We cynicks are mad fellows; didst thou not find I did quip thee?  
Pist. i. No verily: why, what's a quip?"

Manes. We great girders call it a short saying of a sharp wit, with a bitter sense in a sweet word."

Shakespeare, who uses the word again and again, has an excellent concrete illustration of it in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. 3 :—

"Falstaff. My honest lads, I will tell you what I am about.

Pistol. Two yards, and more.

Falstaff. No quips now, Pistol!"

*Crank* is literally a crook or bend: hence a "crank" in the sense of an iron rod bent into an elbow as in machinery, or a "crank" in the sense of the word in this passage—i.e. an odd turn of speech.—*Wile* is a trick, and the same word as *guile*.—A *beck* (to *beckon*) is a sign either with the finger or with the head—in which latter case it includes a *nod*. See the word *Par. Reg.*, II. 238. *Smiles* are called *wreathed* because they curl or wreath the features.—Warton supposes Milton to have remembered this line in a stanza in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* :—

"With becks, and nods, and smiles again."

33, 34. "Come, and trip it, as you go,  
On the light fantastic toe."

In *The Tempest*, Act I. sc. 1, Ariel says to Prospero, who has ordered him to summon the other Spirits of the Island—

"Before you can say 'come' and 'go,'  
And breathe twice, and say 'so, so,'  
Each one, tripping on his toe,  
Will be here with mop and mow."

Newton, pointing out that Milton may have had this passage in his mind, made the guess likelier by misquoting and abbreviating the passage thus, as if it were Ariel's address to the Spirits:—

“Come and go,  
Each one tripping on his toe.”

In this misquotation later commentators have followed Newton.

40. “*unreproved*”: in the sense of *unreproveable* or innocent. So in other cases in Milton, e.g. “unvalued,” for “not to be valued” or priceless, in the lines *On Shakespeare*.

45—48. “*Then to come, in spite of sorrow, and at my window,*” &c. This passage has been strangely misconstrued by some commentators, and a charge against Milton founded on the misconception. The sky-lark, they have told us, never comes to people's windows, to bid them good-morrow through the sweet-briar, the vine, the eglantine, or anything else; and, in making it do so, Milton showed that he did not so much observe nature at first hand as fancy her through books! If the commentators had hesitated a little, they would have avoided this nonsense. It is not the lark at all that Milton makes come to the window and bid good-morrow, and by no possibility could that absurdity fit with the syntax of the passage. By the syntax, as well as by the sense, it is L'Allegro, the cheerful youth (Milton himself, we may suppose), that comes to the window and salutes people. The words “*Then to come*” in line 45 refer back to, and depend upon, the previous words “*Mirth, admit me*” of line 38. Milton, or whoever the imaginary speaker is, asks Mirth to admit him to her company and that of the nymph Liberty, and to let him enjoy the pleasures natural to such companionship (38—40). He then goes on to specify such pleasures, or give examples of them. The first (41—44) is that of the sensations of early morning, when, walking round a country cottage, one hears the song of the mounting skylark, welcoming the signs of sunrise. The second is that of coming to the cottage window, looking in, and bidding a cheerful good-morrow through the sweet-briar, vine, or eglantine, to those of the family who are also early astir.—“*In spite of sorrow*”: is this merely a repetition of the opening strain of the poem, meaning generally “in defiance of Melancholy”; or may we suppose a subtle reference to some recent grief that had been in the special cottage in view, from the influence of which the inmates had hardly yet recovered? We have no right to assume the latter meaning; but it would be quite in Milton's way, and it would obviate a certain sense one might feel, on the other supposition, that the phrase had been brought in for the rhyme only.—“*Sweet-briar . . . eglantine.*” As these are now, with strict botanists, names for the same plant (*Rosa rubigenosa*), Warton supposes that by “the twisted eglantine” Milton meant the honeysuckle; Mr. Keightley, more

accurately, suggests the dog-rose (*Rosa canina*). The name is from the French (*eglantine* or *eglantier*, formed from *aiguille*, a needle), and implies prickliness. The sound of the word, as well as the associations with it, has made it a favourite with English poets from Chaucer downwards. Chaucer has the forms *eglatere* and *eglentere*. Popularly, several of the smaller-flowered kinds of wild-rose, besides the sweet-briar, are still called eglantine.

53. "*Oft listening*," &c. Here the poet passes on to a new pleasure, or a prolongation of the former. He has been looking round about the cottage or farmhouse, listening to the cock crowing or watching him strutting to the stack or barn-door; and now, sauntering in its neighbourhood, he hears, from the hill-side, and echoing through the wood, the horn of the early huntsman, out with the hounds.

57. "*Sometime walking*." Here, distinctly, *L'Allegro* is away from his cottage, and out on his morning walk.—"*not unseen*." "Happy men love witnesses of their joy" is Hurd's acute note on this expression.

59. "*eastern gate*": an expression found in Shakespeare, William Browne, elsewhere in Milton, and in the poets generally.

60. "*state*": *i.e.* "his stately progress," as Mr. Keightley expresses it.

62. "*dight*," arrayed: from the A.-S. *dihtan*, to arrange, furbish, set in order; still extant in the Scottish *dicht*, to wipe or clean. *Deck* is probably the same word.—"*The clouds in thousand liveries dight*." Almost a translation, as Warton has remarked, of a phrase in Milton's own description of Morning in the first of his Latin *Prousiones Oratoriæ* or Cambridge Academical Exercises: "*Ipsa quoque tellus in adventum Solis cultiori se induit vestitu, nubesque juxta variis chlamydatæ coloribus pompâ solenni longoque ordine videntur ancillari surgenti Dco.*" Compare the whole description of morning phenomena there with that of *L'Allegro*. Warton also quotes a passage from Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (Book I. Song 4), in which there is an enumeration of morning phenomena not unlike that of a portion of Milton's poem: *e.g.* "Chanticler, the village-cock," the "swart ploughman," the "re-echoes of the deep-mouthed hound," and "the shepherd's daughter with her cleanly pail."

67. "*tells his tale*." Warton, on a suggestion from a friend, proposed to understand this to mean "telling the tale" of his sheep, *i.e.* counting them; and this is certainly one of the meanings of the word *tale* from A.-S. *talian*, to reckon,—*e.g.* "the tale of the bricks" which the Israelites had to make in Egypt (Exod. v. 8). Browne, in his *Shepherd's Pipe*, Ecl. v., as Warton pointed out, has this passage:—

"When the shepherds from their fold  
All their bleating charges told,  
And, full careful, searched if one  
Of all their flock were hurt or gone."

It *may* be that Warton's reading is right, the rather because, as in this passage from Browne, counting the sheep was a morning occupation for each shepherd, whereas one can hardly fancy shepherds met under a hawthorn and telling stories to each other so early in the day. Still the other, and more popular and pleasing, interpretation may be defended.

69. "*Straight mine eye*," &c. By this rapid turn of phrase Milton skilfully indicates a new paragraph in his description. Hitherto he has been delighting in the phenomena of early morning; now his eye catches "*new pleasures*"—i.e. he is still out on his walk, but some time has elapsed, and it is farther on in the day. "*Straight*" means "instantaneously," not in the actual succession of sights in the walk, but in the poem, or what of the walk he chooses, as *L'Allegro*, to remember or fancy.

70. "*landskip*;" spelt "*lantskip*" in the First and Second Editions.

71. "*Russet lawns, and fallows grey*." *Lawn* now commonly means a stretch of green grass in front of a mansion; but the epithet "*russet*" (reddish) shows that Milton, here as in the five other places where he has used the word in his poetry, understood it rather in its original sense of *land* or *laund*, any open space, even of a moory look, among woods. Over such, and over the "*grey fallows*," the sheep might be seen nibbling. As "*fallow*" (German *falb*, and Latin *fulvus*, yellow) means ploughed land left unsown, "*grey*" may here have the sense of tawny, rather than ash-coloured. But the colour would vary with the soil.

73, 74. "*Mountains*," &c. See Introd. p. 206.

75. "*with daisies pied*." Almost certainly a recollection of Shakespeare's "*When daisies pied and violets blue*" in the last song in *Love's Labour Lost*. "*Pied*," a common word with the old poets, means variegated in colour: thus *pie* or *magpie*, and *piebald*. Perhaps the root is in *pingo*, to paint; whence *picture*. Drayton speaks of the "*py'd kingfisher*"; Shakespeare is supposed to have invented the word "*piedness*" in a passage about flowers (*Winter's Tale*, IV. 3); but Hakluyt has the same word. See Richardson's Dict. under *Pie*.

77—80. "*Towers and battlements*," &c. See Introd. pp. 205, 206.

79. "*lies*," lodges, resides: not an uncommon old meaning. A passage in point, quoted by Mr. Browne, is "*When the Court lay at Windsor*" (*Merry Wives*, II. 2).

80. "*cynosure*" (literally "the dog's tail," *κυνος ουρα*) was the Greek name for the constellation of the Lesser Bear, which contains the pole-star. The Phœnician mariners directed their eyes to this constellation in steering their course, while the Greeks steered by the Greater Bear. Thus Ovid, *Fasti* III. 107-8:—

"Esse duas Arc'os, quarum Cynosura petatur  
Sidoniis, Helicen Graia carina notet."

By metaphor from this "cynosure" of Phœnician navigation any thing or person on whom eyes were fastened for any reason might be called their "cynosure." Mr. Browne quotes an apt passage from Hacket's *Life of Williams*, where the Countess of Buckingham is spoken of as "the Cynosura that all the Papists steered by."

82—87. "*Corydon and Thyrsis . . . Phillis . . . Thestylis.*" Stock-names in pastoral poetry, here applied by Milton to English rustics. Their being at dinner indicates that it is now about mid-day.

91, 92. "Sometimes, with secure delight,  
The upland hamlets will invite."

So Milton again notes a paragraph in the poem, changing the scene. It is now past mid-day, and into the afternoon; and we are invited to a rustic holiday among the "upland hamlets" or little villages among the slopes, away from the river-meadows and the hay-making.—"secure," not here in its derivative meaning of "safe," but in its original meaning of "careless" or "free from care" (*securus*). Mr. Browne happily quotes a discrimination, and even opposition, of the two meanings from Ben Jonson—

"Men may securely sin, but safely never."

94. "*rebecks.*" The *rebeck* was a kind of fiddle, supposed to be the same as Chaucer's *ribibe*; which again is the Arabic *rebeb*, a two-stringed instrument played with a bow, which the Arabs are said to have brought into Spain (Warton, and Richardson's Dict.). Warton notes that the name of the fiddler in *Romeo and Juliet* (IV. 4) is Hugh Rebeck.

96. "*chequered shade.*" So, as the commentator Richardson noted, in *Titus Andronicus*, II. 3 :—

"The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind  
And make a chequered shadow on the ground."

98. "*On a sunshine holiday.*" The word "sunshine" used adjectively, for "sunshiny." Milton repeats the exact phrase in *Comus*, 959. Shakespeare had the adjective before him (*Richard II.*, IV. 1); Spenser has "sunshiny" (*F. Q.* i. xii. 23).

100. "*Then,*" i.e. as it grows dark.

102. "*How Faery Mab the junkets eat.*" See the famous description of the Fairy Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 4; also another, more prosaic, in Ben Jonson's masque, *The Satyr* (1603). The beginning of the latter may be quoted :—

"This is Mab, the mistress Fairy,  
That doth nightly rob the dairy,  
And she can hurt or help the churning,  
As she please, without discerning ;

\* \* \* \* \*



“She that pinches country wenches  
 If they rub not clean their benches,  
 And with sharper nails remembers  
 When they rake not up their embers;  
 But, if so they chauce to feast her,  
 In a shoe she drops a tester.”

—“*junkets*,” from Low Lat. *juncata*, Ital. *giuncata*, meaning cream-cheese, or the like country delicacy made from milk, and so called because such things were wrapt in rushes (Ital. *giunco*, a rush).

103, 134. “*She was pinched and pulled, she said;  
 And he,*” &c.

*She* in the first line and *he* in the second are two of the persons who are telling the stories round the nut-brown ale. One, a girl, tells about Queen Mab, and can vouch, from her own experience, that all is true that is said of the pranks of that Fairy; for “*she* was pinched and pulled” by her, exactly as in the legends. Then, another colloquist, a man, follows with *his* story.

104, 105. “*And he, by Friar’s lantern led,  
 Tells how the drudging goblin,*” &c.

So in the First Edition; but in the Second the first line runs “*And by the Friar’s lantern led.*” This seems to be a misprint; for, though the construction is difficult with the other reading, it would be hopeless with this. The construction with the other seems to be “And he [the male speaker], by Friar’s lantern led [*i.e.* who had had an experience of Friar Rush as distinct as the girl had had of Queen Mab], tells how the drudging goblin,” &c.—“*By Friar’s lantern led*”: *i.e.*, who had once been led into a marsh at night by that mysterious flickering light which philosophers call the *Ignis Fatuus*, and try to explain by physical causes, but which is known in English and Scottish popular mythology as the fiendish being *Jack-o’-the-Lantern*, or *Will-o’-the-Wisp*, or *Spunkie*, who flits in luminous form over marshy lands, to deceive travellers and lure them to their destruction. Milton here calls the same “*Friar’s lantern*,” meaning, it is supposed, “*Friar Rush’s lantern*”; and, if so, Mr. Keightley insists that he is wrong, inasmuch as the “*Friar Rush*” of the popular Fairy mythology is a domestic spirit, who haunts houses, and not the same being at all as the out-of-doors “*Jack-o’-the-Lantern*.” Whether it was the Friar’s lantern or Jack’s lantern, however, it had once misled the rustic who was now talking over the nut-brown ale. He was therefore an authority in this class of subjects, and any story of his would be heard with attention. The story he does tell, after his qualifying personal preface about his encounter with Jack-o’-the-Lantern, refers to quite another member of the Fairy brotherhood, viz. “*The Drudging Goblin.*”



105--114.

"how the drudging<sup>\*</sup> goblin sweat  
To earn his cream-bowl," &c.

The "drudging goblin" is Robin Goodfellow, *alias* Hobgoblin, *alias* (by high promotion) Shakespeare's Puck.—Although the word "Robin Goodfellows" is sometimes found in the plural as a name for an order of goblins (*Goblin, Kobold* in the German mythology, perhaps the same as the Greek *κοβாலος*, a rogue), there was one pre-eminent Robin Goodfellow. He was a kind of masculine Queen Mab, performing among the ploughmen and farm-labourers the same offices of mischievous interference and occasional good service that her fairy ladyship did among the housemaids and dairymaids. In the rustic imagination, and! usually in books, he was represented as a huge, loutish fellow, of great strength, but very lazy, who could be roused, by kind treatment, and especially by a bowl of cream or the like set out for him, to do an immense stroke of work in the barn during the night. He figures a good deal in Elizabethan popular literature; *e.g.* he is one of the characters in Ben Jonson's masque, *Love Restored*. Coming in there among the Court masquers, he says: "Are these "your court sports? Would I had kept me to my gambols o' the "country still, selling of fish, short service, shoeing the wild mare, or "roasting of robin-redbreast! These were better than, after all this "time, no masque. You look at me: I have recovered myself now "for you. I am the honest plain country spirit and harmless, Robin "Goodfellow: he that sweeps the hearth and the house clean, riddles "for the country maids, and does all their drudgery." If, after this, the reader will pass to the Puck of *Midsummer Night's Dream*, expressly introduced there (Act II. sc. 1) as identical with Robin Goodfellow and also called Hobgoblin, it will be seen how Shakespeare, keeping some of his lineaments, has refined and idealized him. Milton's "drudging goblin," however, is the genuine uncultured Robin Goodfellow of the rustics themselves, more Jonson's than Shakespeare's. He is the "lubber fiend" (*lob, looby*, an old word, both Celtic and Germanic, meaning a lout, though it must be in another sense that Shakespeare calls Puck "thou lob of spirits"); the cream-bowl tempts him to exert himself and do ten men's work with his flail in the night; and, this work done, and the cream in his crop, he lies basking his hairy strength at the kitchen fire till morning.

117. "*Towered cities please us then*": *i.e.* when the rustics, with their early habits, are asleep, and the pall of darkness comes over the country fields, the mood of L'Allegro, the educated youth who would still prolong his waking hours with fit employment, transfers itself to cities and *their* objects of interest. Observe, it is the *mood* that is transferred; not the youth in person. The rest of the poem, from this point onward, may be taken as describing the evening reveries, readings, and other recreations, of the imaginary youth in his country-cottage,

after his morning's walk and afternoon among the rustics. The word *then* in this line, as elsewhere in the poem, does important duty.

120. "*In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold.*" The word *weeds*, now usually confined to the phrase "widow's weeds," was once far more general (A.-S. *wæd*, clothing). Shakespeare has the phrase "weeds of peace" (*Troil. and Cres.* III. 3).—"triumphs," in the sense of lordly entertainments, is a common word in Elizabethan literature, and is perhaps best defined, as Mr. Browne has pointed out, in Bacon's Essay *On Masques and Triumphs*. After treating of Masques, he passes to Triumphs thus:—"For justs, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories "of them are chiefly in the chariots wherein the challengers make their "entry . . . or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery of their "liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour."

121. "*store of ladies.*" So, in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, as quoted by Warton, "store of faire ladies," and in Spenser's *F. Q.* (v. iii. 2), as quoted by Todd, "Of lords and ladies infinite great store."

122. "*Rain influence.*" A metaphor from Astrology. See *Ode Nat.* 71.

125, 126. "There let Hymen oft appear  
In saffron robe, with taper clear."

Warton refers to Ben Jonson's *Hymenæi, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage*, where there is this introductory account of Hymen's appearance:—"Entered Hymen, the God of Marriage, in a "saffron-coloured robe, his under-vestures white, his socks yellow, a "yellow veil of silk on his left arm, his head crowned with roses and "marjoram, in his right hand a torch of pine-tree." This is Hymen at his gaudiest; but he and his saffron robe and torch are frequent in poetry. Milton substitutes a taper for the torch.

127. "*pomp,*" i.e. solemn procession (Greek, *πομπη*).

131. "*Then to the well-trod stage.*" The reading and reverie hitherto have been among romances and tales of chivalry, such as Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*; but now there come readings in the dramatists.

132—134. "If Jonson's learned sock be on,  
Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,  
Warble his native wood-notes wild."

It is the lighter kind of drama, the drama of the "~~sock~~" (*Comedy*, in performing which the actors wore low-heeled shoes), rather than that of the "~~buskin~~" (*Tragedy*, in performing which the actors wore high-heeled boots), that suits the mood of L'Allegro. Jonson himself has the phrase "when thy socks were on" with reference to Shakespeare's comic dramas, as distinct from his tragedies, or the "tread" of his "buskin"—hardly knowing which to praise most (*Lines to the Memory of Shakespeare*);

and Milton probably borrowed the phrase from Jonson to increase his compliment to that stalwart writer. As Jonson did not die till 1637, the compliment was, probably, one to a living man. In speaking of "Jonson's *learned* sock," Milton kept to the established epithet about Jonson, whose "learning" was his chief quality with most critics. So in the epithets "sweetest" and "Fancy's child," applied to the dead Shakespeare, who was still remembered as "the gentle" and "the honey-tongued," and whose prodigious natural genius critics contrasted with Jonson's learning and laboriousness. The two lines given to Shakespeare in *L'Allegro* have been thought under the mark of the subject; and the words "warble his native wood-notes wild," though perhaps a suitable mention of Shakespeare's lyrics, do strike one as not comprehensive enough for his Comedies. It is to be remembered, however, that Milton is touching things here but lightly and briefly, and that "Fancy" (Phantasy) had a larger meaning then than now. Fortunately, also, we can go back to Milton's lines *On Shakespeare* in 1630, and be fully satisfied. See *Introd.* and *Notes* to that piece. For variations in Milton's regard for Shakespeare and the Drama generally in his more advanced life, see *Introd.* to *Samson Agonistes*. To the references there given we may now add, after Warton, a quotation from the *Theatrum Poetarum* of Milton's nephew Edward Phillips, published in 1675. Milton had then been dead a year; but he had trained Phillips and formed his tastes in poetry, and had probably helped him with hints for this very book. "In Tragedy," says Phillips of Shakespeare, "never any expressed a more lofty and tragic highth, "never any represented nature more purely to the life; and, where the "polishments of art are most wanting, as probably his learning was not "extraordinary, he pleases with a certain wild and native elegance."

135, 136.

"*And ever, against eating cares,  
Lap me in soft Lydian airs.*"

In other words, readings are now exchanged for music. But, as it was the lighter and more luscious kind of reading that suited the lively mood, so it is the softer and sweeter kind of music—the "*Lydian*," rather than the "*Dorian*" or the "*Phrygian*." These were the three ancient kinds of music; and their differences are described technically by musicians.—"*eating cares*" is a translation of Horace's *mordaces sollicitudines* (*Ode* I. xviii. 4), or rather of his "*curas edaces*" (*Od.* II. xi. 18).

137. "*Married to immortal verse.*" There is the same metaphor in *At a Solemn Music*, and other poets have it.

139. "*bout*," a bend or turn, connected with the verb *bow*. Spenser, who uses the word several times, in the sense of the *folds* or *wreathings* of a serpent's body or a dragon's tail, spells it "boughte" (*F. Q.* I. i. 15, and I. xi. 11, and Virgil's *Gnat*, 305).

144. "*harmony*," in its express musical sense, as more than melody.

145—150. "*That Orpheus' self*," &c. Orpheus, in the Greek mythology, was the unparalleled singer and musician, the power of whose harp or lyre drew wild beasts, and even rocks and trees, to follow him. His wife Eurydice having died, he descended into Hades to recover her, if possible. His music, charming even the damned, prevailed with Pluto, who granted his prayer on condition that he should not look on Eurydice till he had led her completely out of Hades and into the upper world. Unfortunately, on their way upwards, he turned to see if she was following him; and she was caught back. Hence the significance of lines 148—150.

## II. PENSEROSO.

1—30. "*Hence, vain deluding Joys*," &c. The studied antithesis of *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro* throughout declares itself in these opening thirty lines, which exactly match and counterpoise the first four-and-twenty lines of *L'Allegro*. So closely is the one poem framed on the model of the other, that it would be impossible to say, on mere internal evidence, which was written first. Most probably the idea of two such companion pieces was in Milton's mind before he wrote either, and he fulfilled that idea by writing them in the order in which they now stand, and in which they were originally published by himself. This is a case in which a writer, describing two moods or doctrines, would place that one last which, on the whole, he favoured most, and to which he meant to lend his weight. So fairly is the question stated, however, and with such real liking for both sides, that, but for this matter of the arrangement, all signs of ultimate preference may be said to be removed. Perhaps combination was the lesson intended. Thinking of Milton's whole life, we identify him most naturally with *Il Penseroso*; but may we not have forgotten how much of *L'Allegro* there was in him potentially, at all events in his youth?

3. "*bested*": avail, advantage, stand in stead to, or stand by (by-stand). The same meaning of the verb is instanced in a passage from Sir Francis Drake's *West India Voyage*, quoted in Richardson's Dictionary. Speaking of a quantity of dried fish of which he had made a prize, and which he distributed among his fleet, he says, "The same [was] so new and good as it did very greatly bestead us in the whole course of our voyage." But another and perhaps more usual meaning of the word is "placed," "situated" (A.-S. *stede*, a place). Richardson quotes this instance from Barrow: "He who looks so deformedly and dismally, who in outward sight is so ill bestead, and so pitifully accoutred, hath latent in him much of admirable beauty and glory." So "hardly bestead

and hungry," in Isaiah viii. 21. In this second sense the word seems to be a past participle passive of the former verb: thus, "*to bestead*" (perhaps originally pronounced *besteale*), "to stand by," "*bested*," "stood-by."

6. "*fond*," in its old sense of "foolish."

6—10. "*gaudy shapes . . . as thick and numberless as the gay motes that people the sun-beams, or likest hovering dreams . . . Morpheus' train.*" In his notes on this passage, Warton, besides unnecessarily quoting Chaucer's "As thick as motes in the sunne-beams" (*Wife of Bath's Tale*, 868), and the like brief examples of the use of a phrase which is common property, ventures on the assertion that the imagery of the whole "is immediately from Sylvester's *Cave of Sleep* in Du Bartas." It may be well to quote the passage:—

" Confusedly about the silent bed  
Fantastick swarms of dreams there hovered,  
Green, red, and yellow, tawny, black, and blew;  
Som sacred, som profane, som false, som true;  
Som short, som long, som develish, som divine,  
Som sad, som glad; but monstrous all (in fine):  
'They make no noise, but right resemble may  
'Th' unnumbered moats which in the sun do play,  
When (at som cranny) with his piercing ey  
He pcepeth in, som darker place to spy."

Sylv. Du Bartas, ed. 1613, p. 396 (*The Vacation*).

In the fancy that Milton remembered this passage Warton may be right, more especially as "*Morpheus*" is named a few lines before, and the phrase "*gaudy* swarm of dreams" occurs a few lines after; but this single instance will show on what little results parallel-passage-hunting may plume itself as successful.

10. "*pensioners*": retinue, literally "paid dependents." So Shakespeare, "The cowslips tall her pensioners be" (*Mids. Night's Dream*, II. 1). Warton thinks this metaphorical use of the word originated in the fact of the establishment by Queen Elizabeth of a guard composed of handsome young noblemen and gentlemen, specially under the name of *Pensioners*; and he cites Dame Quickly's "Yet there had been Earls, nay, which is more, Pensioners," as proving the influence of the institution on the popular speech. But as *Pensioners* or *Pensionaries*, both word and thing, were certainly older than Elizabeth's time, so may have been the metaphorical application of the word.

14. "*To hit the sense.*" Mr. Browne cites "A strange invisible perfume hits the sense" (*Ant. and Cleop.* II. 2).

18. "*Prince Memnon's sister.*" Memnon, in the legends of the Trojan war, is a prince of the Ethiopians who came to the aid of Priam, and was killed by Achilles. Though black or dark, he was of splendid beauty (*Odys.* xi. 522), and the same might be presumed of



any sister of his. Milton was supposed to have invented the "sister" for his purpose ; but there are actual sisters in the legends. Tithonus, the brother of Priam, and Eos or Aurora, were the parents of these dark beauties.

19—21. "*that starred Ethiop queen that strove*," &c. Cassiope, wife of Cepheus, King of the Ethiopians, and mother of Andromeda, challenged the Nereids for the superiority of beauty. In revenge, they got Poseidon to send a ravaging monster into Ethiopia ; and Andromeda was about to be sacrificed to this monster, when she was saved by her lover Perseus. Cassiope was raised to heaven and turned into the constellation *Cassiopeia* : hence Milton's epithet of "*starred*." Her daughter Andromeda had afterwards the same honour.—Warton had seen, in books, an old Gothic astronomical print in which Cassiope was represented as a black female figure marked with white stars. He suggests that Milton must have seen the same, and that "*starred*" may thus more easily have come into his mind. Warton, Mr. Bowle, and others, also found in the whole description of Melancholy in the *Penseroso*, from line 12 onwards, traces of Milton's acquaintance with Albert Dürer's print of *Melancholia*.

23—30. "*Thee bright-haired Vesta . . . to solitary Saturn*," &c. : As Milton had invented a genealogy for Mirth (*L'Allegro*, 14—24), so now, with even more subtlety of significance, he invents one for Melancholy. She is the daughter of the solitary Saturn (from whose name and disposition our word *saturnine*) by his own child Vesta or Hestia, the goddess of the domestic hearth ; and she was born in the far primeval time, while Saturn still reigned as the supreme God and had not been dispossessed by his son Zeus. That Milton here implied that Melancholy comes from Solitude or Retirement cannot be doubted ; the question is as to the meaning of the other form of the parentage. Is Vesta to be taken simply as the Hearth-affection, or pure Domesticity ? Perhaps so ; and to say that Melancholy comes of solitary musings at the fireside, or at one's own "ingle-nook," would be no bad derivation. But the epithet "*bright-haired*" applied to Vesta, and the subsequent imagination of her meetings with Saturn in the glimmering glades of Mount Ida, seem to require a more bold and mystic view of the nature of this goddess. Warton identifies her with Genius, and supposes Milton to mean therefore that Melancholy is the daughter of Solitude and Genius. One remembers, however, that Vesta was the goddess of the sacred eternal fire that could be tended only by vowed virginity ; and here one is on the track of a peculiarly Miltonic idea. See *Comus*, 783—789, *Elegia Sexta*, 55—66, and a famous autobiographic passage in the prose *Apology for Smectymnus*.

31. "*pensive Nun*." Does not the immediate occurrence in Milton's mind of this epithet for Melancholy give an additional likelihood to the suggestion in the end of last note ?



33. "*grain*" : colour. See note, *Par. Lost*, V. 285.

35. "*sable stole of cypress lawn*" : *i.e.* scarf or mantilla of fine black linen crape. Some derive the word *cypress* in this sense from the old French word *crespé*, crisped or curled (modern *crêpé*, whence crape); there is a probability, however, that this kind of fabric was brought first from the island of Cyprus, and that the name signifies that origin. Frequently, in the old poets, when the fabric is mentioned, it is spelt "*Cyprus*" : thus in Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* the pedlar Autolycus comes in with his wares (IV. 4) singing—

"Lawn as white as driven snow,  
Cyprus black as e'er was crow."

But we have also the spellings "*cypress*," "*cypres*," "*cipresse*," "*cipres*," &c., as if all recollection of the island in connexion with the article had been lost. Milton's spelling in this line both in the First and in the Second Edition is "*Cipres*," with a capital letter and in italics; which is his usual way of printing a proper name.

37. "*keep thy wonted state*" : *i.e.* stately mien and behaviour. One of the old meanings of the noun "state" was "regal or ceremonial chair," or the "canopy" over such a chair (see note to *Par. Lost*, VII. 440); and from this meaning there were extensions. Sometimes these still implied the seated posture, as in Ben Jonson's lines (*Cynthia's Revels*, v. 3) cited by Warton :—

"Seated in thy silver chair,  
State in wonted manner kcep."

But the "*stately*" behaviour might be maintained after the chair was left; and Milton here, though using Jonson's very phrase, imagines it of Melancholy not seated, but walking "with even step and musing gait."

39. "*commercing*" : accented on the second syllable, as was then rather common.

42. "*Forget thyself to marble*" : same idea as in line 14 of the piece *On Shakespeare*; which see, and the note on it.

43. "*With a sad leaden downward cast*." Leaden-coloured eye-sockets betoken melancholy, or excess of thoughtfulness; but see *Epitaph. Dam.* 79, 80 :—

"Saturni grave sæpe fuit pastoribus astrum,  
Intimaque obliquo figit præcordia plumbo."

*i.e.* the star Saturn has a *leaden* or dispiriting influence on shepherds, or sons of the Muses, making them causelessly melancholy. It is much to Warton's credit that, in his note on these lines in the Latin poem, he thought of referring to the present line in *Il Penseroso*. Leaden was

the Saturnian colour; and Melancholy was the daughter of Saturn. Her eyes had the leaden hue of the blast from her father's star.

46—48. "*Spare Fast*," &c. A favourite Miltonic principle here. See again *Eleg. Sexta*, 55—66.

51—54. "But, first and chiefest, with thee bring  
Him that yon soars on golden wing,  
Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne,  
The Cherub Contemplation."

A daring use of the great vision, in Ezekiel, chap. x., of the sapphire throne, the wheels of which were four cherubs, each wheel or cherub full of eyes all over, while in the midst of them, and underneath the throne, was a burning fire. Milton, whether on any hint from previous Biblical commentators I know not, ventures to *name* one of these cherubs who guide the fiery wheelings of the visionary throne. He is the Cherub *Contemplation*. With Milton, as with other writers of his century, Contemplation was a word of high meaning. It was by the serene faculty named Contemplation that one attained the clearest notions of divine things,—mounted, as it were, into the very blaze of the Eternal, or the sight of the Throne of God. Nay, the Throne itself wheeled partly on *him*!—"yon" (A.-S. *geond*) adverbially for "*yonder*," as if the poet pointed his finger to heaven when he spoke of Contemplation. In nine other cases in which the word occurs in Milton's poetry it is uniformly an adjective,—"*yon* flowing estuary," &c. The adverbial use of *yon* still exists in Scotland.

55, 56. "And the mute Silence *hist* along,  
'Less Philomel will deign a song."

"*Hist*" is imperative, in continuation of the imperative "*bring*" in line 51; and the meaning is "Move through the mute Silence hushingly, or saying Hush!—*i.e.* telling the Silence to continue—unless the nightingale shall choose to break it by one of her songs."—*Less* or *les*, as a contraction or substitute for *unless*, occurs occasionally in old writers; and Richardson, in his Dictionary, quotes two examples from Ben Jonson. That Milton here means it for a contraction appears by his prefixing the apostrophe. This is done both in the First and in the Second Edition.

59, 60. "While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke  
Gently o'er the accustomed oak."

*i.e.* "while the Moon, entranced with the song, is seen to check the pace of her dragon-drawn chariot over a particular oak-tree, that she may listen the longer." In Milton's Latin poem, *In ob. Præs. El.* (56—58) there is exactly the same image for the Moon in her course:—

"deam  
Vidi triformem, dum coercebat suos  
Frænis dracones aureis."

Shakespeare also, in two passages quoted by Mr. Browne (*Mid. N. Dr.* III. 2, and *Cymbel.* II. 2) has "Night's dragons," or "dragons of the night." This is apparently a modern poetical liberty; for in the ancient mythology, as Mr. Keightley remarks, it is only the chariot of Demeter or Ceres that is drawn by dragons.—"*accustomed oak.*" Why the epithet "*accustomed*"? Is it because Milton here thinks not from the point of view of Cynthia, but from that of an observer of Cynthia? Was there a particular oak over which he himself had often watched the slowly-moving Moon? Altogether it is a beautiful picture!

61—64. "*Sweet bird,*" &c. In Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (First Week, 5th Day) there is a long passage on the Nightingale, in the opening of which a certain stiff resemblance may be discerned to this passage in the *Penseroso*. He has been speaking of other birds, and especially of the songs of the lark, linnet, and goldfinch, and continues:—

"All this is nothing to the Nightingale,  
Breathing, so sweetly from a breast so small,  
So many tunes, whose harmony excels  
Our voice, our viols, and all music else.  
Good Lord! how oft in a green oaken grove,  
In the cool shadow, have I stood and strove  
To marry mine immortal lays to theirs,  
Rapt with delight of their delicious airs!  
And yet, methinks, in a thick thorn I hear  
A nightingale to warble sweetly-clear."

Milton's fondness for the Nightingale appears not only in the present famous passage and in Sonnet I., but also in *Comus*, 234-5 and 566-7, and in *Par. Lost*, IV. 602—604, and 771, and VII. 435-6.

65. "*unseen.*" In antithesis to line 57 of *L'Allegro*. See note there.

66. "*On the dry smooth-shaven green.*" One fancies this green to be a well-kept lawn near some house, close to the "*accustomed oak*" of line 60.

67. "*wandering moon.*" Mr. Keightley cites the "*vaga luna*" of Horace (*Sat.* I. viii. 21) and the "*errantem lunam*" of Virgil (*Æn.* I. 742).

69. "*had.*" Some editions have "*has*"; which is a misprint.

72. "*Stooping through a fleecy cloud.*" Everyone must have noticed this appearance of the moon, when surrounded by masses of white cloud-wreath, in an otherwise blue sky. Their motion is transferred to her; and she seems sometimes to wade or bowl through them horizontally, sometimes to stoop among them.

73—76.

"Oft, on a plat of rising ground,  
I hear the far-off curfew sound,  
Over some wide-watered shore,  
Swinging slow with sullen roar."

Milton, or Il Penseroso, who has last moment been walking, in fancy, on a "dry smooth-shaven green," watching the moon over an oak-tree, is now on a higher bit of flat ground, the level top of some hillock, listening to the sound of the far-off curfew bell, booming in the darkness, or rather in the moonlight, 'over' miles of scenery. But what scenery? "Over some wide-watered shore," he says. Observe the word "*some*." It is a distinct intimation, if such were at all necessary, that the whole visual circumstance is ideal—that the Penseroso of the poem is not actually out walking in any particular locality, but is imagining himself, in reverie, here, there, and everywhere, at the bidding of his mood. Still, a recollection of some actual spot may well have been in Milton's mind as he suggested the imaginary one. The old custom of ringing the curfew at eight or nine o'clock in the evening (originally the signal for people to put out or cover up their fires : *couvre-feu*) was kept up in various parts of England in Milton's time, as it is in some to the present day ; and, if Milton wanted to think of any particular spot, he could have no difficulty in choosing. The neighbourhood of Oxford, I believe, has put in a claim. The sound of the eight o'clock bell from Christ Church is still one of the characteristics of Oxford, and is heard afar. It might be heard, say, at Forest Hill. But where in that vicinity is the "wide-watered shore" ? It is suggested that the word "shore" may stand, as it sometimes does in old writers, for the banks of a river or the boundary of a lake ; and, if the country near Oxford were flooded, as it used to be, there would be a sufficient shore in this sense. Even those who have no thought of the neighbourhood of Oxford in the passage still imagine that it is over "some wide-watered shore" in the sense of some inland lake or sheet of waters that the curfew is heard sounding. But why should the "wide-watered shore" not be the sea-shore ? This seems the natural meaning of the phrase ; and would it not be an omission in a poem on Melancholy if there were no mention of "the melancholy main" ? Moreover, "shore," in every other case where Milton uses the word, is with him the shore of a sea, or of something that cannot be all seen round at once, and is therefore vast enough to be called a sea ; and, even were it not so, the phrase "wide-watered shore" itself would suggest that here at all events Milton was thinking of a long single line of coast beaten against by the waves, and not of a limited circular lake-boundary. In this last case it would be the country or district that would be said to be "wide-watered," and not the "shore."——"*Swinging slow with sullen roar*." Were it concluded that by the "wide-watered shore" Milton meant some imaginary bit of sea-shore, then, by no very forced construction, it might be the sea on this shore, and not the bell, that was swinging and roaring. The ordinary construction, however, which connects "swinging" with the "far-off curfew" is perhaps the more natural. "Roar," as applied to a bell, is not usual, but it is conceivable ; and "sullen" is proper enough, for we have Shakespeare's "sullen bell"

(*King Henry IV.* Part II. i. 1), and even his “surly, sullen bell” (Sonnet 71).

77, 78.           “*Or, if the air will not permit,  
Some still, removed place will fit.*”

“*air*” is “state of the weather,” and the “still, removed place” is some quiet part of the house conveniently away from the rest.—“*removed*” is an alternative form for “remote,” with a slightly modified meaning. In *Hamlet* the ghost beckons the Prince to “a more removed ground” (I. 4). Observe that, whereas in *L’Allegro* the evening indoors did not begin till line 117, or near the end of the poem, here we are indoors at line 77, and three-fifths of the poem are yet to come.

83, 84. “*Or the bellman’s drowsy charm, to bless the doors,*” &c. The house imagined is, therefore, one in some town, where the bellman or watchman may be heard outside, going his rounds with his usual sing-song (*charm*, from *carmen*) or cry. *Now* perfect silence is the rule for the night-policeman on his beat; but of old, not only had he a bell, for warning when necessary, but at stated times he called out information as to the state of the weather, or pious phrases of blessing on those going to bed. “Half-past nine, and a fine cloudy evening,” may be remembered by persons yet alive as a cry of the last of the old watchmen in some towns before gas was known; but the pious phrases of blessing were even then extinct. Their style may be learnt from some lines in Herrick’s little poem entitled *The Bellman*, quoted by Warton:—

“From noise of scare-fires rest ye free,  
From murder, *Benedicite*!  
From all mischances that may fright  
Your pleasing slumbers in the night  
Mercy secure ye all, and keep  
The goblin from ye while ye sleep!”

85, 86.           “*Or let my lamp, at midnight hour,  
Be seen in some high lonely tower.*”

Evidently we are now back in the country, in the turret of some solitary mansion where there are books, and perhaps astronomical instruments. How fine, however, not to give us the inside view of the turret-room first, but to imagine some one far off outside observing the ray of light from its window!

87. “*outwatch the Bear.*” As the Bear never sets, this implied, as Mr. Keightley has noted, sitting up till daybreak, when all stars disappeared.

88. “*With thrice-great Hermes*”: *i.e.* studying the works of the Egyptian king and philosopher Thot, called by the Greeks *Hermes Trismegistus*, or *Hermes the Thrice-great*, because they identified him with their god *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, and attributed to him the posses-



sion of all knowledge, and the invention of all arts. Books bearing the name of this mythical personage are still extant, and in the beginning of the Christian era there were many more such. They were of various kinds—theological, philosophical, astrological, chemical, medical, &c. They were in reality the productions of the Neo-Platonist opponents of Christianity in Alexandria and elsewhere; and the so-called Hermetic lore which they contained was Neo-Platonism presenting itself in the guise of a recovery of that old Egyptian wisdom in which Plato and the earlier Greek philosophers were supposed to have been grounded.

88, 89. "*unsphere the spirit of Plato.*" Here again the literal meaning is couched in metaphor. The literal meaning is "disentangle the doctrine of Plato by the profound study of his writings"; the metaphor is "bring back the disembodied spirit of Plato from those invisible regions where it is now insphered." Compare *Comus*, 3—6. "Sphere," both noun and verb, was a great word in Milton's language, the Ptolemaic cosmology having taken an unusually strong grasp of his mode of thinking, and yielding him indirect as well as direct metaphors (see *Introd. to Par. Lost*, pp. 89—96). But we still speak of a dead person as removed to a higher "sphere"; hence, reversely, to hold communion with such a person would be to "unsphere" him.

89—92. "*to unfold what worlds,*" &c. : a reference to the *Phædo* of Plato, and other parts of his writings where the doctrine of Immortality is discussed.

93—96. "*And of those demons,*" &c. In the syntax here we have a curious example, as Mr. Keightley notes, of that variety of ellipsis which the rhetoricians call *Zeugma*: thus, "*to unfold what worlds, &c., and [tell] of those demons,*" &c. But, though Plato does tell of demons, the peculiar doctrine of the demons of the four elements (Fire, Air, Water, and Earth) hinted at in the passage is rather a mediæval one. — "*consent,*" sympathetic connexion.

97—102. "*Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy . . . the buskined stage.*" Hitherto the occupation in the turret-chamber has been in philosophy and science, especially mystical science; but now the readings may be in the best Tragic poets. The best and most solemn only—to wit, the ancient Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (the subjects of some of whose dramas, "*Thebes,*" "*Pelops' line,*" and "*the tale of Troy,*" are hinted at), and among moderns perhaps only Shakespeare. One can hardly construe lines 101-2 as applying to any other than Shakespeare. Refer to the passage in *L'Allegro* (131—134) to which this is the counter-stroke; and compare also *Eleg. Prima*, 37—46, and Milton's Preface to his *Samson Agonistes*. — The "*sceptred pall*" of line 98 is doubtless from Ovid's description of Tragedy (*Amor.*, III. i. 11—13), quoted by Warton:—

" Venit et ingenti violenta Tragoedia passu :  
Fronte comæ torva, *palla* jacebat humi ;  
Læva manus *sceptrum* late regale tenebat."



103—108. “*But O . . . raise Musæus . . . or bid the soul of Orpheus,*” &c. The meaning is: “But ah! that we could recover some of those primeval poems, now lost, which were perhaps nobler than anything that has come down to us—such as the sacred hymns, oracles, and theogonies of the semi-mythical Musæus of the Greeks, or the similar poems of his contemporary Orpheus, of whom and his Eurydice there is that deathless legend.” Note the reappearance of Orpheus from the *L’Allegro* (145—150) and the manner of it.

109—115. “*Or call up him that left half-told  
The story of Cambuscan bold,*” &c.

*i.e.* Chaucer, whose *Squire’s Tale* is left unfinished. The preceding reference to great poems that had been wholly lost suggests to Milton the thought of poems that had come down in a fragmentary state, and gives him the opportunity of this mention of Chaucer, and of that tale of Chaucer of which he was probably fondest:—

“At Sarra, in the lond of Tartarie,  
Ther dwelt a king that werreied Russie,  
Thurgh which ther died many a doughty man:  
This noble king was cleped Cambuscan.

\* \* \* \* \*  
This noble king, this Tartre Cambuscan,  
Hadde two sones by Elfeta his wife,—  
Of which the eldest sone highte Algarsife,  
That other was ycleped Camballo.  
A doughter had this worthy king also,  
That yongest was, and highte Canace.

\* \* \* \* \*  
In at the halle dore al sodenly  
There came a knight upon a steed of brass,  
And in his hond a brod mirrour of glass:  
Upon his thombe he had of gold a ring.”

These lines give the key to the story; but the reader ought to turn to the story itself.—“*virtuous*” here means “possessed of magical virtue.”

116—120. “*And if aught else great bards . . . forests and enchantments drear, where more is meant than meets the ear.*” An allusion certainly to Spenser among others, Ariosto and Tasso perhaps included; and an exact description of Spenser’s *Faery Queene*, where we are in an enchanted land of forests and castles, listening to stories of the adventures of knights, and yet underneath, as Spenser himself explained, there is a “continued allegory or dark conceit,” which the wise may interpret.

122. “*civil-suited Morn*”: *i.e.* in plain citizen garb, as differing from court or military dress.

123. “*tricked,*” dressed; “*frounced,*” curled and plaited (from *froncer*. to plait).

124. "*the Attic boy*": Cephalus, the lover of Eos (Morning) in the Greek legends.

125. "*kerchief*;" spelt "*cherchef't*" in First and Second editions.

128. "*his fill*." A remarkable instance of the use of *his* for our present *its*.

130. "*minute-drops*": drops falling at intervals. So "*minute-guns*."

134. "*Sylvan*": the woodland god Sylvanus.

135. "*monumental oak*": "because," says Mr. Keightley, "the monuments in churches were often formed of carved oak;" and he quotes Shakespeare's "*monumental alabaster*" (*Oth.*, V. 2) as an example of the word in the same sense. But here it is surely rather "*monumental*" in the sense of "*memorial*," "*old*," "*telling of bygone years*."

141. "*day's garish eye*": *garish*, staring, from Old-English *gare*, to stare.

145. "*consort*": perhaps in the sense of our modern word "*concert*," as in *At a Solemn Music*, 27; but perhaps merely in the sense of "*companionship*," *i.e.* "such other sounds of nature as accompany these."

147—150. "*And let some strange mysterious dream wave at his wings in airy stream*," &c.: a difficult passage, so that some have proposed a change of the text, such as the omission of "*at*" or the substitution of "*an*" for "*in*." There is no warrant for this; and the text as it stands seems to yield this meaning: "Let some strange mysterious dream wave (*i.e.* move to and fro) at his (*i.e.* Sleep's) wings, in airy stream," &c. *Wave* is a neuter verb here, as in *Par. Lost*, XII. 593.

156—166. "*To walk the studious cloister's pale,  
And love the high embowèd roof*," &c.

Here again the pestering spirit of local identification breaks in to disturb the artistic eclecticism of the poem. What Gothic cloister did Milton mean? Old St. Paul's in London (not the present St. Paul's), where he must have often walked, or what other? Any of fifty others, I should say, if the question is as to Milton's acquaintance with the Gothic cathedrals or chapels of his time. But surely by "*studious cloister*" he meant, for the moment, the cloisters of some college, say at Cambridge. "*Cloister*" (originally a shut-in place: from *claudo*, to shut) meant not only a monastery, or a church, but also any part of such building, or of a college, roofed from the rain, even if it had open or pillared sides. Such are "*the cloisters*" in various English colleges now, where the students walk up and down; and, as in line 156 *Penseroso* is "*walking*," it must be in the pale of the cloister in this

sense (*pale* inclosure, with a recollection of "*paling*," the primitive form of enclosure) and not yet in the chapel. But from the "cloister" he does move, in the next line, to the chapel; and surely it is the college-chapel, even though in the subsequent lines the vision is enlarged to that of a fully-appointed cathedral. Observe: only at this point of the poem is *Penseroso* in contact with his fellow-creatures. Throughout the rest he is solitary.

157. "*embowèd*": arched.

158. "*massy-proof*": perhaps proof against the mass they have to support. The word is one of curious formation; if indeed Milton intended it as one word, for in the First and Second editions it is printed as two, without a hyphen, "*massy proof*." Did he mean "massively proof"?

159. "*storied windows richly dight*": i.e. windows of stained glass, with subjects on them from Scripture history. Milton had not as yet quarrelled so much as he did afterwards with the symbols and rich ritual of the English Church. Yet, even in later days, he probably felt no inclination to cancel this passage of the *Penseroso*.

164. "*As may*," a common old idiom. We should now say "*such as may*."

167—176. "*And may at last my weary age*," &c. Recollected by Scott in his *Marmion* (Introd. to 2nd Canto).

170. "*spell*": read, construe, get at the sense of, by putting together the letters.

## ARCADES.

1. "*Nymphs and Shepherds*": meaning the young ladies and young gentlemen who were acting in the Masque, attired in pastoral habits. For who these were see Introd.

5. "*This, this is she*." A recollection perhaps of the line "Peace, stay! it is, it is, it is even she," in Marston's Masque presented before the same Countess of Derby in 1607 (see Introd., p. 216); but perhaps rather of the song beginning "This is she, this is she," in Ben Jonson's *Satyr*, performed at Althorpe, the seat of the Countess's father, Lord Spencer, in 1603, in honour of Queen Anne, then just come from Scotland into England. When Milton had undertaken to prepare the *Arcades*, it would be natural for him to look up old masques, and especially any in which the Countess had had a prior interest. Todd finds a resemblance to the first and third stanzas of *Arcades* in some lines

of Crashaw's in his Panegyric to Queen Henrietta Maria "upon her numerous progeny" :—

"Who's this that comes circled in rays that scorn  
 Acquaintance with the sun? What second morn  
 At midday opes a presence which Heaven's eye  
 Stands off and points at? Is't some deity,  
 Stepped from her throne of stars, deigns to be seen?  
 Is it some deity? or is't our Queen?  
 'Tis she, 'tis she!"

But Crashaw did not write this till some years after *Arcades* had been written.

8—13. "*Fame, that . . . erst,*" &c. An interesting recognition by Milton of the fact that the venerable lady in whose honour *Arcades* was to be performed had been one of the heroines of the living Spenser's muse in her youth forty years before, and had received in the interval quite an abundance of other poetical applauses. (See sketch of her life in Introd.)

14—19. "*Mark what radiant state,*" &c. In the phraseology of this stanza there is perhaps a reference to the actual surroundings of the Countess in the Masque—devices of bright light, silver rays seeming to shoot from her throne, &c.

20—25. "*the wise Latona . . . or the towered Cybele.*" Latona or Leto preceded Juno as the wife of Jupiter, and was the mother of Apollo and Diana. Cybele, otherwise Rhea, or Berecynthia, was the wife of Saturn, and the mother of the great gods Jupiter, Juno, Neptune, Pluto, Vesta, and Ceres; but other children are assigned to her in the mythologies. The epithets "the great mother," "the mother of the gods," "the great Idæan mother of the gods," are applied to her by the ancient poets; and in her images she is represented as "*towered*" or "*turreted*," i.e. as wearing a diadem from which three towers rise over the forehead. Mr. Keightley most aptly quotes Virgil's description of her (*Æn.* vi. 785) which must have been in Milton's mind here:—

"Qualis Berecynthia mater  
 Invchitur curru Phrygiæ turrita per urbes,  
 Læta Deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes,  
 Omnes cœlicolas."

Observe how gracefully, in his choice of goddesses to be named, Milton alludes to the *age* of the Countess of Derby, and her numerous offspring (Introd. 217—219). And how gracefully, in continuation, he turns the compliment!—"Juno dares not give her odds." The commentators find the phrase a little too familiar, if not unpoetical; but they have missed the latent meaning which justified the familiarity. "If Juno would contend with her for beauty, then even that goddess must meet her on equal terms, and cannot afford to give her any advantage:"

such is the obvious meaning of the phrase. Interpret it, however, by the circumstances at Harefield on that summer-evening when the aged Countess was seated on her throne in the Masque, robed and coroneted (the coronet not unlike Cybele's turreted tiara), and representatives of two generations of her descendants were about her. Does it not then mean, "Even now the handsomest of her daughters must do her best to keep up with her"?—While I write this note (June 15, 1872) it is but a fortnight since I paid my second visit to the site of old Harefield House, close to the old church and yew-bordered churchyard. I saw again the old cedar of Lebanon which guards the scene of *Arcades* in chief, traced the mounds that perhaps still conceal the foundations of the mansion, and found old bricks cropping out here and there in hollows torn among the rank grass; but the recollection of the place which I have again carried away as the sweetest and keenest is that of the Countess's tomb in the church, of her singular beauty as she is represented in her life-size sculptured effigy, recumbent on the tomb in crimson robe and gilt coronet under a canopy of pale green, while miniature effigies of her three daughters, fair-haired like herself and also beautiful, but not so beautiful, adorn the side of the tomb underneath. (See *Introd.* p. 226.) The small hands of the Countess, represented with delicate finger-tips touching each other over her breast in prayer, are exquisitely perfect. You could sigh as you looked at them, or at the small feet represented as carefully in their antique shoes, and then at the fair and stately face of the long-dead. To prove that the sculptor had been exact, they used to have in the church till lately one of the actual shoes which the Countess wore; but it has disappeared.

26. "GEN. *Stay, gentle swains,*" &c. It is a fair enough surmise that THE GENIUS OF THE WOOD, who speaks this speech, was personated by Henry Lawes. (See *Introd.* 220—224.) He first addresses the "*swains,*" or young gentlemen of the masque.

27. "*honour*": *i.e.* honourable or noble birth.

30, 31. "*Divine Alpheus . . . secret sluice . . . his Arethuse.*" Alpheus or Alpheius was the name of a river of Arcadia in the Peloponnesus. The legend connected with it was that a certain youthful hunter, named Alpheus, had been in love with the nymph Arethusa, and that, when she had fled from him to the island of Ortygia, on the coast of Sicily, close to Syracuse, he was turned into a river, and, in that guise, pursued her by a secret channel under the sea between Peloponnesus and Sicily, rising again in Ortygia, where he and she became one in the well or fountain called, after her, Arethusa. Both Arethusa and Alpheus are re-introduced in *Lycidas* (85 and 132). Todd quotes the phrase "*secret sluices*" from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

33. "*silver-buskin'd Nymphs*": the lady-performers, wearing buskins, like Diana and her wood-nymphs.



36—60. "*the great mistress . . . whom with low reverence I adore as mine . . . I am the Power of this fair wood*," &c. Although, as I have said, it is a probable guess that the speaker was Lawes, the wording of this whole passage might suggest that it was rather some gentleman land-steward, or the like, in the service of the Countess. If Lawes is the speaker, he speaks all this part of the speech metaphorically, in his assumed character of "The Genius of the Wood"; but it is not unlike Milton to veil literal fact under poetic language. Yet, on the other hand, if the speaker was any such gentleman-steward as I have supposed, he must also, from the sequel (61—76), have been a devotee of music. On the whole, therefore, on internal evidence, as well as from the external, Lawes is likeliest. Metaphorically a woodsman through this part of his speech, he emerges more himself at the close.

46. "*curl the grove*." The word "curl" was often applied to foliage in the old poets. \*

47. "*wanton windings wove*." Notice the alliteration. It reminds one of the alliterative passage in Spenser (*F. Q.* i. ii. 13):—

"Her wanton palfrey all was overspred  
With tinsel trappings, woven like a wave,  
Whose bridle rung with golden bells and bosses brave."

51. "*thwarting thunder blue*." "*Thwarting*" means athwart, or zig-zag. Todd compares Shakespeare's "*cross blue lightning*" (*Ful. Cæs.*, I. 3).

52. "*the cross dire-looking planet*": *i.e.* Saturn. See note to *Pens.*, 43.

55. "*Over the mount*." This suggests personal acquaintance with the ground about Harefield. The house was on a slight slope; and behind the site there is still a wooded rise which might be called a mount. But see *Introd.*, p. 225.

57. "*tasselled horn*": *i.e.* the horn of the huntsman, which had tassels attached to it. Spenser, as Newton noted, has (*F. Q.*, i. viii. 3):—

"an horne of bugle small,  
Which hong adowne his side in twisted gold  
And tasselles gay."

60. "*murmurs*": *i.e.* muttered phrases or charms. Mr. Browne notes the same sense of the word in *Comus*, 526.

63—73.

"*the celestial Sirens' harmony,  
That sit upon the nine infolded spheres,  
And sing to those that hold the vital shears,  
And turn the adamantine spindle*," &c.

Another of those passages in which Milton shows his fondness for the old or Ptolemaic system of the Cosmos. (See *Introd.* to *Par. Lost*, pp. 89—96, and note on *Pens.*, 88, 89.) Here, however, Milton revels



in a particular poetical sub-notion of that physical system—the notion involved in the phrase “music of the spheres.” This mystical or Pythagorean use of the main notion was also one of Milton’s dearest and most habitual fancies. See his lines *At a Solemn Music*; see also his Latin Academic Prolusion, *De Sphærarum Concentu*. In the present passage he offers it expressly. There is a music of the spheres, he seems to say; the whole Universe rolls by the law of an eternal music. On each of the “nine infolded spheres” that compose the physical Universe (in *Par. Lost*, e.g. III. 481—483, Milton accepts all the *ten* spheres of the Alphonsine development of the Ptolemaic system, but here he is content with the earlier *nine*; or perhaps by “the nine *infolded* spheres” he specially means only the inner nine and excludes the tenth or outermost, called the “*primum mobile*”)—on each of these spheres there sits a Muse or Siren; and these nine Muses or Sirens are singing harmoniously on their revolving spheres all the while that the three Fates, called Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos, are turning the spindle of so-called Necessity on which the threads of human and even divine lives are wound. This very spindle of Necessity goes round to the tune of the music that lulls the Fates as they turn it.—In all this description, even to minute points in its phraseology, Milton, as Warton pointed out, had in view an extraordinary passage in Plato’s *Republic* (Book X., chap. 14). Whoever would study the notion in detail ought to refer to that passage. Plato, however, according to the astronomy of his time, recognised but *eight* spheres, the outmost that of the fixed stars, and the inner seven those of the planets.

72, 73. “*which none can hear of human mould with gross unpurged ear.*” So in Shakespeare’s well-known speech of Lorenzo to Jessica on the same “music of the spheres” (*M. of Ven.*, V. 1):—

“But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay  
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it.”

See also Milton’s Prolusion, *De Sphærarum Concentu*, where there is, however, a consolatory passage which may be thus translated: “Yet, if *we* carried pure and chaste and snow-clean hearts, as erst did Pythagoras, then should *our* ears sound and be filled with that sweetest music of the ever-wheeling stars.”

75. “*height* ;” so spelt here in the First and Second editions, though usually “*hight*” in Milton. The “*her*” following probably made the sound of *hight* objectionable.

81. “*glittering state.*” “State” here in its old sense of “chair of state.” See note, *Pens.*, 37.

88—99. “*shady roof of branching elm star-proof*”: clearly a recollection of Spenser’s famous, but always misquoted, line (*F. Q.*, I. i. 7):—

“Not perceable with power of any star.”

96—109. *Ladon* was a river in Arcadia; *Lycaeus*, *Cyllene*, and *Mænalus*, were mountains in the same; and *Erymanthus* was an Arcadian river-god. Of *Pan* and his *Syrinx* all have heard. Both are mentioned, as Warton notes, in that masque of Ben Jonson's which the Countess may have seen nearly thirty years before at her paternal Althorpe. A Satyr there, gazing on the Queen and the young Prince, says :—

“ That is Cyparissus' face,  
And the dame hath Syrinx' grace :  
O that Pan were now in place ! ”

As Cyparissus here was young Prince Henry, and Syrinx Queen Anne, the Pan whose absence was regretted must have been King James.

ADDITIONAL NOTE :—In the original draft of *Arcades* in Milton's own hand in the Cambridge volume of Milton MSS. (see General Introd., pp. 175—180), we see that the text did not stand at first exactly as now, but sustained some corrections, either at the moment of composition, or at all events before it went to press in 1645. Todd (iv. 22, edit. 1852) has given a list of these little changes, calling them “Original Various Readings of *Arcades*.” That, however, is hardly a fair name to give them. By “various readings” we usually mean those varieties of the text which are presented by different manuscripts or different printed copies of the same piece, and from among which we have to do our best to find out the correct readings—*i.e.* those that the author intended. But here there is no such doubt, and no such liberty. Milton printed his text, as he wished it to stand, in 1645, and reprinted it in 1673; and we have no more right to amend that text now by referring to the earlier manuscript draft than we should have to substitute parts of the rough draft of a legal document for the corresponding parts of the later and authenticated copy, or to change the wording of a letter by bringing back into it expressions which the writer erased, but which we can still read under the lines or blots of erasure. Still, not for any purpose of amending the text, but out of curiosity respecting Milton's habits of composition, it is interesting to note differences between his first wording of a piece and the text as finally approved by his taste. In the present case they are but few, and of small consequence. The most important are these :—

1, 2. Milton had originally started Song I. in a different metre, thus :—

“ *Look, Nymphs and Shepherds, look ! here ends our quest,  
Since at last our eyes are blest.* ”

These two lines, however, he instantly dashes out with a cross line, to begin afresh as now.

10—14. These four lines were originally written thus :—

*“Now seems guilty of abuse  
And detraction from her praise:  
Less than half she hath expressed;  
Envy bid her hide the rest.”*

“Her hide” is erased and “conceal” written over the erasure; the rest of the correction into our present form is not made by erasure, but by marginal substitution.

23. Originally as now, “*Juno dares not give her odds*”; but “Juno” erased, “Ceres” substituted, and then “Ceres” erased, so as to let back “Juno.”

41. “*What shallow-searching*”: a substitution for “*Those virtues which dull*” expunged.

59. The first form of this line was “*And number all my ranks and every sprout.*”

62. “*locked up mortal sense*”: substitution for “*chained mortality*” erased.

Slighter corrections are these:—18. “*sitting*” substituted for “*seated*”; 24. “*had*” for “*would have*”; 44. “*am*” for “*have*”; 47. “*With*” for “*In*”; 49. “*and*” for “*or*”; 50. “*boughs*” for “*leaves*”; 52. “*Or*” for “*And*”; 81. “*ye*” for “*you*”; 91. “*you*” for “*ye*.”

## COMUS.

1—4. “*Before the starry threshold,*” &c. Mr. Browne compares the passage in the Latin poem to Mansus, 94—98, and refers to John xiv. 2.

3. “*insphered.*” See notes, *Penseroso*, 88, 89, and *Arcades*, 63—73.

4. “*serene.*” Mr. Keightley thinks the word has to be pronounced here with the accent on the first syllable; which I doubt. I seem to detect a finer effect in the metrical liberty involved in the ordinary pronunciation; and the first syllable of “*serenus*” is short.

7. “*pestered . . . pinfold.*” *Pestered* is interpreted “crowded” by Todd, as if from the Italian *pesta*, a crowd; but perhaps the derivation is from *pestis*, a pest or plague, and “plagued” is our present sense of the word.—*Pinfold*, a pen or enclosure in which sheep are folded; from A.-S. *pyndan* to shut-in, whence also *pound*, an enclosure for strayed animals.

9, 10. "*the crown that Virtue gives, after this mortal change.*" See Rev. iv. 4. The meaning of "*mortal change*" is a little obscure. Hastily it may be read as if it meant "death"; but rather it seems to mean "this mortal state of life." Mr. Browne imagines a recollection of the use of "change" for a figure in a dance (as in *Love's Labour Lost*, V. 2); but may not Milton, without any definite idea of pre-existence, have had in his mind such a meaning as "this variation of our condition"?

11. "*Amongst the enthroned gods*": spelt *enthron'd* in the First and Second editions, and therefore to be pronounced as a dissyllable and not *enthronèd*. As Mr. Ross points out, this passage is an instance of Milton's habit of expressing Christian doctrine in the language of classic mythology.

13. "*golden key.*" See *Lycidas*, 111.

16. "*ambrosial weeds.*" Though, from the special use of *ambrosia* as the name for the food of the gods, we are apt to confine the adjective *ambrosial* to the sense of "delicious," it really means only "immortal" (*a* "not," and *βροτός*, "mortal"); whence "celestial" or "heavenly."—"weeds": see note, *L'All.* 120.

20, 21. "*Took in, by lot 'twixt high and nether Jove, imperial rule,*" &c. Homer calls Hades or Pluto *Ζεύς καταχθόνιος*, or "underground Jove" (*Iliad*, ix. 457); Ovid has the phrase "Jupiter Stygius"; and Dunster quotes from Sylvester's *Du Bartas* the line

"Both upper Jove's and nether's diverse thrones."

The primeval distribution of rule among Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune, after Saturn's overthrow, is described by Neptune himself in the *Iliad* (xv. 190 *et seq.*):—"We are three brothers, sons of Saturn by Rhea—Jupiter and myself two, and Pluto, governing the infernal regions, the third: all things were divided into three portions, and each of us was allotted his dignity. The lots being shaken, I, in the first place, was appointed to inhabit for ever the hoary sea; Pluto next obtained the pitchy darkness; but Jove, in the third place, had allotted to him the wide Heaven in the air and in the clouds. Nevertheless, the Earth is still the common property of all, and the lofty Olympus."—*Took in* is the past tense here, with *Neptune* in line 18 for its nominative, and *rule* in line 21 for its objective. This is necessary to the syntax and might seem obvious; but the pointing in some editions shows a tendency, in hasty reading, to regard *took* as an old past participle, applying to "the sway of every salt flood," &c. About the pointing of line 20, however, there is farther room for difference. The pointing in the First and Second editions is

"Took in by lot 'twixt high, and neather Jove,  
Imperial rule," &c.

This leaves it questionable whether we should now point

“ Took in, by lot ’twixt high and nether Jove,  
Imperial rule,” &c.

OR

“ Took in by lot, ’twixt high and nether Jove,  
Imperial rule,” &c.

The second, which makes *’twixt* a preposition of place, and understands “ ’twixt high and nether Jove ” as meaning “ between Heaven and Hell,” is truer to the myth that all the three gods were concerned in the lot, and Mr. Keightley adopts it. Perhaps he is right ; but the other reading, though it seems to make Jove and Pluto the only active parties in the lot, may possibly be what Milton intended. If less accurate, it keeps the personality of the two Joves in the passage, instead of using their names only for their realms while Neptune figures in person. To the ear also it is perhaps the more natural. A pause after “ lot ” is not agreeable.

23. “ *unadorned* ” : for “ otherwise unadorned.”

24. “ *his tributary gods* ” : *i.e.* the sea-gods under Neptune and paying him tribute.

25. “ *several* ” : separate.

27. “ *this Isle* ” : *i.e.* Great Britain. Compare Shakespeare’s splendid burst about “ England ” from the mouth of John of Gaunt (*Rich. II.* II. 1).

29. “ *He quarters to his blue-haired deities.* ” *Quarters* in the sense of divides, not necessarily in the sense of dividing into four parts, though Mr. Keightley finds a shadow of reason for this sense in the fact that Great Britain was then divided into the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, and that in the latter the Northern Counties and Wales were distinct Viceroyalties. There seems to be some emphasis on the phrase “ *blue-haired deities*,” as if these were a special section of the “ *tributary gods* ” of line 24. Can there be a recollection of “ blue ” as the British colour, inherited from the old times of the blue-stained Britons who fought with Cæsar ? “ *Green-haired* ” is the usual poetic epithet for Neptune and his subordinates.

30. “ *all this tract that fronts the falling sun* ” : *i.e.* Wales, or West Britain.

31—33. “ *A noble Peer,* ” &c. : *i.e.* the Earl of Bridgewater, Viceroy of Wales, at whose expense the Masque was given, and who was looking on at the performance. See *Introd.*, 227 *et seq.*

33. “ *An old and haughty nation* ” : *i.e.* the Welsh. Milton, as well as Shakespeare, had a kindness for this people.



34. "*nursed in princely lore.*" In this phrase some find an allusion to a link with Royalty at a remote point in the pedigree of the Egerton family; others find a reference to the fact that the young people had been a good deal at Court (see *Introd.*, 231, 232). The more natural meaning, however, is simply "highly-educated."

37. "*perplexed*": in its etymological sense of "entangled," "intertwined."

43—45. "*And listen why,*" &c. Not unlike Horace's *Favete linguis*, &c. (*Od.* III. i. 2), and with something of the sound of *Par. Lost*, I. 16. —"*hall or bower,*" a frequent phrase with Spenser and the minstrel-poets: "*hall*" being the great general room in princely residences, and "*bower*" the more private apartment.

46—50. "*Bacchus . . . after the Tuscan mariners transformed, coasting the Tyrrhene shore . . . on Circe's island fell.*" For Circe and her famous Island of *Æiæa*, off the coast of *Latium*, see the *Odyssey*, Book x., where it is Ulysses that is her visitor; and for the story of the voyage of Bacchus along the Tyrrhene shore, the seizure of him by the pirate sailors, and the transformation of these, all save the good pilot, into dolphins for this act of violence to his godship, see the *Homeric Hymn to Bacchus*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III. 660 *et seq.* The bringing of Bacchus to Circe's Island, after this last adventure in probation of his godship, is Milton's own invention, with a view to the parentage he had resolved on for Comus.——Notice the Latin idiom "after the Tuscan mariners transformed" (like *post urbem conditam*) for "after the transformation of the Tuscan mariners."

50. "*On Circe's island fell. (Who knows not Circe, &c.?)*" An example of the figure of speech called by the rhetoricians *anadiplosis*, or "doubling-back." It is common in Spenser in this exact form; th' (*F. Q.*, VI. x. 16):—

"Poore Colin Clout (who knows not Colin Clout?)"

"*Island*" is spelt "*iland*" in Milton's editions. The phrase "to fall on" here is, as Mr. Browne observes, the Latin *incidere in*.

51. "*The daughter of the Sun.*" Circe was the daughter of Helios (the Sun) by the ocean-nymph Perse. William Browne (*Inner Temple Masque*) has

"By mighty Circe (daughter to the Sun)."

See subsequent note at line 254.

51—53. "*whose charmed cup . . . a grovelling swine.*" This account of Circe's magic and its effects is from the *Odyssey*, Book x.

54. "*This Nymph . . . had by him a son, &c. . . . Comus named.*" See, on Milton's *Comus*, and his parentage and character, *Introd.*, 247—252. Also compare this passage with *L'Allegro*, 11—24; and see note to



that passage. If the first of the alternative genealogies there given for Euphrosyne, or Innocent Mirth, is accepted, then Comus, the god of Sensual Delirium, was half-brother to Euphrosyne. The father in both cases was Bacchus, while the respective mothers were Venus and Circe. As Milton was punctilious in such matters, I daresay he recollected this, and had a meaning in it. He hints, it may be noted, that Comus, though he had a good deal of his father in him, inherited his worst qualities from his mother. Bacchus and good-tempered Queen Venus, he seems to say, were not so bad a conjunction as Bacchus and the subtle island-witch Circe.

59. "*frolic*": see note, *L'Allegro*, 18.

60. "*the Celtic and Iberian fields*": i.e. Gaul and Spain.

61. "*this ominous wood*": i.e. this wood in Shropshire, on the Welsh border, full of *omens*, or magical appearances. The derivation of the word *omen* is disputed.

65. "*orient liquor*": literally "eastern," but derivatively "bright," "splendid," as in *Par. Lost*, I. 546.

66. "*drouth*": so in Milton's own editions, not "*drought*," as in some later. It is a Scottish word still.

68. "*count'nance*;" so spelt in both Milton's editions, and to be pronounced accordingly.

73. "*perfect*;" so spelt here in both Milton's editions, not "*perfet*," as: usually with him.

72. "*All other parts remaining as they were.*" Here Milton deviates from the representation in the *Odyssey*, where the whole bodies of Circe's victims are changed into brute-forms. It is an acute remark of Newton that the deviation served stage-purposes. The crew of Comus were to come in with him in the performance at Ludlow Castle (see subsequent stage-direction after line 92); to have trotted them in as beasts entire would have been inconvenient; it was enough that they should have masks on, resembling beasts' heads, like Bottom in *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

73—77. "*And they . . . not once perceive their foul disfigurement, but,*" &c. Another deviation, as Newton noted, from the Homeric account. There Circe's victims "had the heads, and voice, and hairs, and body of swine, but their understandings were firm as before." In making the effect of Comus's transformations different in this respect from his mother's Milton had a meaning. Once he had adopted the difference, however, Homer's description of the Lotos-eaters (*Od.*, ix. 94 *et seq.*) and Plato's ethical application of the same (*Rep.*, viii. 13) may have helped him in the rest of the passage. "Whoever ate of the pleasant food of the lotos no longer wished to bring back news, nor to return home, but preferred to remain there with the Lotophagi, eating lotos,

and to be forgetful of return." So says Homer; and Plato speaks of the moral lotophagus, or youth steeped in sensuality, as accounting his very viciousness a developed manhood, and the so-called virtues but signs of rusticity and want of spirit. Mr. Browne refers also to Spenser, *F. Q.*, II. xii., stanzas 86, 87.

79. "*adventurous*": full of adventures or dangers, like the "*ominous*" of line 61. Spelt "*adventrous*" in the First and Second editions.

80. "*Swift as the sparkle of a glancing star.*" The simile of a shooting-star is common in the poets; but how exquisitely Milton has rendered it here! Compare *Par. Lost*, I. 745, and Shakespeare's *Ven. and Adon.*, line 815.

83. "*spun out of Iris' woof.*" Warton quotes *Par. Lost*, XI. 244: "*Iris had dipped the woof.*"

84—91. "*a swain that to the service of this house belongs, who,*" &c. A compliment to Henry Lawes and his musical talent, put into his own mouth! Compare *Arcades*, 36 *et seq.*, and note there.

88. "*nor of less faith*": *i.e.* not less trustworthy than he is skilled in music.

92. "*viewless*": invisible. A word used by Milton in other two places—*The Passion*, 50, and *Par. Lost*, III. 518. It is a peculiarly Shakespearian word: "*To be imprisoned in the viewless winds*" (*Meas. for Meas.*, III. 1). Did Shakespeare invent it?

93. "*The star that bids the shepherd fold*": *i.e.* the evening star, or the first star seen at eventide. Keightley quotes Shakespeare's exactly opposite expression for the morning star: "*Look, the unfolding star calls up the shepherd*" (*Meas. for Meas.* IV. 2); and Todd notes that Collins, in his *Ode to Evening*, has the phrase "*Thy folding star.*"

95—97. "*the gilded car of day his glowing axle doth allay in the steep Atlantic stream.*" A Miltonic repetition of a frequent image. Todd quotes from Petrarch both "*l'aurato carro*" and "*infiammate ruote*" as applied to the sun; and he thinks Milton may have had in his mind here the ancient fancy that the Atlantic hissed when the setting sun dropped into it, and Juvenal's line to that effect (*Sat.* XIV. 280):—

"Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem."

98. "*slope sun*": the adjective "*slope*," invented for *sloped* or *aslope*. Chaucer has the latter.

101. "*his chamber.*" See Psalm xix. 5.

105. "*rosy twine*": *i.e.* twined roses.

110. "*saws*": sayings, maxims; as in Shakespeare's "*full of wise saws and modern instances*" (*As you Like it*, I. 9).

113. "*watchful spheres.*" See notes, *Pens.* 88, 89, and *Arcad.* 63—73.

115. "*sounds and seas*"; *i.e.* straits and open seas. *Sound*, in this sense of strait (*Sund*, Germ. and A.-S.) is of uncertain derivation. We have indeed five words so spelt and pronounced in our language—(1) *sound*, n. and v., in the sense of "noise" (same as the Latin *sono*, the *d* being an intrusion); (2) *sound*, adj., in the sense of "whole," "healthy" (same as Lat. *sanus*); (3) *sound*, v., in the sense of "to measure the depth of the sea by a line and plummet," and so, by metaphor, "to try," "to inquire," &c.; (4) *sound*, n., for the air-bladder or swimming-bladder of a fish; and (5) *sound*, a strait, or narrow sea, as in the present passage, yielding also "The Sound" as a proper name for one such strait in Europe. As in the 3rd sense we have the French *sonder*, it has been proposed by Diez to derive the word in that sense from the Latin *sub unda*, "under water"; and he would extend the same etymology to the 5th—taking *sound* in that sense to be a comparatively shallow, or easily "sounded," piece of sea. This appears fantastic. *Sound* in the 3rd sense is as much Germanic as Romance, *sund-gyrd* being A.-S. for a "sounding-line." Does not this suggest that 3, 4, and 5 are identical, and that the common meaning is to be sought in one etymology of the word *sund*? Now in 4 the etymology seems obvious: we are referred at once to *swim*. Grimm, accordingly, derives 5 also from that root; *i.e.* a *sound* is a bit of sea that can be *swimmed* over. May not 3 be included somehow? The word in all its senses, however, yet waits investigation (see Richardson's Dict. and Chambers's Etym. Dict.).

116. "*wavering morrice*"; *i.e.* in wavering dance-like undulation. *Morrice* was originally one kind of dance that came from Spain, and was called the *Moorish dance*, *morisco*, or *morris-dance*. There was also the *morris-pike*, or Moorish pike.—Observe the alliteration in the line.

118. "*the pert fairies and the dapper elves.*" Mr. Ross has a good note here. "There is no real distinction," he says, "in Milton's usage between 'fairies' and 'elves,' but the words come to us from different languages. The former is from a Latin (*fatum*), the latter from a Teutonic source (A.-S. *aelf*; Ger. *elfe*). In Spenser's *Faery Queene* the Red Cross Knight is called indifferently a Fairy Champion and an Elfin Knight."—*Pert* (also *piert* and *peart* in O. E.), lively, nimble, is by some connected with the word *pretty*, but by others derived from the Latin *peritus*, skilful, or *apertus*, open, free. *Malapert* favours the last conjecture; Chaucer uses both *pert* and *malapert*, and Evelyn has the word *perite*. *Dapper* same as Ger. *tapfer*, quick.

119. "*fountain-brim.*" Warton finds the phrase in Drayton:—

'Sporting with Hebe by a fountain-brim.'

121. "*wakes.*" A "wake" in old England was the watch or sitting-up till late before one of the Church holidays; hence a merry-making.

125. "*rites*;" spelt "*rights*" here in both Milton's editions, though the same editions have "*rites*" in line 535.

128—137. "*Dark-veiled Cotytto*," &c. The following is Dr. Schmitz's summary (Smith's *Dict. of Myth. and Biog.*) of what is known of this goddess:—"Cotys or Cotytto, a Thracian divinity, whose festival, the Cotyttia, resembled that of the Phrygian Cybele, and was celebrated on hills with riotous proceedings. In later times her worship was introduced at Athens and Corinth, and was connected, like that of Dionysus, with licentious frivolity. Her worship appears to have spread even as far as Italy and Sicily. Those who celebrated her festival were called *βάπται*, from the purifications which were originally connected with the solemnity."

132. "*spets*": ejects, throws forth. The word, which strikes us now as so much more energetic and tasteful than "*spits*," is really but a form of that word. It was common among the Elizabethans, and Todd refers to occurrences of it in Spenser, Drayton, and especially Sylvester's *Du Bartas*. He might have gone back to Wycliffe.

135. "*Hecat*;" so spelt in First and Second editions, to indicate that it is to be pronounced as a dissyllable, and not in its proper form of "*Hecate*" as in line 535. The word, as Todd notes, is used dissyllabically by Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Ben Jonson. Thus, Shakespeare:—

"By the triple Hecate's team." *Mid. N. D.*, V. 1.

"Pale Hecate's offerings and wither'd murder." *Macb.* II. 1.

"Why, how now, Hecate? You look angrily." *Macb.* III. 5.

The dark goddess *Hecate* is a shadowy and unsettled personage in the ancient mythology, and various origins are assigned to her; but, on the whole, she is derived from Thrace—which may account for Milton's fancy of her and Cotytto riding together through the darkness in the same ebony chariot. She was essentially, in later representations at least, the goddess of all kinds of nocturnal ghastliness, such as spectral sights, the howlings of dogs, haunted spots, the graves of the murdered, witches at their incantations.

138—142. "*the blabbing eastern scout, the nice Morn on the Indian steep . . . to the tell-tale Sun descry*," &c.: an exquisite combination into one picture of images variously culled. Shakespeare has "*blabbing day*" and "*tell-tale day*," and Spenser "*tell-tale Sun*," the idea being the obvious one that daylight blabs or reveals the secrets of the night; and in how many poets we have morning *peeping* in different fashions!—*Nice*, meaning here "*dainty*" or "*fastidious*," with a sarcasm in the epithet from *Comus* is derived by some etymologists from the Latin "*nescius*," ignorant, and certainly had once that sense in English. But there is the old word *nesh*, meaning "*soft*" or "*delicate*," and the

French *niais*, simple.—*descry*, in the sense of “describe” or “relate,” as here, is a common Spenserian word.

144. “*In a light fantastic round.*” See *L’Allegro*, 34.

145. “*the different pace*” : i.e. different from the pace of Comus’s own dancing retinue.

151. “*trains*” : allurements (*traho*, to draw), as in *Par. Lost*, XI. 624.

153, 154.

“*Thus I hurl  
My dazzling spells into the spongy air.*”

Conceive that at this moment of the performance the actor who personates Comus flings into the air, or makes a gesture as if flinging into the air, some powder, which, by a stage-device, is kindled, so as to produce a flash of blue light. In the original draft among the Cambridge MSS. the phrase is “*powdered spells*”; but Milton, by a judicious change, concealing the mechanism of the stage-trick, substituted “*dazzling*.” The air is called “*spongy*” because it sucked in the substance of the spell. Shakespeare (*Cymb.*, IV. 2) has

“I saw Jove’s bird, the Roman eagle, wing’d  
From the spongy South to this part of the West.”

165. “*this magic dust.*” See note, lines 153-4, *supra*. Some commentators think Milton had forgotten that he had changed “*powdered*” into “*dazzling*” in the former passage, or else he would not have kept “*dust*” here. The criticism is absurd. Why should Comus not divulge here that it was “*dust*” or “*powder*” he had thrown in line 154?

166—169. “*I shall appear,*” &c. It is rather difficult to decide what should be the text of this passage. In the edition of 1645 it stood

“I shall appear som harmles Villager  
Whom thrift keeps up about his Country gear,  
But here she comes, I fairly step aside  
And hearken, if I may, her busines here.”

In the Edition of 1673 a line was omitted, and the passage stood thus:—

“I shall appear some harmles Villager  
And hearken, if I may, her busines here.  
But here she comes, I fairly step aside.”

But there is a direction among the Errata of this edition to leave out the comma after “*may*” in the second of these lines and to change “*here*” in the same line into “*hear*.”—I rather think the reading of the Second edition as amended was what Milton finally resolved on, as it ends Comus’s speech abruptly with a line left unrhymed; but, as the omission of a line would disturb uniformity of numbering with all extant editions, I retain the reading of the First edition, only giving that



edition the superfluous benefit of the Erratum in the Second.—“*gear*” here means “business.” Once it meant “apparatus,” “appurtenances”: thus Chaucer’s Franklin was angry if his cook had not “ready all his gear”; and we still speak of “fishing-gear,” “travelling-gear,” &c. In Scotch the word now means “acquired property,” “money,” “goods and chattels.”

175. “*granges*.” Grange is literally “a granary” (*granum*, grain); hence a farm-stead, or the like.

178. “*swilled insolence*”: i.e. drunken insolence, from “*swill*,” to drink.

179. “*wassailers*”: health-drinkers, from the salutation *waes-hael*, “your health,” of the old English to each other over their cups.

188—190. “*when the grey-hooded Even,  
Like a sad votarist in palmer’s weed,  
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phæbus’ wain.*”

If this fine image is optically realized, what we see is Evening succeeding Day, as the figure of a venerable grey-hooded mendicant might slowly follow the wheels of some rich man’s chariot.

195. “*stole*.” So in First and Second editions; not “*stolen*,” as in some modern editions. But in the Cambridge draft it is “*stolne*.”

203. “*rife, and perfect in my listening ear*”: i.e. thick or dense, and distinctly heard. The spelling in Milton’s editions is *perfet*. See Essay on Milton’s English.

205—209. “*A thousand fantasies begin to throng into my memory, of calling shapes*,” &c. As the Lady here expressly says that she began to think of all the weird stories of supernatural sights and sounds she had ever read or heard of, so Milton too may be supposed to draw on his memory of books in the description. Warton, Todd, and others name books of the sort to suit, such as Heywood’s *Hierarchie of the Angels*, and even quote particular passages from them; but it is dull guess-work. Mr. Browne’s remark that “the *Tempest* may well have suggested the whole imagery” is more to the point.

212. “*Conscience*,” pronounced as a trisyllable.

215. “*Chastity*.” Mr. Keightley notes that *Chastity* is here substituted for *Charity*, the real Biblical companion of *Faith* and *Hope*.

221—224. “*Was I deceived*,” &c. Of the peculiar figure of speech which characterizes this passage there are many previous examples in the poets. One, quoted by Hurd from Ovid’s *Fasti* (v. 549), must have been in Milton’s mind at the moment—

“Fallor? an arma sonant? Non fallimur; arma sonabant.”



But with what consummate scenic effect the figure is here used by Milton !

225. "*And casts*" : a frequent form of syntax with Milton. We should now write "*And cast*."

226. "*hallo ;*" spelt "*hallow*" in First and Second editions ; not "*halloo*."

230—243. "*Sweet Echo*," &c. The commentators refer here to a passage in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, where Echo, who is one of the characters, is invoked to the stage by Mercury thus (I. 1) :—

" Echo, fair Echo, speak !  
'Tis Mercury that calls thee. Sorrowful nymph,  
Salute me with thy repercussive voice,  
That I may know what cavern of the earth  
Contains thy airy spirit, how or where  
I may direct my speech that thou mayst hear."

231. "*thy airy shell*" : *i.e.* the shell, or hollow vault, of the atmosphere.

232. "*Meander's margent green*." Mæander, the river in Asia Minor so celebrated for its numerous windings (whence our verb "meander"), was possibly selected here as one of Echo's haunts from that very circumstance. The suggestion is Mr. Keightley's.

234, 235. "*Where the love-lorn nightingale  
Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well*."

Todd cites Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 511—515) :—

" Qualis populeâ mœrens Philomela sub umbrâ  
Amisso queritur fetus, quos durus arator  
Observans nido implumes detraxit : at illa  
Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen  
Integrat, et mœstis late loca questibus implet."

Milton certainly had this passage in mind ; and "*love-lorn*" (deprived of her love) need not therefore imply "deprived of her mate."

237. "*thy Narcissus*" : the handsome youth for whose love Echo pined away till only her voice was left, and who was afterwards punished for his insensibility by being made to fall in love with his own shadow in a fountain, and at length turned into the flower that bears his name.

241. "*Sweet Queen of Parley, Daughter of the Sphere!*" The first elegant epithet, "*Queen of Parley*" (*i.e.* of Speech), recommends itself ; the other, "*Daughter of the Sphere*," is more obscure, but may mean that Echo was born, if not of one of the great cosmical spheres, at least of the hollow sphere of space nearest to the Earth, *i.e.* of the Air. Compare "Sphere-born harmonious sisters, *Voice* and *Verse*," in the lines *At a Solemn Music*.

243. "*resounding grace*" : the grace of resonance.

244—270. "*Can any mortal mixture,*" &c. As Warton points out, the whole of this speech of Comus, so pertinent to the action of the Masque, must have had a double significance to the audience at Ludlow. It fell on their ears as the precise compliment to the young Lady Alice Egerton, after her beautiful Echo-song, which they were themselves longing to pay, and had already tried to pay, we may suppose, by hand-clappings and other applauses. She was a beautiful young fair-haired girl, not more than fifteen years of age.

248. "*his hidden residence.*" One of the most striking possible instances of Milton's abstinence from the mongrel word *its*. The antecedent to which "*his*" refers is "*something holy*"; and we should inevitably have written *its*.

252—257.

*"I have oft heard  
My mother Circe with the Sirens three,  
Amidst the flowery-kirtled Naiades,  
Culling their potent herbs and baleful drugs,  
Who, as they sung," &c.*

In the *Odyssey* (Books x. and xii.) the Sirens, or Singing Maidens who lured mariners to their destruction, are not companions of Circe, nor inhabitants of her island. Indeed, she warns Ulysses against the encounter he will have with them in his voyage from her island, and instructs him how to escape them. But Circe certainly sang herself, and had Naiads, or fountain-nymphs, among her handmaidens, who helped her to cull her potent herbs. See Ovid (*Met.*, xiv. 261 *et seq.*) for a detailed description of their employment in the work under her superintendence. Milton's conjunction of the Sirens with Circe and her Naiads, whether in the work or in the singing, is, therefore, a liberty taken with the myth. Perhaps, as the Sirens were neighbours of Circe, and known to her, he thought he might venture on the liberty. It was but to suppose that they had visited Circe some time, and that Comus had thus seen them with his mother, engaged as in the text. The same liberty, at all events, had been taken by William Browne in his *Inner Temple Masque*, performed about 1615. Though not published when Milton wrote his *Comus* (it was not published till 1772), yet possibly the piece was known to Milton, either in manuscript, or through one of a few copies that are said to have been printed for the Templars at the time of the performance. Circe and the Sirens *are* there on the same island, when Ulysses is thrown upon it, and indeed the Sirens are Circe's attendants, doing her bidding in all things. Thus one of them says :—

*"Circe bids me sing ;  
And, till some greater hand her power can stay,  
Whoe'er command, I none but her obey."*

The Sirens are sometimes mentioned indefinitely in the plural, sometimes as two, and sometimes as three.—Not only the Sirens and Circe, but the beast-shapes of those they have transformed by their incantations, figure in Browne's *Masque*; and Echo sings in it. Hence, and from one or two coincidences of expression (see *antè*, note to line 51), the belief that Milton had read the *Masque*. He had some respect for Browne as a poet on account of his *Britannia's Pastorals*. But the *Masque* is a poor and slovenly thing in comparison with the *Pastorals*.

257—259.

“*Scylla wept,  
And chid her barking waves into attention,  
And fell Charybdis murmured soft applause.*”

Homer places the island of the Sirens to the south-west of Italy, not far from Scylla. The imagined effect of the song on the two famous rock-monsters may, Warton suggests, be a recollection of the lines in Silius Italicus, describing the effects of a shepherd's ditty (xiv. 471—475):—

“*Ille ubi septena modulatus arundine carmen  
Mulcebat sylvas, non unquam tempore eodem  
Siren adsuetos effudit in æquore cantus:  
Scyllæi tacuere canes; stetit atra Charybdis;  
Et lætus scopulis audivit sibila Cyclops.*”

But “*barking waves*” are from Virgil (*Æn.*, vii. 588): “*multis circum latrantibus undis.*”

265. “*Hail, foreign wonder!*” Warton compares Ferdinand's first salutation of Miranda in the *Tempest* (I. 2).

267, 268. “*Unless the goddess that in rural shrine  
Dwell'st here.*”

Two deviations from normal English syntax here; for the regular construction would be “*Unless thou be the goddess that in rural shrine dwells here.*”

269, 270. “*Forbidding,*” &c. Compare *Arcades*, 44—53.

271. “*ill is lost*”: another Latin idiom, as Mr. Keightley points out—“*male perditur*”: “there is little loss in losing.”

277—290. “*What chance, good Lady,*” &c. On this colloquy of fourteen lines, a line alternately, between Comus and the Lady, Hurd remarks “Here is an imitation of those scenes in the Greek tragedies where the dialogue proceeds by question and answer, a single verse being allotted to each.” A convenient example, from Euripides, beautifully rendered into English, will be found in Mr. Browning's *Balaustion*.

278. “*leavy.*” All modern editions have “*leafy*”; but in the First edition it is “*leavy*,” and in the Second “*leavie.*” There is no doubt, therefore, that Milton intended the soft *v* sound.

279. "*near-ushering*" : closely preceding.

280. "*turf*." I have not seen it observed before that here, as well as in each of the other three occurrences of this word in Milton's poetry—viz. *Lycidas*, 140, and *Par. Lost*, V. 391 and XI. 324—it is spelt "*terf*" or "*terfe*." I have refrained from restoring this spelling in the text, and I can hardly see the reason of it. In A.-S. the word was *turf* or *tyrfe*, and in German it is *torf*. Perhaps *terf* was an optional variety in Milton's time ; but in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* I find *turfe*.

285. "*forestalling night*" : i.e. anticipating. *Forestall* is literally to anticipate the market, by purchasing goods before they are brought to the stall.

287. "*Imports their loss, beside the present need?*" "Apart from the present inconvenience, would their loss be of importance?"

290. "*unrazored lips*." Warton quotes Shakespeare's "till new-born chins be rough and razorable" (*Tempest*, II. 1).

291—293. "*Two such I saw, what time,*" &c. The idiom "*what time*" for *when* (*quo tempore* for *eo tempore quo*) is still used in poetry, but was once more common. The Bible has several instances : thus "What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee" (Ps. lvi. 3). A good instance is Shakespeare's

"What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails,  
Can neither call it perfect day nor night."

3 *King Henry VI.*, II. 5.

See *The Bible Word-Book* by Messrs. Eastwood and W. A. Wright. —The notation of time in the passage, as all the commentators have remarked, is picturesquely pastoral, with traces from such classical passages as that in Virgil, *Ecl.* II. 66, 67 :—

"Aspice, aratra jugo referunt suspensa juvenci,  
Et sol crescentes decedens duplicat umbras."

The "*swinked* [laboured, tired] *hedger at his supper*," however, is quite English.

297—304. "*Their port was more than human,*" &c. Note in this passage, besides the fine picture, the cleverly-introduced compliment to the two boys, Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton, who were about to come on the stage.—"*as they stood*" : so in *Epit. March. Winchester*, 21 :—

"And in his garland, as he stood,  
Ye might discern a cypress-bud."

In the First and Second editions there is a comma after *human*, and a semicolon after *stood*; else one might have been disposed to put a stronger stop at *human*, and to read "*as they stood*" in connexion with the following line. This, as Warton notes, was the reading in Lawes's

Edition of 1637 ; but Milton had changed it, perhaps to increase the impression of the stately appearance of the boys.

299. "*the element*" : *i.e.* the sky or air. According to Thyer, the word was used in this sense in the North of England in last century : perhaps it is so still.

301. "*plighted . . . awe-strook*." By *plighted* is meant "folded," "plaited." For "*awe-strook*," which is the word in Milton's own editions, "*awe-struck*" has been substituted in some others. This is wrong. See note, *Par. Lost*, II. 165.

312. "*Dingle*" : defined by etymologists as "a little hollow, as if made by a blow" (from the old verb "*to ding*," still preserved in Scotch ; whence *dint*). Another form of the word, now obsolete, was *dimble*.

313. "*bosky bourn*" : *i.e.* shrubby boundary or watercourse. *Bosky* is but a form of *bushy* (Ital. *bosco*), but with the meaning slightly differed by the sound. It is disputed whether the two Old English words *bourn*, a boundary (Fr. *borne*, a limit), and *bourn*, a stream (Scot. *burn*), are etymologically the same. See Earle's *Philology of the English Tongue*, 86, 87.

315. "*attendance*," for attendants.

317, 318. . . . "or the low-roosted lark  
From her thatched pallet rouse."

On this passage Mr. Keightley comments thus :—"The ideas here belong rather to a hen-house than to the resting-place of the lark, which has no *thatch* over it, and in which, as it is on the ground, he does not *roost*. Milton, whose mornings were devoted to study rather than to rambles in the fields, does not seem to have known much of the habits of the lark. Compare *L'Allegro*, v. 41." Now, as we have seen that the charge of incorrect description, and ignorance of the habits of the lark, deduced from the passage in *L'Allegro* so referred to, arises from a gross misreading of the passage and neglect of its obvious syntax (see note on the passage), so here we believe the repeated charge springs equally from a misapprehension. *Roost*, though it has come to mean to rest on trees or on timber-joists, contains in it not the less the general sense of "*rest*"; and by "*the low-roosted lark*" Milton means simply "the lark in her low resting-place." The very phrase calls attention to the fact that the lark does not roost on trees like other birds, but has a nest on the ground. As for "*thatched*" applied to this nest or "*pallet*," surely the texture of the nest itself, or the corn-stalks or rushes over it, might be called "the thatch." Few birds, except those in the "hen-house," have a thatch over them in any other sense. Student though Milton was, it is not safe to challenge his accuracy in any reference to natural history which he has permitted himself.—*rouse*. Though *rouse* is sometimes used in a neuter or reflective sense, for to *rise* or *rouse oneself*



(e.g. "Rouse, rouse, ye kilted warriors!"), yet perhaps here it is to be taken actively as usual; in which case the construction is "*ere morrow wake, or rouse the roosted lark,*" &c.

323—327. "*courtesy, which oft is sooner found,*" &c. Though the word *courtesy* is derived from *court*, yet, says the Lady, the thing is not always so readily found now in courts as in humbler places. Here she differs from Spenser, as quoted by Newton:—

"Of Court it seems men Courtesie do call,  
For that it there most useth to abound."  
F. Q., VI. i. 1.

Warton quotes a stanza from Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.*, XIV. 62) which Milton may have had in his mind in this passage. The idea is there the same, and the expression similar.—Warton proposed that the first word in line 326 should be read *In*, and Todd adopted the suggestion; but in Milton's editions it is "*And*."

328. "*that,*" for "so as that": peculiar elliptical syntax, the meaning being "Less warranted than this, or less secure, I cannot be, [so as] that I should fear to change it." On a similar use of *that* in Shakespeare, see Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, edit. 1872, par. 283.

329. "*square*": measure out, adapt. Thus in *Measure for Measure* (Act V.) the Duke says to the gipsy-ruffian Barnardine:—

"Sirrah, thou art said to have a stubborn soul,  
That apprehends no further than this world,  
And squarest thy life according."

331. "*Unmuffle*": i.e. unmuffle yourselves.

334. "*disinherit Chaos*": drive Chaos from his possession.

335. "*double night of darkness and of shades*": i.e. both the natural darkness of night and the local darkness of the woods.

338. "*wicker hole*": the wretched wicker-crossed aperture, not worth the name of window.

340. "*thy long levelled rule,*" &c. How true to the fact described!

341, 342.

"our star of Arcady,  
Or Tyrian Cynosure."

*Cynosura*, the constellation of the Lesser Bear, or the pole-star in it: see note on *L'Allegro*, 80. It was the Phœnician mariners that steered by this pole-star, and hence it is called *Tyrian*. The *star of Arcady* is any conspicuous star in the adjacent Greater Bear, which served the same purpose to the Greek mariners. For the epithet one has to recollect the myth. It was the nymph Callisto, daughter of the *Arcadian* king Lycaon, that was turned into the constellation of the Great



Bear and called Arctos, while it was her son, Arcas, that was whirled up beside her as the Lesser Bear, or Cynosura proper.

349. "*innumerable*": from the Latin *innumerus*, and common in Old English in the sense of "innumerable."

355. "*Leans*": perhaps for "*she leans*." This "ellipsis of the nominative," when there was no doubt what it should be, was common. See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, par. 399.

359. "*over-exquisite*": too precisely inquisitive. There is a recollection of the etymology of the word.

360. "*To cast the fashion of uncertain evils*": *i.e.* to fling them into definite shape beforehand. The metaphor may be from Metallurgy or from Astrology.

361. "*grant they be so*": *i.e.* really be evils.

366. "*so to seek*": *i.e.* so at a loss; so in want of anything and uncertain where to find it; a common old phrase.

367. "*unprincipled in*": ungrounded in the principles of.

368. "*bosoms*": *i.e.* "has in its bosom."

370. "*(Not being in danger, as I trust she is not.)*" In very strict syntax "not being" would cling to "want" as its substantive; but the phrase passes for the Latin ablative absolute.—Lord Monboddoo greatly admired this parenthesis, and pointed out how the voice of the speaker must have varied its tone in passing from the first clause to the second.

375—378. "*Wisdom's self oft seeks to,*" &c.: *i.e.* "oft has recourse to": an old idiom. Mr. Aldis Wright notes several examples in his *Bible Word-Book*: thus Deut. xii. 5, "Unto his habitation shall ye seek"; and 1 Kings x. 24, "And all the earth sought to Solomon, to hear his wisdom."

378. "*plumes her feathers*." Warton suggests that "*plumes*" should be "*prunes*"; this last being the word for the action of a bird dressing and arranging its feathers. Thus Spenser (*F. Q.*, 11. iii. 36):—

" She gins her feathers fowle disfigured  
Proudly to prune, and set on every side."

But a meaning to the same effect may be found for *plume*.

380. "*all to-ruffled*." In Milton's own editions this phrase is printed as three distinct words, "*all to ruffl'd*," without hyphen. As this did not seem to make sense, Tickell and other editors in the first half of the eighteenth century changed *to* into *too*. This change, plausible enough in itself (for *too* is originally the same as *to*, and their spellings were interchanged by Elizabethan writers and printers), appeared to give very good sense: viz. "all too much ruffled," or "wholly too much ruffled."

The form is common with us now in such phrases as "It is all [wholly] too sad to tell." But later editors, especially Warton, perceived that this emendation did not meet the entire case. They saw that the phrase as it stands in Milton is a relic of an old form of which there are many examples, before his time, where the emendation suggested could not be applied with any intelligible effect. There is one such in our Authorized Version of the Bible (Judges ix. 53): "And a certain woman cast a piece of millstone upon Abimelech's head and all to-brake his skull." Here "all too broke" would be nonsense. In older versions there are more frequent instances; and the form occurs in popular writers, from Chaucer, Gower, and the author of *Piers Plowman*, downwards. Thus:—

"And do bote [good : repairs] to brugges [bridges] that  
to-broke were."

*Piers Plowman : Vision* (Clar. Press edit.) vii. 28.

"Al is to-broken thilke regionn."

CHAUCER : *Knight's Tale*, l. 2759.

"Whereof the sheep ben al to-tore."

GOWER : *Conf. Am.* l.

" . . . As frute, that with the frost is taken,  
To day red-ripe, tomorrow al-to shaken."

SURREY : *Sonnet* ix.

"They love and all-to love him."

LATIMER : *Sermons*.

From these and other examples the question arises whether originally it was the *all* and the *to* that went together in meaning, forming the compound *all-to*, or whether the *to* belonged in the first place to the verb following it, and ought now to be hyphenated with *it*. In connexion with this question it is not unimportant to observe that in the first of the above-quoted examples the word *all* does not occur, and the *to* and the *broke* manage by themselves, and that in the second the *all* is separated from the *to* by an *is*. This proves that, whatever claims *all-to* may put in for itself, such phrases as *to-broke*, *to-broken*, had certainly a legitimate existence at one time on their own account, without needing the co-operation of the *all*. Accordingly, the conclusion of late has rather been in favour of the supposition that the primordial form was that of the *to* compounded with a verb as an intensifying prefix, and that the *all* came in as an addition. *Zu* is now compounded with verbs in German with a certain intensifying effect; and so, it is supposed, "*to-broken*" in Old English meant "thoroughly broken" or "smashed," "*to-torn*" meant "torn to shreds," and the like. How naturally, however, in such cases the word *all* would slip in! You can hardly say "broken to pieces" without saying "all broken to pieces." And, when *all* had slipped in, though the strict form of writing would be *all to-broken*, still hyphenating the *to* with its proprietor verb, how natural to combine all the three factors in one compound, "*all-to-broken*," or even gradually to let the *all* pull the *to* away from the verb, presenting "*all-to broken*"!

Thus, it would seem, a word "*all-to*" came into being, signifying "quite," "completely," or "altogether," while the "*all too*" of such phrases as "*all too severe*" (wholly or decidedly too severe) may have had an obvious independent origin. The meanings being so similar, it would in many cases be indifferent whether *all-to* or *all too* were written; but not in all—not, for example, in the instance from the Book of Judges in the Authorized Version. "*All-to* (completely) *brake his skull*" would answer there, whereas "*all too brake his skull*" would, as was said, be nonsense.—To apply all this to the passage under notice:—The reading "*all too ruffled*," proposed by the earlier editors of last century, makes very good sense ("wholly or decidedly too ruffled"); but it is unwarranted and unnecessary. Warton's substituted reading, "*all-to ruffled*" ("altogether ruffled"), showed greater knowledge of Old English, and may have been what Milton intended. But "*all to-ruffled*" seems, on the whole, the best reading and the likeliest.—On the subject of this note see Mr. Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, article "All-to," and Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar*, pars. 28 and 436. But farther investigation is desirable.

382. "*i' the centre*": i.e. as if at the centre of the Earth, which, according to the old Ptolemaic astronomy, was also the central and one steady point of the whole Universe. See *Par. Lost*, I. 74 and 686, and *Par. Reg.*, IV. 534. The idea came easily to Milton; but *centre* in this sense, or in the sense of the Earth itself, was a common one. Thus in *Hamlet* (II. 2) Polonius says:—

"I will find  
Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed  
Within the centre."

385. "*Himself is his own dungeon*." See *Sams. Ag.*, 155-6.

391. "*maple dish*." In *Eleg. VI.*, 59—62, it is a "*beechen bowl*" that the hermit or sage has beside him:—

"Stet prope fagineo pellucida lympha catillo."

393—395. "*like the fair Hesperian tree laden with blooming gold*," &c. The golden apples, given to Juno as a marriage-gift, were entrusted to the charge of the nymphs called Hesperides; in whose gardens, called the Hesperian gardens, they were watched day and night by the sleepless dragon Ladon. It was one of the labours of Hercules to slay this dragon and get at the apples.

395. "*unenchantèd*": in the sense of "incapable of being enchanted." For other instances of this use of the same form see note, *L'Allegro*, 40.

398. "*unsunned*": never exposed to daylight. So, as Todd noted, Spenser, *F. Q.*, II. viii. 4:—

"Which to that shady delve him brought at last  
Where Mammon erst did sun his treasury."

401. "*Danger will wink on Opportunity.*" A quaint metaphor! The image suggested is that of a sentry, who has been set to prevent people from going a particular road, winking to some friend of his who breaks the prohibition, and letting him pass as if he did not see him.

404. "*it recks me not*": *i.e.* I take no account or reckoning. "*I reck not*" would have been more customary; but the impersonal form was also used. Thus Gower (*Rich. Dict.*), who has in one passage of his *Conf. Am.*,

"He recketh not, be so he wynne,  
Of that another man shall lese,"

has, in another passage,

"Him recketh nought what men recorden  
Of hym, be it evill or good."

413. "*squint suspicion.*" Thyer quotes Spenser, who, personifying Suspicion or Suspect, describes him (*F. Q.*, III. xii. 15) as

". . . . fowle, ill-favourèd, and grim,  
Under his ciebrowes looking still askaunce."

419. "*if Heaven gave it.*" The "*if*" here has somewhat of the sense of "*though*"; and the meaning is "Yes! she is protected by that general unseen strength of Heaven you speak of; but she has another strength also, which, though it too comes from Heaven, may be called her own, because it does not merely encircle her externally, but is lodged within herself."

420. "*'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity.*" The passage which begins with this line and extends to line 475 is not only a concentrated expression of the moral of the whole *Masque*, but also an exposition of what was a cardinal idea with Milton through his whole life, and perhaps the most central idea of his personal philosophy in early manhood. See *Introd. to Comus*, pp. 252, 253. See also the extraordinary autobiographic passage, so often referred to, in that one of Milton's *Smectymnuan Tracts* called *An Apology against a Pamphlet, &c.* There, defending himself against certain moral charges made against him by Bishop Hall and his son, he breaks out into an exposition of the Doctrine of Personal Purity, which may be regarded as a prose-expansion in 1642, with included autobiographic particulars, of the present passage in *Comus*, written in 1634.

421. "*complete steel.*" The accent is on the first syllable of *complete*, as it also is in the line from *Hamlet* (I. 4), where the same phrase occurs:—

"That thou, dead corse, again in complete steel  
Revisit'st thus the glimpses of the moon."

422. "*like a quivered nymph with arrows keen.*" Perhaps, as Thyer hinted, a recollection of Spenser's Belphebe, the hunter-goddess (*F. Q.*, II. iii. 29) :—

"at her back a bow and quiver gay,  
Stuft with steele-headed darts, wherewith she queld  
The salvage beasts."

But this Belphebe is immediately (stanza 31) compared to Diana, who

"Wandreth alone with bow and arrowes keene."

423. "*unharboured*" : interpreted "unsheltered"; but rather, I think, "not containing shelters."

424. "*Infamous*," accented on the second syllable.—"*Perilous* is dissyllabic," says Mr. Browne, and he refers to Shakespeare's form *parlous*. Not so : it is distinctly *perilous* in Milton's editions.

426. "*bandite or mountaineer.*" *Bandite*, so spelt in Milton's editions, and probably rather a new word about Milton's time, is from the Italian *bandito*, an outlaw (literally "declared under ban"). We now use the foreign form only in the plural, *banditti*; but Shakespeare has (1 *Hen. VI.* IV. 2) :—

"A Roman sworder and banditto slave  
Murdered sweet Tully."

*Mountaineer*. Warton notes the fact that this word had a bad sense, like *bandit*. See *Cymbeline*, Act IV. sc. 2, where it occurs several times as an epithet of opprobrium : thus, "called me traitor, mountaineer." Now a kindly admiration mixes with the term. There has been perhaps a similar change of associations with the word *Highlander*, and from the same cause—change of habits among the mountain-peoples, and better acquaintance with them.

430. "*unblenched*" : unabashed, from "*blench*" or "*blanch*," to turn pale.

432. "*Some say no evil thing,*" &c. Undoubtedly, here, as Warton remarked, Milton had the passage in *Hamlet* (I. 1) in his mind :—

"Some say that, ever 'gainst that season comes  
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,  
The bird of dawning singeth all night long :  
And then, they say, no spirit dares stir abroad."

The sequent imagery, to line 437, with the sentiment included, led Newton to produce a parallel passage from Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* :—

"Yet I have heard (my mother told it me)  
And now I do believe it) if I keep  
My virgin-flower uncropt, pure, chaste, and fair,  
No goblin, wood-god, fairy, elf, or fiend,  
Satyr, or other power that haunts the groves,  
Shall hurt my body, or by vain illusion  
Draw me to wander after idle fires,  
Or voices calling me."



Milton's "Some say" may perhaps be a kind of acknowledgment of recollection of this passage; but, as the passage itself implies, the belief quoted by both poets was a popular one.

434, 435. "unlaid ghost,  
That breaks his magic chains at curfew time."

For *curfew* see note, *Pens.*, 74.—The popular superstition was that ghosts and other supernatural beings had liberty to begin their wanderings at the sound of the evening bell. Warton quotes, in illustration, Edgar's speech in *King Lear*, III. 4: "This is the foul fiend Flippertigibbet; he begins at curfew, and walks till the first cock."

438—440. "Do ye believe me yet, or shall I call  
Antiquity from the old schools of Greece?" &c.

\*The Brother has hitherto been quoting popular superstitions of the Northern or Gothic mythology, which was also the native English; but he is now to cite the more lightsome legends of Greek antiquity in proof of his doctrine. Accordingly, from line 441 to line 452, we have a sublimation of the legends of the two virgin goddesses Diana and Minerva. Thyer thought Milton might here have had a passage of one of Lucian's dialogues in view, where Cupid tells his mother Venus how the first of those two goddesses eluded him by hunting, while the other, with her fierce looks and Gorgon shield, positively frightened him.

453. "So dear to Heaven is saintly chastity  
That," &c.

The language of mythological allusion now ceases, and the speaker passes, in his own name, into a strain of Platonic philosophy tinged with Christianity. It lasts to the end of his speech, line 475.

459—463. "Till oft converse with heavenly habitants  
Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,  
The unpolluted temple of the mind,  
And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,  
Till all be made immortal."

"Heavenly habitants" means here "inhabitants of heaven," viz.: the angels deputed to attend on the pure soul. The syntax "*begin . . . and turns*" is abnormal, but, I think, intentionally so; as if certainty had so increased before the second clause that it could be stated as a fact. More is notable in the passage, however, than those verbal minutiae. It is a hint of a peculiar doctrine, or form of physio-metaphysical speculation, developed at length, long afterwards, in *Par. Lost*, V. 404—503. Accordingly, Warburton's note on the passage was: "This is agreeable to the system of the Materialists, of which Milton was one"; and Mr. Keightley adds, "With Warburton we discern here the germ of the Materialism which is developed by the Angel in *Par. Lost*, V." Referring to our notes on the portion of *Par. Lost* in ques-



tion, we may merely say here that, if the doctrine is to be called *Materialism*, it is by using *Materialism* in a sense utterly different from that which it now holds in the vocabulary of philosophers, and in their classifications of metaphysical systems. Milton, as a metaphysician, might rather be classed ultimately with the *Idealists*; and any portion of his belief describable as *Materialism* came in definitely as a conception subordinate to his *Idealism*, and melting back into that higher generality. Even in this passage the distinct proposition is that body itself, by due education, may be promoted into identity with spirit.

467—475. “*The soul grows clotted by contagion,  
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose  
The divine property,*” &c.

As, by purity and heavenly converse, the body may rise into identity with spirit, so, by sensuality, the soul may sink into identity with body—may *imbody* and *imbrute* (words possibly of Milton’s coining: see *Par. Lost*, IX. 166) till her divine essence is lost. Warton perceived that here Milton was appropriating a passage in Plato’s *Phædo*. The passage, in Mr. Jowett’s Translation of Plato, is as follows:—“The soul which has  
“been polluted, and is impure at the time of her departure, and is the  
“companion and servant of the body always, and is in love with and  
“fascinated by the body, until she is led to believe that the truth only  
“exists in a bodily form, which a man may touch and see and taste  
“and use for the purposes of his lusts,—the soul, I mean, accustomed  
“to hate and fear and avoid the intellectual principle, which to the  
“bodily eye is dark and invisible, and can be attained only by philo-  
“sophy;—do you suppose that such a soul as this will depart pure and  
“unalloyed? . . . She is engrossed by the corporeal, which the con-  
“tinual association and constant care of the body have made natural to  
“her. . . . And this, my friend, may be conceived to be that heavy,  
“weighty, earthy element of sight by which such a soul is depressed  
“and dragged down again into the visible world below—prowling about  
“tombs and sepulchres, in the neighbourhood of which, as they tell us,  
“are seen certain ghostly apparitions of souls which have not departed  
“pure, but are cloyed with sight and therefore visible.”

474. “*sensuality.*” So spelt in the First and Second Editions, but in most editions now printed “*sensuality*”; which mars the metre.

476—479. “*How charming is divine Philosophy!  
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo’s lute.*”

A compliment to Plato, from whom Milton has just been quoting, and whom he especially admired! Perhaps there is a side-glance also at other philosophies, as less musical, and more harsh and crabbed, than Plato’s. It is Love, and not Philosophy, that is described by Shake-

speare (*Love's Labour Lost*, IV. 3) in the phrase that Milton has here borrowed :—

“For valour, is not Love a Hercules,  
Still climbing trees in the Hesperides?  
Subtle as Sphinx; as sweet and musical  
As bright Apollo's lute, strung with his hair?”

484. “*night-foundered*”: swallowed up in night, as a ship is in the sea when she *founders* (i.e. goes to the bottom). The word reappears *Par. Lost*, I. 204.

490. “*That hallo I should know.*” These words are distinctly printed in both Milton's editions as a continuation of the Elder Brother's speech; else we might assign them to the Attendant Spirit, who has just entered in the habit of a Shepherd. In fact, a stage-direction, printed in Lawes's edition of 1637, but omitted in Milton's editions, ought to have been retained: “*He hallos; the Guardian Damon hallos again, and enters in the habit of a Shepherd.*” There was a succession of hallos heard by the audience—first that of the Attendant Spirit some way off in the woods (line 481); next, several more from him as he came nearer (486); next the Elder Brother's hallo back from the stage (487); and finally the Attendant Spirit's hallo near at hand as he emerged from the wood. This last is implied, but not registered.

491. “*Come not too near, you fall on iron stakes else.*” Not necessarily said in defiance, but rather in caution to an unknown person approaching in the dark, who may, after all, be friendly.

494, 495. “*Thyrsis! whose artful strains have oft delayed  
The huddling brook to hear his madrigal.*”

The compliment here, as the audience would see at once, though professedly to the supposed shepherd Thyrsis, was really to the actor of the part, Henry Lawes, in his own character of musician and composer.—“*madrigal*,” though in music the name for an elaborate composition in parts, meant literally a *shepherd's song*—Ital. *madrigale*, from *mandra*, a flock or sheep fold (which is also a Greek word). It is this kind of *madrigal* that the Thyrsis of the masque is supposed to have been accomplished in. Lawes and Milton's own father had composed well-known *madrigals* in the higher musical sense. In the form of the compliment to Lawes there is a recollection, as Todd observed, of Horace, *Od.*, i. xii. 7 – 10 :—

“insecutæ  
Orphea sylvæ,  
Arte maternâ rapidos morantem  
Fluminum lapsus.”

495 – 512. These eighteen lines, it might not be perceived by a hasty reader with the eye only, are rhyming couplets. Was the introduction of such a rhymed passage into a blank-verse dialogue a mere freak,

or had it any significance? Probably Milton, having spoken of the "*madrigals*" of Thyrsis, wanted to prolong the feeling of Pastoralism by calling up the cadence of known English Pastoral Poems, such as those of Spenser and William Browne. In Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, as Todd remarked, passages of rhyming couplets are intermixed with the blank verse.

508. "*How chance she is not*": for "How chances it that she is not?"—an idiom of those days, frequent in Shakespeare. Mr. Abbott (*Shakespearian Grammar*, par. 37) gives instances, and supposes *chance* in such phrases to be a kind of adverb.

511, 512. "*true . . . shew*": observe the rhyme, indicating a pronunciation of "*shew*" now obsolete.

515—518. "*What the sage poets . . . storied of old . . . of dire Chimeras,*" &c. A reference especially to Homer and Virgil, some of whose stories are of the kind indicated.

520. "*navel*": i.e. centre. So Delphi was named by the Greeks the navel of the Earth.

522. "*Of Bacchus and of Circe born, great Comus.*" See note *antè*, lines 46—61.

526. "*With many murmurs mixed.*" See note *antè*, lines 252—257. Todd quotes the very phrase from Statius (*Theb.* ix. 733 4):—

"Cantusque sacros, et consq̃ia miscet  
Murmura."

529, 530. "*unmoulding Reason's mintage characterized in the face.*" The metaphor is from the melting down of a coin. *Charactered*, accented on the second syllable. This was occasional, but not uniform in Milton's time. In *Hamlet* (I. 2) Polonius says to his son,

"And these few precepts in thy memory  
See thou character."

In both cases the meaning is the original one of the Greek word *χαρακτήρ*, an impressed mark or stamp.

531. 532. "*the hilly crofts that brow this bottom glade*": i.e. "the enclosed fields on the slopes that ascend from this wood in the hollow."

532 "*whence*": i.e. from the "bottom glade."

533 -535. "*to howl like stabled wolves . . . to Hecate.*" Mr. Browne quotes Virgil's phrase, "*triste lupus stabulis*" (*Ecl.* iii. 80); and Todd Ovid's "*longis Hecaten ululatibus orat*" (*Met.* xiv. 405). For Hecate see note *antè*, line 135.

547. "*To meditate my rural minstrelsy.*" So in First Edition; but Second has "*To meditate upon my rural minstrelsy*"—clearly a

misprint. The phrase is from Virgil's well-known line "*Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris avenâ*" (*Ecl.* 1. 2). It reappears in *Lycidas*, 66.

548. "*ere a close*" : *i.e.* before he had finished the song he had begun on his pipe.

552—554. "*Till an unusual stop of sudden silence  
Gave respite to the drowsy-flighted steeds  
That draw the litter of close-curtained Sleep.*"

The "unusual stop of sudden silence" here referred to by the Attendant Spirit is that which occurred at line 145 of the masque, when Comus stopped the dancing and revelry of his rout of monsters on becoming aware of the near presence of the Lady. "*Break off, break off,*" Comus had then said, and his followers had dispersed and hidden themselves among the trees, the roar they had been making till that moment suddenly ceasing. The sudden change from uproar to dead silence might be said to have had an effect even upon the steeds that were drawing the chariot of Sleep through the vault of Night. It gave them "*respite*" from the trouble the noise had been causing them.—There has been much dispute as to a reading here. Both Milton's printed editions give "*drowsie frighted*" in two distinct words, and so does Lawes's edition of 1637; but the Cambridge MS. gives "*drowsy-flighted*." If this last is hyphenated, as was evidently intended, we have a very poetical epithet, much in Milton's manner—*drowsy-flighted*, *i.e.* "always drowsily-flying;" and clearly the choice lies between this and the "*drowsy frighted*" unhyphenated—*i.e.* "the drowsy steeds that had been frightened." An intermediate reading that has been proposed—*drowsy-frighted* as one compound word—is evidently absurd, and is hardly mended by supposing the meaning to be that of *drowsy-freighted* (*freight*, burden). On the whole, though I have adopted *drowsy-flighted* as the more poetical, I am not sure but I ought to have kept to the *drowsy frighted* of the first printed editions. The objection to this last is that *drowsiness* and *fright* could hardly coexist; but this may be got over by supposing *drowsy* to denote the habitual character of the steeds, and *frighted* the state into which they had been startled by the uproar in the wood underneath. Still, as that uproar had lasted some time, to call them *drowsy* and *frighted* at once seems a little incongruous. If they were "*frighted*," their "*drowsiness*" was over. On the other hand, *drowsy-flighted* would simply imply that the steeds maintained their habitual character throughout, but had been a little fidgeted in their drowsiness by the uproar, so that the sudden silence was a *respite*.

555—562. "*At last,*" &c. Note here the renewed compliment (see *ant.*, lines 244–270, and note) to the Lady Alice's singing—a compliment all the more memorable from the elevated splendour of the passage. The words "*At last*" indicate the interval between the beginning of the silence and its interruption by Lady Alice's Echo-song—an interval marked by eighty six lines in the text (from 114 to 230).

556. "*a steam.*" So in the First Edition; misprinted "*stream*" in Second.

557—560. "*Silence was took ere she was ware, and wished she might deny her nature,*" &c. A quaintly daring fancy, partly repeated in *Par. Lost*, IV. 604, but rather disturbing to the eighteenth-century critics, so that even Warton ventured to say "The conceit in both passages is unworthy the poet." The meaning is "Even Silence was so ravished by the song that she wished herself annihilated, if such singing were to be the substitute for her."

568. "*laxons*." See note to *L'All.* 71.

580. "*further*." So in Second Edition, but "*surder*" in First.

585. "*period*" . in the grammatical sense of "*sentence*."

586—599. "*Against the threats . . . built on stubble.*" A peculiarly Miltonic passage : one of those that ought to be got by heart both on its own account and in memory of Milton.

591. "*which Mischief meant most harm*" : i.e. "which the Power of Evil intended should do most harm."

604. "*Under the sooty flag of Acheron*": i.e. of Hell, where Acheron was a river. Todd quotes from Phineas Fletcher's *Locusts* (1627) the line

**"All hell run out, and sooty flags display."**

605. "*Harpies and Hydras*": spelt "*Harpyies*" in First Edition, "*Harpyes*" in Second. The *Harpies* of the Greeks were unclean bird-shaped creatures; the *Hydra* a water-serpent.

606. "'*Twixt Africa and Ind*": the region of black enchantments.

607. "*purchase*": in the sense, "stolen possession," in which it occurs in Spenser.

608. "*by the curls.*" Because, as Mr. Keightley says, Comus, the voluptuary god, is represented as wearing curled hair.



609. "*venturous*": spelt "*ventrous*" in original editions.

619—628. "a certain shepherd-lad,  
Of small regard to see to, yet well skilled  
In every virtuous plant," &c.

With not unnatural fondness, biographers of Milton have detected in this passage an affectionate allusion to the bosom-friend of his youth, the half-Italian Diodati, a medical student while Milton was at Cambridge, and in medical practice somewhere in the country when *Comus* was written. For this Diodati's life see Introductions to the First and Sixth of the Latin Elegies and the *Epitaphium Damonis*. For a parallel passage to the present, if the present does allude to Diodati, see lines 150—154 of the *Epitaphium*, where Diodati's botanical knowledge, and his habit of regaling Milton with the same, are expressly mentioned. Is it possible that Diodati was in the neighbourhood of Ludlow when *Comus* was performed, and had some interest in the performance?—"Of small regard to see to" (*i.e.* to look at), if the allusion is to Diodati, would imply that he was of puny appearance.—"*Virtuous plant*" is plant possessing medical virtue (see note, *Pens.*, 113).—"He loved me well," &c. intensifies the impression that Diodati is meant. See the two Latin Elegies and the *Epitaphium*.

634. "*like*": *i.e.* correspondingly.

636, 637. "*that Moly that Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave.*" In the *Odyssey*, Book x., it is by means of a plant called Moly that Ulysses is made proof against the charms and drugs of Circe. It had been given to the hero by the god Hermes or Mercury, who pulled it from the earth on purpose. It is thus described by Ulysses himself: "It was black at the root, and its flower was like unto milk; and the gods call it *Moly*; but it is difficult for mortal men to dig up; but the gods can do everything."

638. "*He called it Hæmony.*" Milton invents this name for the prickly darkish-leaved plant of his fancy, described as rather unsightly in this country, but bearing a bright golden flower elsewhere. Is there any significance in the name? It has been suggested that the reference may be to *Hæmonia*, as the old name for Thessaly, an especial land of magic among the Greeks. Spenser, in his *Astrophel*, uses the word for the name of a district:—

"About the grassie bancks of Hæmony."

642. "*little reckoning made*": same phrase in *Lycidas*, 116.

650, 651. "*with dauntless hardihood and brandished blade rush on him.*" After the precedent of Ulysses with Circe, in Homer, and in Ovid's *Met.* xiv. 293 *et seq.*



653. "*But seize his wand.*" Warton ingeniously remembers that in the *Tempest* Caliban supposes it to be in Prospero's *books* that his power chiefly lies. He says (III. 2) to Stephano :—

"Thou mayst brain him,  
Having first seized his books, or with a log  
Batter his skull, or paunch him with a stake,  
Or cut his wezand with thy knife. Remember  
First to possess his books ; for without them  
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not  
One spirit to command : they all do hate him  
As rootedly as I. Burn but his books."

655. "*Or, like the sons of Vulcan, vomit smoke.*" The giant Cacus, the son of Vulcan, does this in his last struggle (*Æn.* VIII. 251-3) :—

"Ille autem, neque enim fuga jam super ulla pericli,  
Faucibus ingentem fumum, mirabile dictu,  
Evomit."

657. "*apace*" : *i.e.* swiftly ; *a-pace, on-pace.*

660. "*alabaster*;" spelt "*alablaster*" in both Milton's editions, according to an erroneous form then not uncommon, and used by Spenser. The word occurs twice besides in Milton's poetry—*Par. Lost*, IV. 544, where it is spelt wrongly, as now, in the First Edition ; and *Par. Reg.*, IV. 545, where it is spelt rightly in the First Edition.

661, 662. "*or as Daphne was, root-bound, that fled Apollo.*" A curious and rare instance of the figure called inversion : the meaning being "or root-bound, as Daphne was, that fled Apollo." The story of the nymph Daphne, "root-bound" by being turned into a laurel-tree as she was fleeing from Apollo, is told by Ovid (*Met.* 1.).

665. "*hast . . . while*;" spelt "*haste*" in both the original editions. "*While*" here has the sense of "so long as."

672—674. "*this cordial julep here, that flames . . . in his crystal bounds, with . . . syrups mixed.*" *Julep*, literally "rose-water" (from the Persian), had come to mean any bright medical liquid ; *syrup* (from an Arabic word meaning "to drink") meant a sugared liquid or essence. Note the possessive form *his* applied even to so inanimate a thing as a "julep."

675, 676. "*Not that Nepenthes which the wife of Thone  
In Egypt gave to Jove-born Helena.*"

*Nepenthes* (νηπενθής, in Greek literally "pain-dispelling") was the opiate which Helen is represented as giving to her husband Menelaus (*Odys.* IV. 220 *et seq.*) thus : "She straightway cast into the wine whence they were drinking a drug that frees men from grief and from anger, and causes oblivion of all ills. Whoever should drink down this, mixed in a cup, would not shed a tear down his cheeks for a whole day, not even

if both his mother and his father should die, or if they should kill a brother or a beloved son before his eyes. Such cunning and potent drugs the daughter of Jove [Helen] possessed, which Polydamna, an Egyptian, the wife of Thone, gave her."

680—689. "*which Nature lent . . . but you invert the covenants of her trust . . . like an ill borrower . . . scorning the unexempt condition,*" &c. The meaning is, "Nature lent you this personal beauty on certain conditions, one of which—the *unexempt* one, the most necessarily binding one, from which no human being can be exempt—was refreshment after fatigue; and yet you, like an unjust borrower, subvert the agreement, even in the most essential particular, inasmuch as all this while you have gone without repast or needful rest." Steevens cited Shakespeare's Sonnet IV for a certain similarity of idea; and the comparison is worth while.—Notice the distance of "*that*" in line 688 from its antecedent "*you*" in line 682.

694. "*grim aspects*": i.e. grim appearances or objects. Spenser, Drayton, and Shakespeare have the identical phrase.

695. "*oughly-headed*." So in both Milton's editions. In all modern editions it is printed "*ugly-headed*." I have restored the original form, concluding that, as Milton has the common spelling *ugly* in all other cases where he has used the word (*Par. Lost*, II. 662, X. 539, and XI. 464, and *Par. Reg.*, IV. 408), he must have intended a different form here, perhaps to indicate a more guttural pronunciation.

698. "*vizored falsehood*": falsehood wearing a vizor, to conceal his face.

702, 703.

"None

*But such as are good men can give good things.*"

Almost a translation, as Newton pointed out, of line 618 in the *Medea* of Euripides:—

κακοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ῥῶρ' ὕνησιν οὐκ ἔχει.

(A bad man's gifts convey no benefit.)

707. "*those budge doctors of the Stoic fur*." The old word "*budge*" had two meanings. As a noun, it meant "*fur*," and especially "*lambskin fur*." Thus the street called "*Budge Row*" in London had its name, according to Stow, from the fact that skinnners and furriers lived and carried on their trade there; and Todd quotes a Latin edict of 1414 as to the dresses to be worn by the different ranks of students and graduates of the University of Cambridge, regulating that those of the rank of Bachelor shall wear only budge or lamb furs (*tantum furruris buggeis aut agninis*). Hence we hear of "*Budge-Bachelors*;" and in one of Milton's own prose-tracts (*Obs. on Articles of Peace between Ormond and the Irish*) he speaks satirically of certain clergymen as "*parting freely with their own budge-gowns from off their backs*." The

idea of "fur" in connexion with the word "*budge*" in this passage must therefore have been in Milton's mind; but, as he uses "*fur*" immediately afterwards, it has been thought he used "*budge*" rather in its acquired adjective sense of "big," "burly," "stout," or "surly." That it had the sense of "burly" or "stout" (pudgy?) is proved by a sentence quoted by Todd from the Autobiography of Milton's friend, the Quaker Ellwood, "The warden was a budge old man, and I looked somewhat big too," and also by a quotation from Stanyhurst in Rich. Dict.: "A Sara for goodnesse, a great Bellona for budgenesse." On the whole, this last meaning is the likeliest in the present passage; but the other is possible. In that case, the apparent tautology would be got rid of by supposing that "budge doctors" meant simply doctors generally, duly robed, and that the subsequent phrase "of the Stoic fur" defined the particular sect of doctors in view.—The Stoic philosophers, and the Cynics, were those who most despised the pleasures of the senses.

719. "*hutch*ed": kept as if in a chest, from the old word "*hutch*," a chest.

721. "*pulse*": beans, pease, &c. Daniel and the other three children of Israel at the court of Nebuchadnezzar chose, in a pet of temperance, to live on pulse and water, rather than on the food and wine allowed by the king (Dan. i.).

739. "*hoarded*;" spelt "*hoorded*" in First and Second Editions.

739—755. "*Beauty is Nature's coin . . . you are but young yet.*" The idea that runs through these seventeen lines is a favourite one with the old poets; and Warton and Todd cite parallel passages from Shakespeare, Spenser, Daniel, Fletcher, and Drayton. Thus, from Shakespeare (*Mids. N. Dr.* I. 1.):—

"Earthlier happy is the rose distilled  
Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn,  
Grows, lives, and dies, in single blessedness."

And Drayton (*Heroical Epistles: K. John to Matilda*):—

"Fie, peevish girl, ungrateful unto nature,  
Did she to this end frame thee such a creature,  
That thou her glory shouldst increase thereby,  
And thou alone dost scorn society?  
Why Heaven made beauty, like herself, to view,  
Not to be locked up in a smoky mew:  
A rosy-tincted feature is heaven's gold,  
Which all men joy to touch, all to behold.  
It was enacted, when the world begun,  
So rare a beauty should not be a Nun."

See, however, also Shakespeare's first six Sonnets, which are pervaded by the idea in all its subtleties, and his *Venus and Adonis*, lines 163—174, where it reappears.

750. "*cheeks of sorry grain*": i.e. of poor colour. On the word *grain* and its history see note, *Par. Lost*, V. 285.

756—761. "*I had not thought*," &c. These six lines are spoken by the Lady *aside*; and only in line 762 does she begin to address Comus.

760. "*bolt her arguments*": i.e. present them sifted and refined. To *bolt* or *boult* was the name for the miller's process of separating the meal from the bran; and, by an easy metaphor, it was applied to the sifting of any matter by inquiry or reasoning.

768—774. "*If every just man*," &c. As a parallel passage to this striking one, Todd quotes *K. Lear*, IV. 1, where Gloucester says to the supposed beggar and madman:—

"Here, take this purse, thou whom the heavens' plagues  
Have humbled to all strokes: that I am wretched  
Makes thee the happier; heavens, deal so still!  
Let the superfluous and lust-dieted man,  
That slaves your ordinance, that will not see  
Because he doth not feel, feel your power quickly;  
So distribution should undo excess,  
And each man have enough."

780. "*enow*;" printed "*anough*" in First Edition, "*anore*" in Second.

780—799. "*To him that dares*," &c. Here we have an eloquent recurrence to that leading doctrine of the masque of which we have already spoken as pre-eminentlly Miltonic (see note *antè*, lines 420—475). On the previous occasion it was uttered by the Elder Brother; now it is re-uttered by the sister, and pushed to its utmost. The "sublime notion and high mystery," as Milton calls it here, is spoken of in his *Apology for Smectymnus*, as "an abstracted sublimity" which he had learnt from Plato.

791. "*dazzling fence*": i.e. art of fencing. Milton in one of his pamphlets speaks of "hired masters of tongue-fence."

797. "*the brute Earth*": a translation, as Warton noted, of Horace's "*bruta tellus*" (*Ode* i. xxxiv. 9).

800—806. "*She fables not . . . more strongly*." This passage is spoken by Comus *aside*. Warton quotes 1 *K. Henry VI.*, IV. 2, "He fables not: I hear the enemy."

803—806. "*as when the wrath of Jove*," &c. The image is from the mythical wars of Zeus against Cronos (Saturn) and the Titans, which ended in their imprisonment under Tartarus.

808. "*Against the canon laws of our foundation*." "*Canon laws! a joke!*" is Warburton's note on this passage. But Milton had not yet figured as a church-reformer and satirist of ecclesiastical laws and law-courts. Hence no political jibe may be intended, but only, as Mr.

Keightley says, "a humorous application of the language of universities and other foundations."

809, 810.

" . . . 'tis but the lees  
And settlings of a melancholy blood."

A phrase from the old physiological system of the "humours." Todd aptly quotes a passage in illustration from Nash's *Terrors of the Night* (1594):—"The grossest part of our blood is the melancholy humour; which, in the spleen congealed (whose office it is to disperse it), with his thick-steaming fenny vapours casts a mist over the spirit . . . It [melancholy] sinketh down to the bottom like the lees of the wine, corrupteth all the blood, and is the cause of lunacy."

815. "*Ye should have snatched his wand.*" According to the direction given to them in line 653.

816, 817. "*Without his rod reversed, and backward mutters,*" &c. As old as the belief in magic itself seems to have been the belief that the effects of enchantment could be undone by reversing the spells, pronouncing the words of charm backward, &c. Warton refers to Ovid's *Metam.* xiv. 299—301, where the companions of Ulysses are restored to their natural shapes by Circe in this way:—

" Spargimur innocuæ succis melioribus herbæ,  
Percutimurque caput conversæ verbera vîgæ,  
Verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis."

He refers also to the *Ætæry Queen*, iii. xii. 35 *et seq.*, for the disenchantment of Amoret by the magician Busyrane on the compulsion of Britomart.—Mesmerists now reverse their "passes" to restore their patients.

823. "*soothest*": truest.

824—857. "*There is a gentle Nymph not far from hence,  
That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream:  
Sabrina is her name:*" &c.

The legend of Sabrina, the nymph of the Severn, is gracefully introduced here to please the Welsh-English audience at Ludlow, many of whom knew that western river well and were patriotically proud of it. The oldest form of the legend is to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin History of the Britons, a compilation of Welsh traditions and tales in the twelfth century; but it was repeated, after Geoffrey, by many writers, including Spenser (*F. Q.*, ii. x. 14—19), Drayton (*Polyolbion* VI.), and Warner (*Albion's Eng.*). Milton himself afterwards told the story with some minuteness in his *History of England*, taking it direct from Geoffrey of Monmouth—who therefore (and not Spenser) may be that "*Meliœus old*" from whom the Attendant Spirit learnt it in the present masque. If so, the epithet "*the soothest shepherd that e'er piped on plains*" has a sly significance, inasmuch as Geoffrey's reputation with all matter-of-fact people was that of an unblushing preserver, if not



fabricator, of old British fables. The legend is this :—On the death of the famous Brutus of Troy, the second founder of Britain, his dominions were divided into three parts—his eldest son, Lochrine, taking the chief part (now England); the second, Camber, taking the west part (now Wales); and the youngest, Albanact, taking the north part, called Albania (now Scotland). This did not account for the whole island, however; for Corineus, the old comrade of Brutus, and his copartner in the conquest of the island, still reigned in Cornwall. But lo! at this crisis, when the island was thus separated into four parts, an event or series of events which tended to bring the parts together again! There came a great invasion of the Huns, under their King, Humber; Albanact was killed; and his people were driven into the protection of Lochrine, who, at the head of a general coalition, became opponent-in-chief of the Huns. Most successfully; for they were all routed, and their King drowned in the river called Humber after him. Unfortunately, however, among the spoil left by Humber was a German princess, Estrildis, of matchless beauty, with whom Lochrine fell in love. As he had been previously engaged to Guendolen, daughter of Corineus, this caused a scandal; and old Corineus, going to Lochrine, battle-axe in hand, compelled him to do justice to his daughter by marrying her at once. The love for Estrildis, however, still remained; and for seven years she was kept secretly in Lochrine's palace, where she bore him a most beautiful daughter, Sabre or Sabrina, just about the time when Guendolen had borne him a son called Madan. At length, Corineus being dead, Lochrine divorced Guendolen, and openly acknowledged Estrildis and her daughter. But Guendolen was a woman of dauntless spirit; her own Cornish people, among whom she took refuge, rallied round her; she raised war against her husband, and fought a battle with him, in which he was slain. Thus supreme in Britain, and governing it for her son Madan, she took revenge on her rival and the innocent daughter. "She commanded Estrildis and her daughter Sabre," says Geoffrey, "to be thrown into the river now called Severn, and published an edict through all Britain that the river should bear the damsel's name, hoping by this to perpetuate her memory, and by that the infamy of her husband. So that to this day the river is called in the British tongue *Sabren*, which, by the corruption of the name, is in another language *Sabrina*." Milton, it will be seen, slightly varies the legend in the poem, to improve its beauty, and the better to bring out Sabrina's maiden innocence. She alone is represented as drowned in the river, and that by accident in flight from Guendolen: of the mother Estrildis nothing is said. In Spenser also it is only Sabrina that is drowned, Estrildis being otherwise disposed of by Guendolen :—

" The one she slew upon the present floure ;  
 But the sad virgin, innocent of all,  
 Adoune the rolling river she did poure,  
 Which of her name now Severne men do call."



Milton, in his prose *History of England*, reverts to Geoffrey's rougher form of the legend.

835. "*Bearing her straight to aged Nereus' hall.*" A curious blending of classic mythology with the native British legend. Nereus is the sage and aged Greek divinity, the father of the Nereids or Sea-nymphs, dwelling always deep down in the sea, and knowing its secrets.

838. "*nectared lavers strewed with asphodil*": *i.e.* "in baths into which nectar had been dropped, and in which flowers of asphodel floated." *Asphodel* (whence, by corruption, our word *daffodil*) was a flower of the lily kind, the perfect mythical variety of which grew in the meadows of Heaven, where heroes took their repose.

839. "*through the porch,*" &c. Perhaps, as Newton pointed out, a recollection of *Hamlet*, I. 5:—

" And in the porches of my ears did pour  
The leperous distilment."

845. "*urchin-blasts*": *i.e.* evil strokes from the hedgehog. "The urchin, or hedgehog," says Warton, "from its solitariness, the ugliness of its appearance, and from a popular opinion that it sucked or poisoned the udders of cows, was adopted into the demonologic system; and its shape was sometimes supposed to be assumed by mischievous elves." He instances Caliban's enumeration of his punishments by Prospero in the *Tempest* (II. 2):—

" His spirits hear me,  
And yet I needs must curse. But they'll nor pinch,  
Fright me with urchin-shows, pitch me i' the mire,  
Nor lead me, like a firebrand, in the dark  
Out of my way, unless he bid 'em: but  
For every trifle are they set upon me—  
Sometimes like apes that mow and chatter at me,  
And after bite me; then like hedgehogs which  
Lie tumbling in my barefoot way and mount  
Their prickles at my footfall."

The *urchin*, in this malicious character, is mentioned elsewhere in Shakespeare; but the present is its only appearance in Milton's poetry, whether as *urchin* or as plain hedgehog.

846. "*the shrewd meddling elf*": hardly Robin Goodfellow, but one of his fraternity. See note, *L'Allegro*, 105.

851. "*daffodils.*" See note, line 838.

852. "*as the old swain said*": *i.e.* the Melibœus of line 822. But neither Geoffrey of Monmouth nor Spenser has this development of the legend.

863. "*amber-dropping hair.*" If it be not profanation to seek a literal meaning in any of the epithets in this exquisite song, we may

suppose the fancy in Milton's mind to have been that of hair of amber colour with the waterdrops falling through it. The thought of "ambergris," though that was the chief of fragrances, is profanation; but some critics have suggested it.

867—889.

*"Listen, and appear to us,  
In name of great Oceanus," &c.*

The mythological allusions in this ditty are as follows:—*Oceanus* was the most ancient Ocean-god, the god of the great ocean-stream that was supposed, in the oldest mythical geography, to encircle the inhabited earth; the sea-ruler *Neptune* or *Poseidon*, with his earth-shaking mace or trident, is a later being. *Tithys* is the wife of *Oceanus*, and the mother of the river-gods, and is named "the venerable" in *Hesiod*. "Hoary *Nereus*" is the "aged *Nereus*" of line 835: see note there. The "*Carpathian wizard*" is the subtle *Proteus*, who could change himself into any shape: he dwelt in a cave in *Carpathus*, an island in the Mediterranean; he had a "hook," because he was a sea-shepherd and had to manage a flock, though it consisted of sea calves (see *Virgil, Georg. iv. 387—395*, and also *Milton's Epitaph. Dam. 99, 100*). *Triton*, son of *Neptune* and *Aphrodite*, had a palace down in the sea, but generally rode on sea-horses atop of the waves, blowing his shell-trumpet (the "wreathèd horn" of *Wordsworth's* famous sonnet); he was "scaly," because the lower part of him was fish. *Glauco* was a Boeotian fisherman who, having chanced to eat of a certain divine herb, was changed into a marine god; after which he roved about islands and coasts, in strange form and with sea-weeds about him, uttering oracles and prophecies, which were highly valued, especially by fishermen and sailors. *Leucothea* ("the white goddess") had not that name originally; she was first only the mortal *Ino*, the daughter of *Cadmus*, and the wife of *Athamas*, by whom she had two sons; but, the anger of several of the gods having been brought down on the family, and *Athamas* in a fit of madness having slain one of his sons, *Ino*, with the other son *Melicertes* in her arms, had thrown herself into the sea, to be converted into a sea-deity, and named *Leucothea*. "*Her son that rules the strands*" is the said *Melicertes*, deified at the same time, and called thenceforward *Palaemon* or *Portunus* (the god of ports or harbours). *Thetis*, one of the daughters of *Nereus*, and therefore a sea-deity, was the wife of *Peleus*, and the mother of the great *Achilles*: *Homer's* epithet for her is "silver-footed." For the "*Sirens*" see note *antè*, lines 252—257. The "*Parthenope*" and "*Ligea*" mentioned immediately afterwards were two of these Sirens or singing Sea-nymphs. The "dear tomb" of the first was at *Naples*, where her memory was so sacred that the city itself sometimes went by her name. (See the third of *Milton's* Latin pieces, *Ad Leonoram Romæ canentem*.) Why the other Siren should come last, employing her "golden comb" at such leisure, does not appear, unless we suppose that *Milton* remembered

the line in Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 337) where this particular nymph is one of a group described as

“*Cæsariem effusæ nitidam per candida colla,*”

and wished also to hint at the mermaids of our Northern mythology, seen so often “combing their yellow hair.”

890. “*rushy-fringed.*” An adjective formed, as it were, from a previous compound noun, *rushy-fringe* ;” unless, by a very forced device, for which there is no authority, we should resolve the word thus, “*rush-yfringed.*”

893, 894. “*azurn . . . turkis.*” Todd derives the form “*azurn*” (azure) from the Ital. *azzurino*, as *cedarn* in a following line (990) may be from the Ital. *cedrino* (made of cedar).—*Turkis* (now *turquoise*) is the Turkish-stone, so called because, though Persian, it came by way of Turkey.

897—899.           “*Thus I set my printless feet  
O'er the cowslip's velvet head,  
That bends not as I tread.*”

The mere phrase “printless feet,” as Warton noted, is from Shakespeare (*Tempest*, V. 1):—

“Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,  
And ye that on the sands with printless foot  
Do chase the ebbing Neptune.”

But the special fancy of a light tread, as scarcely bending the heads of flowers and the stalks of grass, is immemorial among poets. Keats has it among the last:—

“O Sorrow,  
Why dost borrow  
Heart's lightness from the merriment of May?  
A lover would not tread  
A cowslip on the head,  
Though he should dance from eve till peep of day,  
Nor any drooping flower  
Held sacred for thy bower,  
Wherever he may sport himself and play.”

914, 915.           “*Thrice upon thy finger's tip,  
Thrice upon thy rubied lip;*” &c.

In Browne's *Inner Temple Masque* (see note *antè*, 252—257) Circe rouses Ulysses from sleep by this charm, addressed to the sleep possessing him:—

“Thrice I charge thee by my wand;  
Thrice with moly from my hand  
Do I touch Ulysses' eyes,” &c.

Warton, who had not observed this passage, quotes several passages from Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* containing even fainter verbal resemblances to Sabrina's speech.

921. "*To wait in Amphitrite's bower,*" i.e. in the court of Amphitrite, the wife of Neptune and Queen of the Sea.

922, 923. "*Virgin, daughter of Locrine,  
Sprung of old Anchises' line.*"

According to the British legends, Brutus, the father of Locrine (see note *ante*, line 824), was the son of Silvius, who was the son of Ascanius, who was the son of the famous Æneas, the son of the Trojan Anchises.

924—937. "*May thy brimmèd waves . . . groves of myrrh and cinnamon.*" The whole of this poetic blessing on the Severn and its neighbourhood, involving at the end, though in purposely gorgeous language, the wish of what we should call "solid commercial prosperity," would go to the heart of the assemblage at Ludlow: Drayton had said much about the Severn in the first eight Songs of his *Polyolbion*; and there is an elaborate personification of her in the Fifth Song, followed by a speech from her.

927. "*tumble;*" misprinted "*tumbled*" in the Second Edition. The "*snowy hills*" of the line are, of course, the Welsh mountains, whence come the feeders of the Severn.

929. "*thy tresses fair*" : i.e. the foliage along the banks of the Severn.

932—937. "*May thy billows roll ashore  
The beryl and the golden ore;  
May thy lofty head be crowned  
With many a tower and terrace round,  
And here and there thy banks upon  
With groves of myrrh and cinnamon.*"

Here Milton's glance seems to quiver irregularly along the course of the Severn—first taking it at its mouth in Gloucestershire, where it opens into a sea-firth, and where alone it could be properly said to have "billows;" then mounting to its "lofty head" in Welsh Plinlimmon, and following it thence through Montgomeryshire to Shrewsbury and so through the rest of its curve.—The construction of the last two lines has puzzled critics. Whether "*head*" be taken for "source," or regarded as a synecdoche for the whole river, is it not something of a mixed metaphor, they have asked, to pray first that this *head* may be crowned "with many a tower and terrace round," and then that it may be crowned *upon its banks* "with groves of myrrh and cinnamon"? To obviate the difficulty, it has even been proposed to tamper with the text, and change the "*With*" of line 937 into *Be.* But the true key seems to be furnished in a scholarly note which Todd quotes, without comment, from Mr Calton. The note suggested that Milton let his idiom be affected by the recollection at once of two allied Greek verbs—*περιστεφανόω*, to crown, in the sense of to put a crown round, and *ἐπιστεφανόω*, to crown, in the sense of to put a crown upon—and that his

meaning was "May thy lofty head be *crowned round* with many a tower and terrace, and thy banks here and there be *crowned upon* with groves," &c. By this reading "*banks*" in line 936 is to be taken as a nominative to a second "*be crowned*" omitted.

946, 947. "And not many furlongs hence  
Is your father's residence."

As the play was going on *within* that residence, the words may have had a whimsical effect. Of course, however, what scenery there was on the stage represented them as still in the "gloomy covert" or wood, some furlongs from Ludlow.

958—965. "*Back, shepherds, back,*" &c. Understand that, in the few minutes that have elapsed since the last speech, the Attendant Spirit, the Lady, and her two Brothers, are supposed to have walked the several furlongs intervening between the wood of Comus and Ludlow town and castle. When they come there (and, to aid the fancy that they have done so, the former scene has been removed from the stage and a picture of Ludlow town and castle substituted) it is broad day-light; and they find, as they had expected, the town all astir, welcoming the Earl, and country lads and lasses before the castle dancing—*i.e.* the stage in possession of a number of supernumeraries, dressed as peasants, and engaged in a merry country-dance. It is to these that the Attendant Spirit, appearing suddenly with his three precious charges, addresses the present speech in the form of a song. In effect, it is "Begone, ye clod-hoppers; ye have had enough of it; and here are three whose style of dancing will be different!" Compare the country merrymaking in *L'Allegro* (92—98), from which the line "*Till next sunshine holiday*" is almost a repetition.—"*Duck or nod*" characterizes the style of the clod-hoppers; the dance to come is to be a lighter tripping in "court guise," dainty as that which Mercury might have devised on some Greek meadow for the Dryades or Wood-nymphs.

966—975. "*Noble Lord and Lady bright,*" &c. Imagine the cheering when Lawes, advancing with the three young ones, addressed this speech to the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater, they perhaps rising and bowing! When the speech was ended, there was more dancing, in which other ladies and gentlemen, we are to suppose, figured with Lady Alice and her Brothers; after which nothing remained but Lawes's *Epilogue*. For the difference between the *Epilogue* as actually spoken and the *Epilogue* as it had been written by Milton and is now printed, see *Introd.*, II. p. 235 and p. 240.

975—979. "*To the ocean now I fly,*" &c. These four lines are in the very rhythm and rhyme of the first four in Ariel's song in the *Tempest* (V. 1):—

"Where the bee sucks, there lurk I," &c.



979. "*the broad fields of the sky.*" Warton cites Virgil's "*Aeris in campis latis*" (*Æn.* vi. 888).

982, 983. "*Hesperus and his daughters three,*" &c. See *antè*, note 393. Hesperus, the brother of Atlas, was the father of the Hesperides. — "*golden tree.*" Usually it is only the apples of the tree that are represented as golden; but Ovid, as Warton noted, makes the tree itself gold.

990. "*cedarn.*" See note, line 893.

993. "*blow.*" An active verb here, as occasionally with Milton's contemporaries.

995. "*purfled*" : *i.e.* fringed, embroidered with colours or gold (from French *pourfiler*) : a rather common old word. Thus Spenser (*F. Q.* i. ii. 13) :—

" A goodly lady clad in scarlot red,  
Purfled with gold and pearle of rich assay."

997. ("*List, mortals, if your ears be true*") : *i.e.* "if you have minds fine enough to perceive the real meaning of the legends I am about to cite."

999—1011. "*young Adonis . . . his deep wound . . . the Assyrian queen . . . celestial Cupid . . . holds his dear Psyche.*" In those happy regions of the air to which the Spirit is ascending there are not only, he means to say, all those physical delights he has been describing—the gardens, the shades and bowers, the eternal summer, the odours, the flowers; there is also, in a higher way than can be conceived on Earth, the full experience of that passion of Love which counts for so much in all human histories, and on the recognition of which, though in its most ignoble form, even Comus might be said to have based his action. It was just because Comus had misapprehended Love, knew nothing of it except in its vile counterfeit, that he had been outwitted and defeated. But there *is* true Love, and it is to be found in Heaven! Yes, whatever of fine and good significance may be discerned in such an earthly myth, say, as that of Venus (identified with "the Assyrian queen," Astarte,) grieving over her wounded Adonis (Thammuz: see note, *Par. Lost*, I. 446—457), to *that* Heaven itself contains something to correspond! Much more is there realized there the highly spiritual or pre-eminently celestial love set forth perhaps in the famous Greek myth of Cupid and Psyche, where Psyche (the Human Soul), parted from her beloved Cupid, has to wander about sadly and undergo all kinds of sufferings and humiliations, till at last, becoming immortal, she is united to him for ever, with the consent of all the gods!—Such I take to be that allegorical meaning to which the parenthesis in line 997 points as underlying the whole passage. It is, in fact, one of Milton's favourite ideas, sometimes assumed by him implicitly in his poetry, sometimes expounded and argued by him as a notion of the Platonic kind,



involving a truth beyond the scope of common spirits. See *Lycid.* 172—177; *Epitaph. Dam.* 212—219; *Par. Lost*, VIII. 612—629; also some sentences in the autobiographic passage in the *Smectymnuan Apology* already referred to more than once, and some passages in the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*. In one of the passages in the *Apology*, where the myth of Cupid and Psyche is evidently again in Milton's mind, commentators have noted that "Knowledge and Virtue" are the twins of Psyche's celestial generation, and not, as now, "Youth and Joy." They find a reason for this in the greater gravity of spirit which eight years had brought upon Milton. He was in his twenty-sixth year when he wrote *Comus*, in his thirty-fourth when he wrote the *Apology*.—In Spenser's *Faery Queene* there is a passage (III. vi., stanzas 46—52) where the myths of Venus and Adonis and Cupid and Psyche are similarly lifted up into Heaven. "Pleasure" is there the offspring of Psyche. Milton must have known the passage well.—The word "*advanced*" in line 1004 seems to agree with "*Psyche*" in the following line; the meaning being "Celestial Cupid, her famed son, holds his dear Psyche, in her now promoted condition." Or it may mean "put forward."

1016, 1017. "And from thence can soar as soon  
To the corners of the moon."

As Warton pointed out, there is a double touch from Shakespeare here—from *Mids. N. Dr.* (IV. 1) where Oberon sings :—

"We the globe can compass soon  
Swifter than the wandering moon ;"

and from Hecate's phrase in *Macbeth* (III. 5) :—

"Upon the corner of the moon  
There hangs a vaporous drop profound."

"*Corner*" here retains the sense of its original (*cornu*, a horn).

1021. "*Higher than the sphery chime.*" See note, *Arcad.* 63—73.

1022, 1023. "Or, if Virtue feeble were,  
Heaven itself would stoop to her."

Respecting these closing lines of *Comus*, in which the moral of the poem is summed up, there is an interesting anecdote :—Returning to England in 1639, after his year and more of continental travel and residence in Italy, Milton passed through Geneva. There was then residing there, as teacher of Italian, or the like, a certain Camillo Cerdogni or Cardouin, of Neapolitan birth, and probably of Protestant opinions; and this Cardouin, or his family (for he had been in Geneva since 1608, and must have now been advanced in life), kept an Album, in which it was their habit to secure the autographs of distinguished

persons passing through the town. The volume itself, rich with signatures and inscriptions and scraps of verse in all languages, is still extant. It was purchased in Geneva for a few shillings in 1834, brought to England, sold once or twice by auction, and at last taken to America, where it was in the possession of the Hon. Charles Sumner. Among the autographs in it are those of not a few eminent Englishmen of Milton's time, including Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the famous Earl of Strafford; but the most valued autograph is Milton's. It is as follows (all in Milton's hand except the date) :—

— if Vertue feeble were  
Heaven it selfe would stoope to her.  
Cælum non animum muto dum trans mare curto.

JOANNES MILTONIUS,  
Anglus.

Junii 10, 1639.

Milton, taken perhaps by Dr. Diodati of Geneva, the uncle of his friend Charles, to see the Cardouins, had been asked to comply with the family weakness for autographs; and, when the pen was in his hand, the above is what occurred to him. If we combine the English lines with the Latin addition, it is as if he said "The closing words of my own *Comus* are a permanent maxim with me."

#### ADDITIONAL NOTE.

The text of *Comus* as published by Milton himself in the editions of 1645 and 1673 supersedes, of course, the text of Lawes's printed edition of 1637, and also the two MS. texts mentioned in our Introduction to the poem (Vol. II. p. 227). It is interesting, however, to note the variations from the present text furnished by these earlier and less perfect texts. The following is an arranged digest of Todd's information on that subject :—

I. VARIATIONS IN THE STAGE-DIRECTIONS.—For the present opening stage-direction—"The first Scene discovers a wild wood. The ATTENDANT SPIRIT descends or enters"—the original Milton draft at Cambridge has "The first Scene discovers a wild wood. A Guardian Spirit or Dæmon;" and the Bridgewater MS. has "The first Scene discovers a wild wood: then a Guardian Spirit or Dæmon descends or enters."—For the second stage-direction (after line 92) the Cambridge draft has: "Goes out.—COMUS enters, with a charming-rod and glass of liquour, with his rout all headed like some wild beasts, their garments some like men's and some like women's. They come on in a wild and antic fashion. Intransant κωμάζοντες." The Bridgewater MS. has "COMUS enters, with a charming-rod in one hand and a glass of liquour in the other; with him a rout of monsters, like men and women, but headed like wild beasts," &c.—For the present simple stage-direction after line 144, "The Measure," the Cambridge draft gives "The Measure, in a wild,

*rude, and wanton Antic,*" and the Bridgewater MS. retains the same.—After line 147, where there is no stage-direction now, both the Cambridge draft and the Bridgewater MS. give the direction, "*They all scatter.*"—Before line 244, where there is no stage-direction now, both the Cambridge draft and the Bridgewater MS. give the direction "*Comus looks in and speaks.*"—After line 330, instead of the present direction "*The TWO BROTHERS,*" the Cambridge draft gives the fuller direction "*Exeunt.—The TWO BROTHERS enter.*"—For the present stage direction after line 489, "*The ATTENDANT SPIRIT, habited like a shepherd,*" the Cambridge draft gives "*He hallos: the GUARDIAN DÆMON hallos again, and enters in the habit of a shepherd,*" and the Bridgewater MS. gives "*He hallos and is answered: the GUARDIAN DÆMON comes in, habited like a shepherd.*"—The phrase "*Soft music*" in the first sentence of the present stage-direction after line 658 does not occur in either the Cambridge draft or the Bridgewater MS.; and for the second sentence as it now stands the Cambridge draft has "*COMUS is discovered with his rabble, and THE LADY set in an enchanted chair: she offers to rise.*"—For the present stage-direction after line 813 the Cambridge draft has "*The BROTHERS rush in, strike his glass down: the Shapes make as though they would resist, but are all driven in. DÆMON enters with them.*" The Bridgewater MS. has the present stage-direction, save that the words "*of liquour*" follow the word "*glass,*" and that the last sentence runs thus: "*The DÆMON is to come in with the BROTHERS.*"—After line 866 (*i.e.* between the words "*Listen, and save!*" and the words "*Listen, and appear to us*"), where there is no stage-direction now, the Cambridge draft has the direction "*To be said,*" showing that Milton meant the singing to cease at this point, and the sequel, as far as to line 889, to be recited only; but in the Bridgewater MS. the direction is changed into "*The verse to sing or not,*" as if, before the actual performance at Ludlow, it had occurred to Lawes that the twenty-three lines from 867 to 889 might be sung, as well as the preceding eight from 859 to 866. On this supposition, the Bridgewater MS., or stage-copy, goes on to indicate, by marginal notes, how the twenty-three lines might be distributed in the singing. Lawes himself, as the Attendant Spirit, was to continue singing in solo as far as to line 870; but prefixed to line 871 is the direction "*El. B.,*" showing that here the Elder Brother was to supersede Lawes. Then, prefixed to line 873 is the direction "*2 Bro.,*" calling on the Younger Brother to be the singer of the next two lines; after which "*El. B.*" comes in again for lines 875, 876, "*2 Bro.*" for lines 877, 878, and "*El. B.*" again for the four lines 879—882: at which point "*Dem.*" *i.e.* Lawes, resumes in solo and brings the song on to its second close, "*Listen, and save!*" Whether this arrangement was carried out in the performance at Ludlow, or the twenty-three lines were given in mere recitative by Lawes, as Milton had originally intended, must be left to conjecture.—After line 937 both the MSS. have the direction "*Song ends;*" and, whereas in the

present text the following twenty lines (938—957) are all spoken by the Attendant Spirit, the Bridgewater MS. directs the first six of them to be spoken by the Elder Brother (the word "*Sister*" taking the place of the present word *Lady* in line 938), the next twelve by the Attendant Spirit, and the last two by the Elder Brother again.—For the present stage-direction after line 957 the Cambridge draft gives "*Exeunt. The Scene changes, and then is presented Ludlow town, and the President's Castle; then enter Country Dances and such like gambols, &c. At these sports the DÆMON, with the TWO BROTHERS and THE LADY, enter. The Dæmon sings.*" The Bridgewater MS. gives "*The Scene changes; then is presented Ludlow town, and the President's Castle; then come in Country Dances and the like, &c. Towards the end of these sports the Dæmon with the two Brothers and the Lady come in. The SPIRIT sings.*"—After line 965 the Cambridge MS. has no stage-direction beyond the words "*2 Song*"; but the Bridgewater MS. gives it nearly as now: "*2 Song presents them to their Father and Mother.*"—After line 975 the stage-direction in the Cambridge draft is "*The DÆMON sings or says;*" in the Bridgewater MS. it is "*They dance: the dances all ended, the DÆMON sings or says.*" What he does sing or say in this MS., however, is not the whole of the present Epilogue, from line 976 to line 1023, but only the two concluding stanzas of it (1012—1023). Twenty of the omitted lines had already been used in the MS. as part of the Prologue to the Masque. In what manner and for what purpose they were used have been explained in the Introduction (II. 235).

II. CANCELLED PASSAGES AND LINES OF THE ORIGINAL DRAFT:—These are of two classes—(1) Passages and Lines rejected and scored through by Milton, either during the process of the composition, or on first revision, but which may be still read in the Cambridge draft; and (2) Passages and Lines which he left standing in that draft, but afterwards rejected. We shall give the passages of both sets indiscriminately, as Todd has noted them, in the order of their occurrence.

After the present line 4. the Cambridge draft exhibits these fourteen lines, rejected by Milton in the act of composing, and crossed out by his pen:—

" Amidst the Hesperian gardens, on whose banks,  
Bedewed with nectar and celestial songs,  
Eternal roses grow, and hyacinths,  
And fruits of golden rind, on whose fair tree  
The scaly-harnessed dragon ever keeps  
His unenchanted eye, around the verge  
And sacred limits of this blissful Isle  
The jealous Ocean, that old river, winds  
His far-extended arms, till with steep fall  
Half his waste flood the wild Atlantic fills,  
And half the slow unfathomed Stygian pool.  
But soft! I was not sent to court your wonder  
With distant worlds and strange removed climes.  
Yet thence I come, and oft from thence behold."

Then what is now line 5 ran on thus: "The smoke and stir of this dim narrow spot." When Milton had rejected the lines he adapted line 5 to the omission by prefixing the word "Above," and erasing "narrow." It is worth observing that, though his taste rejected so many lines here, he afterwards used some of the ideas and expressions—"Hesperian," "dragon," "unenchantèd eye"—at lines 393—395.

After line 7 the Cambridge draft shows this line, erased by Milton's pen:—

"Beyond the written date of mortal change."

He reserves the phrase "mortal change," however, for line 10.

Lines 134—137 ran thus in the Cambridge draft:—

"Stay thy polished ebon chair  
Wherein thou rid'st with Hecate,  
And favour our close jocondry,  
Till all thy dues," &c.

The third of these lines was rejected, and the passage otherwise improved.

Instead of the present line 216, "*I see ye visibly and now believe*," the Cambridge draft had three lines, thus:—

"I see ye visibly; and, while I see ye,  
'This dusky hollow is a Paradise,  
And Heaven gates o'er my head: now I believe."

For the present lines 355—366 the Cambridge draft had—

"She leans her thoughtful head, musing at our unkindness;  
Or, lost in wild amazement and affright,  
So fares as did forsaken Proserpine,  
When the big rolling flakes of pitchy clouds  
And darkness wound her in.  
1 *Br.* Peace, brother, peace!  
I do not think my sister," &c.

The passage remains so in the Bridgewater MS., with but the substitution of "*else*" for "*lost*" in the second line. Milton's subsequent improvements, it will be seen, consisted partly in the *addition* of seven new lines at the beginning of the Elder Brother's speech; but he also *rejected* nearly three whole lines of the above, substituting for them the two present lines 357, 358.

For lines 384, 385, the Cambridge draft had—

"Walks in black vapours, though the noon-tide brand  
Blaze in the summer solstice."

This is retained in the Bridgewater MS. The substitution of the present lines was caused, probably, by a wish to *reject* these.



For the present two lines 409, 410 the Cambridge draft and the Bridgewater MS. both give us these seven :—

“ Secure without all doubt or question. No :  
I could be willing, though now i' the dark, to try  
A tough encounter with the shaggiest ruffian  
That lurks by hedge or lane of this dead circuit,  
To have her by my side, though I were sure  
She might be free from peril where she is ;  
But, where an equal poise,” &c.

For the present two lines 422, 423 the Cambridge draft had these three :—

“ And may, on every needful accident,  
Be it not done in pride or wilful tempting,  
Walk through huge forests,” &c.

Here the improvement consisted partly in *addition*, but chiefly in *rejection*.

After line 429 the Cambridge draft has this line, scored for erasure :—

“ And yawning dens, where glaring monsters house.”

As the line occurs in the Bridgewater MS., the erasure must have been an afterthought.

The present line 490 is a substitute for the following in the Cambridge draft :—

“ Had best look to his forehead : here be brambles.”

Lines 607—609 stood thus in the Cambridge draft :—

“ And force him to release his new-got prey,  
Or drag him by the curls, and cleave his scalp  
Down to the hips” ;

and the Bridgewater MS. keeps the two last lines so. Lawes's printed text, while altering the passage nearly to its present form, retains “ Or cleave his scalp down to the hips.”

Line 658 stood thus in the Cambridge draft :—

“ And good Heaven cast his best regard upon us.”

Between line 678 and line 679 the Cambridge draft had—

“ Poor Lady, thou hast need of some refreshing.”

This is retained in the Bridgewater MS. ; where, however, the passage is otherwise contracted considerably.

Between line 713 and line 714 the Cambridge draft had—

“ The fields with cattle, and the air with fowl.”

Between line 846 and line 847 the Cambridge draft has—

“ And often takes our cattle with strange pinches.”



For the present line 895—" *That in the channel stays,*"—the Cambridge draft had

"That my rich wheels inlays."

For the present line 983—" *That sing about the golden tree,*"—the Cambridge draft shows an intention to substitute

"Where grows the high-borne gold upon his native tree ;"

but the line is scored out.

Between line 995 and line 996 the Cambridge draft has this, crossed for erasure :—

"Yellow, watchet, green, and blue."

III. PASSAGES OF THE PRESENT TEXT WANTING IN THE ORIGINAL CAMBRIDGE DRAFT :—One of these has been already mentioned : viz. the nine lines 357—365, in place of which the original draft gave three lines, afterwards rejected. Besides this, however, the twenty-six lines from "Shall I go on?" in line 779 to "And try her yet more strongly" in line 806 are mentioned by Todd as wanting in the original draft ; also the four lines 984—987 ; also the beautiful passage about Adonis and Psyche, lines 999—1011. It may be here noted also that the thirty-four lines now numbered 672—705, containing Comus's recommendation of the "cordial julep" and the Lady's rejection of the same, do not come in at quite so early a point in the original draft, but about fifty lines later—*i.e.* at what is now line 755. That line originally stood thus : "Think what, and look upon this cordial julep" ; and the further recommendation of the julep by Comus, with the Lady's rejection of it, followed. The throwing back of this incident fifty lines in the Masque was a rather important change.

IV. PASSAGES OF THE PRESENT TEXT WANTING IN THE BRIDGE-WATER STAGE-COPY :—The three beautiful lines 188—190 ; the thirty lines and a half beginning "Else, O thievish Night," line 195 and ending "this tufted grove," line 225 ; the nine lines 357—365, mentioned above as wanting also in the Cambridge draft ; the six lines 632—637 ; the four lines 697—700 ; the words "the forehead of the deep, and so bestud" in lines 733, 734 ; the twenty lines beginning "List, Lady," line 737, and ending "you are but young yet," line 756 ; the twenty-seven lines beginning "Shall I go on?" in line 779 and ending "And try her yet more strongly" in line 806—this passage being wanting also in the Cambridge draft ; the single line 847 ; also the four lines 984—987, and the twelve, 1000—1011, in the Guardian Spirit's Epilogue (wanting also in the Cambridge draft), the rest of that Epilogue, as has been mentioned, having been turned into a Prologue to the Masque in the actual performance.—What reasons can be assigned for these defects in the stage-copy ? In several cases the reason is obvious. Some of the passages wanting in the stage-copy are wanting

also in the Cambridge draft, and were therefore not extant at the time of the Ludlow performance, but were added afterwards. It is interesting to note that each of these added passages is a fine one, and that one of them (779—806) contains that exposition of the "power of chastity," or that "sage and serious doctrine of Virginity," which is the main moral of the Masque. But why were the other passages of the present text, which were also in the original draft, and therefore available for the Ludlow performance, omitted in that performance? Some of them may have been omitted from mere inadvertence (*e.g.* 733, 734 and 847), or merely to lighten the speaking here and there, especially for the young Lady Alice Egerton (*e.g.* 195—225); but in one or two cases I think a deeper reason may be perceived. If the reader will look at the omitted passages 195—225, and 697—700, he will see that they are such as the Earl and Countess of Bridgewater would hardly have liked to hear their young daughter, on the stage in Ludlow Castle, speaking aloud or having audibly addressed to her. *That*, I believe, was the reason of the omission of these passages from the stage-copy, though they were in Milton's original draft. The *moral* of the Masque would be sufficiently clear to the spectators without them, expressed as it was by the mere succession of the incidents and situations, and by the dialogue of the Boy Brothers in lines 350—475, though several lines in that dialogue were less emphatic in the original draft and the stage-copy than they are now in the printed text. We can see that Milton took care, in that text, to make the expression of the moral more definite. Not only did he restore the passages of the original draft that had been omitted in the stage-copy; but he added the long passage 779—806, which had not been in the original draft.

V. MORE MINUTE VARIATIONS:—These are very numerous, especially if we include not only the improvements made in the printed text upon the text as it finally stood in the Cambridge draft, but also (what we have hardly a right to do, though Todd does it) the original readings in the draft itself visible under the subsequent amendments. The following are perhaps the most important, C standing for the Cambridge draft and B for the Bridgewater MS.—For line 21 C had first "The rule and title of each sea-girt isle." For "the main" in line 28 C had "his empire." For line 58 C had "Which therefore she brought up and named him Comus," and B "Which therefore she brought up and Comus named." For line 90 C had "Nearest and likeliest to give present aid." For "Atlantic" in line 97 C had "Tartarian." For "dusky" in line 99 B gives "northern," and C had the same at first, though "dusky" is given in the margin. For "Advice with" in line 108 C had "quick Law with her." For "hath" in line 123 both C and B have "has," and the grammatical change is worth noting. For line 133 C has first "And makes a blot of nature," next "And throws a blot o'er all the air." For line 144 C had "With a light and frolic round." For "charms" in line 150 C gives "trains," and for "my

wily trains" in the next line "my mother's charms." For "dazzling" in line 154 C gives "powdered." For "snares" in line 164 C gives "nets." For "mine" in line 170 both C and B give "my," and the change is worth noting. For "granges" in line 175 C had "garners." For "mazes" in line 181 C had "alleys" and for "tangled" in the same line "arched." For "wain" in line 190 C had "chair." For line 194 C gives "To the soon-parting light, and envious Darkness,"; and for "stole" in the next line both C and B give "stolne"—which reading was retained in Lawes's printed edition. For the fine phrase, "that syllable men's names," in line 208, C had the much feebler one, "that lure night-wanderers." For "hovering" in line 214 C had "flittering," retained in Lawes's printed text; and for "unblemished" in the following line C had "unspotted." For "guardian" in line 219 C had "cherub." For "shell" in line 231 C had "cell." For "give resounding grace" in line 243 C had originally "hold a counterpoint": this reading is carefully erased there, and the present substituted; but "hold a counterpoint" is the reading in the Bridgewater MS. For "it" in line 252 both C and B have "she," and Lawes's printed text retains "she": the change is worth noting. For "wept" in line 257 C had "would weep," and for "And chid" in the following line "Chiding." For "prosperous" in line 270 C and B give "prospering." For "near-ushering guides" in line 279 C had "their ushering hands." For "the sure guess" in line 310 C had "sure steerage." For "Or shroud within these limits" in line 316 C gives "Within these shroudy limits." For "And yet is most pretended" in line 326 C gives "And is pretended yet." For "amongst rude burs and thistles" in line 352 C had "in this dead solitude." For "sweet retired solitude" in line 376 C had "solitary sweet retire." For "weeds" in line 390 C gives "beads," and for "His few books, or his beads" in the following line "His books, or his hair gown." For "wild surrounding waste" in line 403 C had first "wide surrounding waste," and this is retained in B, but was altered in C into "vast and hideous wild." For "rays" in line 425 C had "awe." For "Some say" in line 432 C and B give "Nay more." For "meagre" in line 434 C had "wrinkled." For "lewd and lavish" in line 465 C had "the lascivious" and B "lewd lascivious." For "sepulchres" in line 471 C gives "monuments," and for "Lingering" in the next line C, B, and Lawes's text, all give "Hovering." For "roving robber" in line 485 C had originally "curled man of the sword"; then "hedger." For "iron" in line 491 C had "pointed." For "dale" in line 496 C had "valley." For "swain" in line 497 C and B give "shepherd," and for "Slipped from the fold" in the next line C had "Leapt o'er the pen." For "ye" in line 513 C, B, and Lawes's text all give "you." For "hilly crofts" in line 531 C had "pastured lawns." In C the two lines 555, 556 were originally "At last a soft and solemn-breathing sound Rose like the soft steam of distilled perfumes"; the first "soft" was changed to "still" and then to

"sweet," and with this last change the lines appear in B: afterwards, however, "soft" was readmitted in C in the first line, the "soft" in the second giving place first to "slow" and then to "rich." For "monstrous forms" in line 605 both C and B give "monstrous bugs," and the change is notable. For "unthread" in line 614 C gives "unquilt." For "names" in line 627 C gives "hues." For "That Hermes once" in line 636 C had "Which Mercury." For "dauntless hardihood" in line 650 C had "sudden violence." For "or as Daphne" in line 661 C had "fixed as Daphne." For "fur" in line 707 C had "gown," and for "Thronging" in line 713 "Cramming." Lines 732—734 stood, as five lines, thus in C:—

"The sea oerfraught would heave her waters up  
Above the stars, and the unsought diamonds  
Would so bestud the centre with their star-light  
And so emblaze the forehead of the deep,  
Were they not taken thence, that they below."

For "with languished head" in line 744 C gives "and fades away." For "complexions" in line 749 C had "beetle brows." For "Come, no more" in line 806 C had "Come, y'are too moral"; and instead of the next three lines these two:—

"This is mere moral stuff, the very lees  
And settlings," &c.

For "rod" in line 816 C had "art." For "Some other means I have which" in line 821 C had "There is another way that." For "pearled" in line 834 C had "white," and for "took" in the same line "received." Line 851 in C ran thus, "Of pansies and of bonnie daffodils," and line 853 thus, "Each clasping charm and secret holding spell." For "art sitting" in line 860 C had originally "sit'st." For "Brightest" in line 910 C had "Virtuous." Line 921 in C ran thus "To wait on Amphitrite in her bower." For "sits" in line 957 C had "reigns." Lines 962, 963 ran thus in C:—

"Of nimbler toes, and courtly guise  
Such as Hermes did devise."

For "broad" in line 979 C gives "plain." Lines 990, 991 stood thus in C:—

"About the myrtle alleys fling  
Balm and cassia's fragrant smells."

For "Elysian" in line 996 C had "Sabæan," besides an earlier reading, cancelled; and for "young Adonis oft" in line 999 "many a cherub soft." For "task is smoothly" in line 1012 C gives "message well is"; for "green Earth's end" in line 1014 "Earth's green end," besides a previous reading cancelled; for "slow" in line 1015 "low" or "clear"; and for "stoop" in line 1023 "bow." B retains "Earth's green end."

# LYCIDAS

ARGUMENT.—The last word of the Argument is spelt “*height*,” as now, in both Milton’s own editions, and not “*hight*,” as usual with him.

1. “*Yet once more, O ye laurels, and once more.*” Some such formula was frequent with poets in beginning a new exercise of their art. “*Yet once again, my Muse,*” is an example quoted by Warton from an anonymous elegy on the death of the Countess of Pembroke, Sidney’s sister. In the present case, the formula has additional significance from the fact that three years had elapsed since Milton had written *Comus*, and in that interval, so far as we know, he had done nothing in English verse. A new occasion, he seems to say, compels him, amid his harder studies, to resume his pen in that style.—This first line of the poem, it is worth observing, stands without any following rhyme.

3—5. “*I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude . . . before the mellowing year.*” The critics have detected in this a “beautiful allusion to the unripe age of his friend.” But have they not missed the real meaning? The “laurels,” the “myrtles,” and the “ivy never-sere” (never dry, ever green), are the plants that supply poets with their wreaths; to “pluck their berries” or abstract their “leaves” is to solicit such a wreath—*i.e.* to write a poem; and to pluck the berries when they are “harsh and crude,” or “shatter the leaves” by hastily fingering them before the due season (“the mellowing year”), is to yield to the temptation of writing a poem on some sudden occasion, instead of reserving oneself for a fuller and riper work. The sequel shows that this is Milton’s meaning.

7. “*Compels.*” Notice the singular verb after the two nominatives.

8, 9. “*Lycidas is dead . . . young Lycidas.*” A form of repetition not uncommon: thus in the lines in Spenser’s *Astrophel* (Elegy on Sir Philip Sidney) quoted by Mr. Browne:—

“Young Astrophel, the pride of shepherd’s praise,  
Young Astrophel, the rustick lasses’ love.”

Again in the same poet’s Eleventh Eclogue:—

“For dead is Dido, dead, alas! and drent;  
Dido, the great shepherd his daughter sheene.”

The name *Lycidas*, chosen by Milton for Edward King, is taken, as was customary in such elegies, from the classic pastorals. It occurs in Theocritus; and Virgil has the name for one of the speakers in his Ninth Eclogue. The only real Lycidas whose existence is registered in our Biographical Dictionaries was an Athenian of that name (Λυκίδης) who was stoned to death by his fellow-citizens, B.C. 479.



10. "*Who would not sing for Lycidas?*" This is after Virgil in his Tenth Eclogue:—

"*Pauca meo Gallo, sed quæ legat ipsa Lycoris,  
Carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?*"

10, 11.

"*he know*

*Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.*"

To "*build the lofty rhyme*" (so spelt here, and not *rime*) has its original, as Newton pointed out, either in Horace's "*seu condidis amabile carmen*" (Epist. 1. iii. 24), or, as Hurd pointed out, in the still bolder phrase of Euripides, αἰδοῦς ἐπύργωσε (*Supplices*, 998). For the nature and amount of King's claims to the poetical character, see Introd. II. pp. 262—264.

13. "*Unwept, and welter to the parching wind.*" The second non-rhyming line in the poem.

14. "*melodious tear.*" This use of "*tear*" for "*lamentation*" or "*elegy*" was not uncommon, even in titles to poems: thus Spenser's "*Tears of the Muses.*" In Milton's *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester* (line 55) we have "*tears of perfect moan.*" Curiously enough, Milton's college-fellow Cleveland, afterwards known as a satirist, says, in that poem of his on King's death which was bound up in the same volume with *Lycidas* (see Introd. 266), "*I like not tears in tune.*"—Observe that in the opening paragraph of the poem, which the word *tear* ends, the sound of that word is the dominant rhyme. It possesses six lines out of the fourteen.

15. "*Begin, then, Sisters of the sacred well.*" The third non-rhyming line in the poem.

15, 16. "*the sacred well that from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring*": i.e. the Pierian Spring at the foot of Mount Olympus in Thessaly, the great Homeric seat of the Gods. This was the original birth-place and abode of the Muses, daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne; though afterwards their worship was transferred to Mount Helicon in Boeotia, with its fountains Aganippe and Hippocrene.

19—22. "*So may some gentle Muse* .

*With lucky words favour MY destined urn,*" &c.

I have ventured to italicise the word *my* in this passage, to bring out fully the meaning. It is "Let me, with whatever reluctance, write this memorial poem now, if I would hope that, when *I* am dead, some one may write with kindly interest of *me*." The word "*Muse*" stands for "*poet*"; hence the "*he*" following.

22. "*And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud!*" The fourth unrhyming line in the poem. I agree with Todd and some other editors in making this line end the second paragraph of the poem, although in Milton's own editions the paragraph includes the two subsequent lines,



ending at "*rill*." The reason may have been a wish to end the paragraph with a rhyme ; but this appears insufficient, in face of the logical objection.

23—36. "*For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,  
Fed the same flock,*" &c.

Here the language of the pastoral is used, as was the rule in all such poems, to veil and at the same time express real facts. Milton and King had been fellow-students at Christ's College, Cambridge, visiting each other's rooms, taking walks together, performing academic exercises in common, exchanging literary confidences ; all which, translated into the language of the pastoral, makes them fellow-shepherds, who had driven their flock a-field together in the morning, and fed it all day by the same shades and rills, not without mutual *ditties* on their oaten flutes, when sometimes other shepherds, or even Fauns and Satyrs, would be listening.

26. "*Under the opening eyelids of the Morn.*" This noble phrase, found also in other poets (Sylvester and Middleton, for example), was possible, one would think, as a flash of derivative invention from the more general expression, "the eye of day" (*Pens.* 141, and *Com.* 978). Todd, however, found an original for it in a marginal reading in the Authorized Version of the Bible. In Job iii. 9, where the afflicted patriarch is cursing the day of his birth, saying "Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark ; let it look for light, but have none ; neither let it see the dawning of the day," the alternative reading for "dawning of the day," offered in the margin as more true to the Hebrew, is "*the eyelids of the morning.*" The "high lawns" appearing "under the opening eyelids of the morn," is, however, a picture apart, and it is Milton's own.

28. "*What time the grey-fly.*" The grey fly is called also "the trumpet-fly."

29. "*Buttening*" : *i.e.* feeding. The verb, like *feed* itself, is both active and neuter.

34—36. "*Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel  
From the glad sound would not be absent long ;  
And old Damœtas loved to hear our song.*"

The "*Satyrs*" and "*Fauns*" may be the miscellaneous Cambridge undergraduates ; and "*old Damœtas*" may be some fellow or tutor of Christ's College, (if not Dr. Bainbrigge, the master.) William Chappell, who had been both King's and Milton's tutor there, was now Provost of Trinity College, Dublin ; but Joseph Meade, the Apocalyptic Commentator, who must have been well known to them both, was still a fellow of the college, and one of the noted characters of Cambridge. The pastoral name *Damœtas*, taken from the Sixth Idyll of Theocritus and the Third Eclogue of Virgil, has a sound of "Meade" in it. Such

minute personal identification is, of course, now as futile as it is unnecessary; but, while Milton wrote, a vision of some particular person at Cambridge did certainly pass across his mind.

39. "*Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves.*" The fifth non-rhyming line in the poem.

40. "*gadding*": straggling, restless.

45. "*As killing as the canker to the rose.*" Warton and Todd have noted Shakespeare's fondness for this simile. •

46. "*taint-worm to the weanling herds.*" According to Sir Thomas Browne in his *Vulgar Errors* (Book iii. c. 27), the name "*taint*" or "*tinct*" was given, in certain parts of England, not to a worm, but to a very minute kind of red spider, which appeared in summer, and which was supposed to be deadly to cattle when they licked it. Browne himself had experimented on dogs, calves, and horses with this "*tinct*," and found it perfectly innocent.—"*weanling*" is "newly-weaned."

47. "*wardrobe*": spelt "*wardrop*" in the First and Second Editions, and "*wardrope*" in the Cambridge MS. This last is the spelling of the word in the only other case of its occurrence in Milton's poetry: *At a Pac Ex.* 18. See note there. In the present passage the word is used not for the closet or cabinet containing the apparel, which is the etymological sense (*ward-robe*), but for the apparel itself.

49. "*Such, Lycidas, thy loss to shepherd's ear.*" Todd quotes *Mids. N. Dream*, I. 1:—

"More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear,"

and ought to have quoted the next line to complete the parallelism:—

"When wheat is green, when hawthorn buds appear."

50—55. "*Where were ye, Nymphs,*" &c. This passage is an express imitation of Theocritus, *Idyll* 1. 66—69:—

Πᾶ ποκ' ἄρ ἦσθ' ὅκα Δάφνις ἐτάκετο; πᾶ ποκα, νύμφαι;  
Ἡ κατὰ Πηνειῷ καλὰ τέμπεα, ἥ κατὰ Πίνδῳ;  
Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποταμοῖο μέγαν ῥόον εἶχετ' Ἀνάπῳ,  
Οὐδ' Ἀιτνας σκοπιάν, οὐδ' Ἀκιδος ἱερὸν ὕδωρ.

Virgil's imitation of the same (*Ecl.* x. 9—12) was, of course, also, in Milton's mind:—

"Quæ nemora, aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellæ  
Naides, indigno quum Gallus amore periret?  
Nam neque Parnassi vobis juga, nam neque Pindi  
Ulla moram fecere, neque Aonie Aganippe."

But Milton's imitation of Theocritus, as Mr. Keightley remarks, excels Virgil's, inasmuch as, in thinking of the places where the Muses might have been lingering when Lycidas was drowned, he selects those that

were near the scene of the disaster. "*The steep where your old bards, the famous Druids, lie,*" may be any of the Welsh mountains: Mr. Keightley suggests Penmaenmawr, in Carnarvonshire, opposite Anglesey; but Warton rather thinks Milton remembered Camden's mention of the sepulchres of the Druids at Kerig-y-Druidion among the mountains of South Denbighshire.—"*the shaggy top of Mona*" is the high interior of Anglesey, the island fastness of the Druids, once thick with woods. "*Deva*" is the Dee, the ancient boundary between England and Wales: many Arthurian legends and other superstitions belonged to it (see *Faery Queene*, I. ix. 4, 5), and hence it was called often "the holy Dee," or, as here, the "*wizard stream.*" Chester, from which King sailed on his fatal voyage to Ireland, is on the Dee, at some distance from its mouth, and was the chief port in that part of the West of England before the rise of Liverpool.

51. "*Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas.*" The sixth non-rhyming line in the poem.

58—63. "*What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore . . . for her enchanting son . . . when . . . his gory visage,*" &c. The reference is to the fate of Orpheus (see note, *L'Allegro*, 145). This great poet and musician was the son of the Muse Calliope; and yet, according to the legends, his was a tragic death. His continued grief for his wife Eurydice, after he had failed to recover her from the underworld, so offended the Thracian women that they fell upon him in one of their Bacchanalian orgies, and tore him to pieces. The fragments of his body were collected by the Muses and buried with all honour at the foot of Mount Olympus; but his head, having been thrown into the Thracian river Hebrus, was rolled down to the sea, and so carried to the island of Lesbos, where it was separately interred. The legend recurs strikingly in *Par. Lost*, VII. 32—39.—In the First edition the word was spelt *Letbian*; it is corrected in the Second.

64. "*uncessant.*" I have restored this reading from Milton's own text in the First and Second editions. Modern editions have *incessant*.

65. "*To tend the homely, slighted, shepherd's trade*": *i.e.*, according to the established metaphor of pastoralists, "to practise poetry." Todd quotes from Spenser (*Sh. Cal.* June), "And holden scorne of homely shepheard's quill."

66. "*meditate . . . the Muse.*" From Virgil, *Ecl.* 1. 2.

67—69. "*Were it not better done, as others use, to sport with Amaryllis . . . or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?*" : *i.e.* "Would it not be better to do like others, and lead a life of luxurious leisure, amusement, and frivolous love-making?" Amaryllis and Neæra are names of imaginary shepherdesses in the Greek and Latin pastorals. Warton, in a note appended to Milton's Latin Elegies, has a curious reference

to this passage. He traces in it an "oblique censure" of Buchanan, who has Latin poems addressed both to an Amaryllis and to a Neæra, and makes much of the latter lady's beautiful ringlets. Milton, Warton thinks, meant to say "Instead of cultivating serious and high poetry, would it not be better to do as others have done (Buchanan, for example), and write mere Anacreontic verses?" This is too ingenious, and, in fact, absurd. Milton respected Buchanan, and had no thought of censuring him; and, besides, it so happens that the "Amaryllis" of one of Buchanan's poems is a personification of the city of Paris (see his poem *Desiderium Lutetiæ*).

70. "*clear*": here in the sense of the Latin *clarus*.

71. ("*That last infirmity of noble mind*"). The sentiment of this celebrated, but generally misquoted, line is found, frequently enough, in writers before Milton; but perhaps the nearest approach in expression is a sentence which Todd quotes from Milton's good friend and adviser, Sir Henry Wotton. "I will not deny his appetite for glory, which generous minds do ever latest part from," Sir Henry had said of James I. in a *Panegyrick* addressed to Charles.

75. "*the blind Fury with the abhorred shears.*" In strict Mythology the Furies or Erinnyes were distinct beings from the Fates, and Atropos was one of the Fates. While her sister Clotho turned the spindle, and her sister Lachesis pointed to the horoscope of the person whose life-thread was being spun, Atropos stood with her shears, ready to cut the thread at the destined instant.

76, 77.

"*But not the praise,*  
*Phæbus replied, and touched my trembling ears.*"

Commentators, after Peck, refer here to Virgil's expression (*Ecl.* vi. 3—5: —

"Cum canentem reges et prælia, Cynthius aurem  
Vellit, et admonuit: Pastorem, Tityre, pingues  
Pasceat oportet oves, deductum dicere carmen."

There is certainly the resemblance that in both passages Apollo speaks to the shepherd, and "ears" are mentioned; and therefore Milton may have had the passage in mind. But Milton's "*touched my trembling ears*" is utterly different from Virgil's "*aurem vellit*," and involves a subtle meaning, the very opposite in effect to that in Virgil's lines. To this day it is a popular humour that the tingling of a person's ears is a sign that somewhere people are talking of him and saying good or ill of him in his absence. The superstition was an old one in Milton's time. "When our cheek burneth or ear tingleth," says Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Vulgar Errors* (v. 23), "we usually say that somebody is talking of us; which is an ancient conceit, and ranked among superstitious opinions by Pliny: "*Absentes tinnitu aurium præsentire*

*sermone de se receptum est.*" I have no doubt that the significance of the phrase "*my trembling ears*" rests on this allusion. What Milton had been saying about poetic fame was evidently applicable to himself personally, and would, he said, be so understood by his readers. He had therefore the sensation described; he felt, at the moment, as if absent people were weighing his words, and appraising, coolly, or perhaps ill-naturedly, the chances *he* had of ever obtaining the "fair guerdon."

78—84. "*Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,*" &c. In this powerful passage, the supposed words of Apollo to Milton, we have the answer Milton would give to the critics imagined in the preceding note. True Fame, he says, is not a plant of earthly growth, and does not consist in any expanse of glittering reputation a man may have among his contemporaries; it depends on the clear vision and unerring judgment of God above; and, as much of fame as any one has deserved at this tribunal, so much, and no more, will infallibly come to him in the end!—"glistering foil" is any sheet of shining metallic leaf, such as might be used to "set off" costly articles of purchase.

82. "*And perfect witness of all-judging Jove.*" The seventh non-rhyming line in the poem.—"*perfect*" is spelt "*perfet*" in the original editions, as generally in Milton, though not always.

85, 86. "*O fountain Arethuse, and thou honoured flood,  
Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds.*"

He invokes the fountain Arethusa, in the island of Ortygia on the Sicilian coast (see note, *Arc.* 31), because the nymph of that fountain was the Muse of Pastoral Poetry as it had been practised by the Sicilian Theocritus and other Greek poets; and he invokes the river Mincius, one of the tributaries to the Po in northern Italy, because Virgil had been born and had lived near it, and it might therefore be taken as the representative of the Latin Pastoral. The epithet describing the Mincius is from Virgil (*Ecl.* VII. 12, 13):—

"Hic virides tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas  
Mincius."

87, 88. "*That strain I heard was of a higher mood.  
But now my oat proceeds.*"

*i.e.* the words which Apollo has just spoken were in a strain above that of the simple pastoral, but now the poet resumes his own oaten pipe.

89, 90. "*the Herald of the Sea, that came in Neptune's plea*": *i.e.* Triton, the Trumpeter of the Waves, who now came, in the name of Neptune, to conduct a judicial inquiry into the cause of the death of Lycidas. *Herald* is so spelt here in the First and Second editions, and not "*harald*," as in *Par. Lost*.



91, 92. "He asked the waves, and asked the felon winds,  
What hard mishap hath doomed this gentle swain?"

These two lines, coming consecutively, are the eighth and ninth non-rhyming lines in the poem.

96. "sage Hippotades their answer brings." The waves and winds, that had been questioned by Triton as to the cause of the shipwreck in which King perished, disowned all concern in the disaster, or even knowledge of it; and their answer to this effect was brought by Hippotades, *i.e.* by Æolus, the God of Winds, the son of Hippotes.

97. "his dungeon": *his* may refer to "Hippotades," in which case "his dungeon" means the cave of Æolus, where the winds were imprisoned; or it may refer to "blast," in which case the meaning is that the winds sent answer that not a blast of them had strayed from its (*his* for *its*, as habitually with Milton) particular place of imprisonment in the cave of Æolus. I prefer the second interpretation; and it obviates the objection that the answer is given twice.

99. "Panope": *i.e.* one of the Nereids, or sea-nymphs. The meaning is that the sea was calm as glass when the ship went down.

101. "Built in the eclipse." Warton reminds us of one of the hideous ingredients in the witches' caldron in *Macbeth* (IV. 1):—

"slips of yew  
Slivered in the moon's eclipse;"

and the following passage from Sir Thomas Browne (*Vulgar Errors*, I. 11) may be worth quoting. "Than eclipses of sun or moon nothing is more natural; yet with what superstition they have been beheld since the tragedy of Nicias and his army [B.C. 414] many examples declare. True it is, and we will not deny it, that although, there being natural productions from second and settled causes, we need not alway look upon them as the immediate hand of God, or of his ministering spirits, yet do they sometimes admit a respect therein; and, even in their naturals, the indifferency of their existences contemporized unto our actions admits a farther consideration."

103—107. "Next, Camus," &c. Camus, the tutelary genius of the Cam, and of Cambridge University, appeared as one of the mourning figures; for had not King been one of the young hopes of the University? The garb given to Camus must doubtless be characteristic, and is perhaps most succinctly explained by a Latin note which appeared in a Greek translation of *Lycidas* by Mr. John Plumptre in 1797. "The mantle," said Mr. Plumptre in this note, "is as if made of the plant 'river-sponge' which floats copiously in the Cam; the bonnet of the river-sedge, distinguished by vague marks traced somehow over the middle of the leaves, and serrated at the edge of the leaves, after the fashion of the *ai, ai* of the hyacinth." It is said that



the flags of the Cam still exhibit, when dried, these dusky streaks in the middle, and apparent scrawlings on the edge; and Milton (in whose MS. "*scrawled o'er*" was first written for "*inwrought*") is supposed to have carried away from the "*arundifer Camus*" (Eleg I. 11) this exact recollection. He identifies the edge-markings with the *ai ai* (Alas! Alas!) which the Greeks fancied they saw on the leaves of the hyacinth, commemorating the sad fate of the Spartan youth from whose blood that flower had sprung. See *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, lines 23—28.

108—112. "*Last came, and last did go,  
The Pilot of the Galilean Lake,*" &c.

*i.e.* St. Peter, here called by a name suggesting his original occupation as a fisherman on the sea of Galilee (Matt. iv. 18—20), and with occult reference to the fact that Lycidas had perished at sea. As appears from the sequel, however, he is introduced mainly in his subsequent character as the Apostle to whom Christ had entrusted so high a charge in his Church, with the power of the keys (Matt. xvi. 17—19), and whom he had constituted so expressly the Shepherd of his Flock (John xxi. 15—17). As the Power of the Church, St. Peter recognises the loss of one who had been destined for the ministry of the Church of England; and, as pre-eminently the "Shepherd," he may fitly, in expressing this recognition, be supposed to conform to the language of the Pastoral in the highest strain it can assume. He bears his two keys, the golden one which opens the gates, and the iron which shuts them "*amain*" (*i.e.* with force). The number of the keys given to St. Peter is not mentioned in Scripture; but ecclesiastical and poetical tradition had made them two, and otherwise distinguished them.

112. "*He shook his mitred locks, and stern bespake.*" Milton does not refuse here to the Apostle Peter the "*mitre*" which he afterwards ridiculed in English Bishops.

113—131. "*How well could I have spared,*" &c. These nineteen lines of the poem are, in some respects, the most memorable passage in it. They are an outburst in 1637, or when Milton was twenty-nine years of age, of that feeling about the state of the English Church under Laud's rule which, four years afterwards (1641—42), found more direct and as vehement expression in his prose-pamphlets. In his heading of the poem, when he republished it in 1645, he calls particular attention to the passage on this account, and especially to the prophecy with which it closes; and the wonder certainly is that the passage, at the time of its first publication, did not come under Laud's notice, and so bring the author into trouble. Note the studied contemptuousness of the phraseology throughout—"their bellies' sake," "*shove away,*" "*Blind mouths!*" (a singularly violent figure, as if the men were *mouths* and nothing else)—and the raspy roughness of the sound in line 124, where "*scrannel*" (for "screeching" "ear-torturing") seems to be a

word of Milton's own making. The "*rank mist*" and "*foul contagion*" are unsound and unwholesome doctrines. The "*grim wolf*," who is let sneak into the fold and daily devour a sheep or two, while nothing is said about it by the careless shepherds, is evidently the Church of Rome, a secret sympathy with which, or at all events an indifference to its encroachments in England, was one of the charges made by the Puritans against Laud, while among the other English Bishops there were some suspected even of closer agreement with Romish doctrines, so that Lord Falkland could say in the House of Commons in 1641 that they were "so absolutely, directly, and cordially Papists that it was all that 1500*l.* a year could do to keep them from confessing it."—Milton, it is worth noting, had been preceded by Spenser, fifty-three years before, in this vehement denunciation of hireling shepherds in the Church, and must have had Spenser's verses in his mind. They occur in the May Eclogue in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, where, at the sight of "a shoal of shepherds" out in idle merrymaking, there is this dialogue between Palinode and Piers :—

*Pal.* "Ah! Piers, bene not thy teeth on edge, to thinke  
How great sport they gaynen with little swinck?  
*Piers.* Perdie, so farre am I from envie  
That their fondnesse inly I pitie :  
Those faytours little regarden their charge,  
While they, letting their sheepe runne at large,  
Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,  
In lustihede and wanton meryment.  
Thilke same bene sheepeheardes for the Devil's stedde,  
That playen while their flockes be unfedde :  
Well is it seene theyr sheepe bene not their owne,  
That letten them runne at randon alone :  
But they bene hyred for little pay  
Of other, that caren as little as they  
What fallen the flocke, so they han the fleece,  
And get all the gayne, paying but a peece.  
I muse what account both these will make—  
The one for the hire which he doth take,  
And thother for leaving his Lords taske—  
When great Pan account of shepeherdes shall aske."

The Eclogue continues in the same strain, and a passage from the sequel, in which the intruding "*wolves*" are spoken of, is quoted by Milton in his pamphlet against Bishop Hall, entitled *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence* (1641). "Our admired Spenser," he there says, in introducing the quotation, had made such invectives "not without some presage of these reforming times."

130, 131. "*But that two-handed engine at the door  
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.*"

These lines have greatly exercised the critics. What was the "two-handed engine" thought of by Milton? "The axe that was to cut off

Laud's head," say some. The conjecture is perfectly absurd. Laud was not beheaded till 1645; in 1637 that catastrophe could not be foreseen; and, if it had been, the future axe concerned in it could not have been fancied in the function given to the engine in the present passage. "The axe spoken of by Christ in Matt. iii. 10 and Luke iii. 9," say others, "i.e. the axe laid at the root of the trees and which was to hew down every tree that did not bear good fruit." This supposition also is absurd: the engine in the present passage is at the door of an edifice, and not at the root of a tree. A third supposition is that the "two-handed engine" here is an anticipation of the Archangel Michael's mighty sword in *Par. Lost*, VI. 250—253, which he "brandished with huge two-handed sway" among the rebel-angels in Heaven, felling "squadrous at once." This also is futile; for that sword would not be in the least relevant here. On the whole, we must first seek Milton's *general* meaning. That is plain enough. He has been describing the Church of England, and he winds up by prophesying a speedy Reformation of that Church. This Reformation presents itself in the image of a "two-handed engine at the door," standing ready to smite. One immediately fancies that this means to smite on the door, and the picture accordingly that rises to the mind is that of a strong man wielding a huge axe, like the Black Knight at the postern gate of Front-de-Bœuf's castle, and ready to batter down the opposing timbers, so as to let the besiegers in. Possibly Milton meant no more than this; and it is worth while to notice that, in one case out of the two in which the word "engine" occurs in the Authorized Version of the Bible, it is in this sense of a battering engine, Ezek. xxvi. 9. "And he [Nebuchadnezzar] shall set engines of war against thy [Tyre's] walls, and with his axes shall he break down thy towers." It is not unlike Milton, however, to have had some subtler meaning in the name given to his battering-engine here, and either to have construed it out of some Apocalyptic metaphor in Scripture, or else to have invented it to describe the particular agency by which he himself foresaw that the English Church Reformation would be effected. If the former, we are directed, I think, to the first three chapters of the Book of Revelation, where St. John sees the awful vision of "one like unto the Son of Man," and receives from him the messages that are to be sent to the Seven Churches of Asia. Part of the description of the divine figure is that "he had in his right hand seven stars" and that "out of his mouth went a *sharp two-edged sword*" (Rev. i. 16: *ῥομφαία διότομος ὀξεῖα* is the Greek phrase for the implement, implying a very large sword which might require two hands). Now this "two-edged sword" figures in the subsequent messages to at least one of the Churches. Thus, Rev. ii. 12—16, "To the angel of the Church in Pergamos write: These things saith he *which hath the sharp sword with two edges*; I know thy works, and where thou dwellest . . . Thou holdest fast my name, and hast not denied my faith . . . But I have a few

things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam . . . Repent ; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with *the sword of my mouth*." Connect this with the words spoken, at the end, as part of the message to the Church of Laodicea : "Behold I *stand at the door* and knock ;" where, though the subsequent words are "If any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him and sup with him," yet we are to remember that he who stood at the door was the figure from whose mouth came the two-edged sword, the use of which had been threatened against the Church of Pergamos. Notwithstanding the difference of the conceptions suggested by the two images—(1) "a sharp two-edged sword," described as proceeding from the mouth of a figure standing at a door, and (2) a "two-handed engine" described as at a door, and standing ready to smite—it is not improbable that Milton's use of the second image is a poetic variation of the first. The Apocalyptic agency for the reform of a corrupt Church is certainly the "two-edged sword" of St. John's Vision, and Milton is not likely to have overlooked this. Moreover, the words in the text of *Lycidas* are supposed to be spoken by St. Peter ; and it is at least a coincidence that in the Second Epistle of St. Peter, where he is describing the future corruption of the Church of Christ by "false teachers" and the "damnable heresies" which they will bring in, he particularizes as one of these heresies that very "following the way of Balaam" for which, among other errors, punishment by the "two-edged sword" is denounced against the Church of Pergamos in the Apocalypse (2 Peter ii. 15, 16). There remains, however, the hypothesis that Milton did not take his image from the Bible, but invented one to describe the agency by which, in his own historical speculations, he foresaw that the English Church would be reformed. In that case we have not far to seek. We know the agency by which, three or four years after *Lycidas* was written, the reformation in question ("deformation" or "destruction," some called it) *was* effected. It was that of the English Parliament with its two Houses. May not this have been the "two-handed engine" in Milton's mind? The conjecture may seem prosaic, but it is worth entertaining. For eight years prior to 1637 Charles had not called a Parliament ; it was the "Reign of Thorough," when it was all but treason to use the word *Parliament* ; and yet this word was in the hearts of all, and it was to a coming Parliament with its two Houses that all looked forward for the rectification of the accumulated abuses in Church and State. Such a Parliament did not come till 1640 ; and, if Milton in 1637 anticipated its coming, he dared name it only in an occult metaphor. A "two-handed engine" at the door of the English Church, standing ready to smite, and smite decisively, when the time came, was a very fit metaphor for the agency imagined. Nay, what if, after the fact, or when Milton republished *Lycidas* in 1645, the historical image was taken as the verification and equivalent of that of the Apocalypse?

132, 134. "*Return, Alpheus; . . . the dread voice is past . . . return, Sicilian Muse.*" St. Peter's speech, like Apollo's in lines 76—84, is here virtually acknowledged to be a deviation from the gentleness expected in the pastoral proper; and the poet calls upon the proper Muses of the Pastoral to return—Alpheus, the lover of Arethusa, and made one with her in her fountain of Ortygia, and consequently Arethusa herself, already addressed in line 85. See note, *Arc.* 31.

138. "*the swart star*": i.e. the dog star, Sirius, whose appearance above the horizon was supposed by the Romans to be physically connected with the oppressive heats of summer—whence our phrase "the dog-days." It is called "swart" or "swarthy" from the effects of heat on the complexion.—The flowers that the poet wants to be brought to him are such as have grown in shady vales, not much penetrated by this hot star's influence.

140. "*turf*;" spelt "*terf*" in First and Second editions.

142—151. "*Bring the rathe [early] primrose, &c. . . . to strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies.*" This exquisite flower-and-colour passage is unsurpassed in its kind in all the rest of Milton's poetry; for the description of Eve's nuptial bower in *Par. Lost*, IV. 692—703, hardly equals it, and is more like a blind man's description of flowers and their colours from fond, but dim, recollection. Let it be remembered, however, that the flowers here enumerated are not flowers growing, but flowers of selected hues, supposed to be plucked in different places and brought together for a purpose. In this respect the nearest parallel is perhaps a passage of Spenser in his *Shepherd's Calendar* (April):—

" Bring hither the pincke and purple cullambine,  
With gelliflowres;  
Bring coronations, and sops-in-wine,  
Worn of paramoures:  
Strowe me the ground with daffadowndillies,  
And cowslips, and kingcups, and loved lillies;  
The pretie pawnee,  
And the chevisaunce,  
Shall match with the fayre flower-delice."

But compare also Perdita's catalogue of flowers in *Winter's Tale* (IV. 4), and her distribution of them according to their seasons and the ages they suit:—

" Reverend Sir,  
For you there's rosemary and rue; these keep  
Seeming and savour all the winter long:  
. . . . . the year growing ancient,  
Not yet on summer's death, nor on the birth  
Of trembling winter, the fairest flowers o' the season  
Are our carnations and streaked gillyvors.  
. . . . . Here's flowers for you,  
Hot lavender, mints, savory, marjoram;  
The marigold that goes to bed wi' the sun



And with him rises weeping ; these are flowers  
 Of middle summer, and I think they are given  
 To men of middle age . . . . .  
 . . . . . Now, my fair'st friend,  
 I would I had some flowers o' the spring that might  
 Become *your* time of day, and *yours*, and *yours*.  
 . . . . . O Proserpina,  
 For the flowers now that frightened thou let'st fall  
 From Dis's waggon ! daffodils,  
 That come before the swallow dares, and take  
 The winds of March with beauty ; violets dim,  
 But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes  
 Or Cytherea's breath ; pale primroses,  
 That die unmarried, ere they can behold  
 Bright Phoebus in his strength—a malady  
 Most incident to maids ; bold oxlips and  
 The crown-imperial ; lilies of all kinds,  
 The flower-de-luce being one ! O, these I lack,  
 To make you garlands of, and my sweet friend,  
 To strew him o'er and o'er."

Take, as another flower-and-colour passage from an old poet, this from Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (Song III.) :—

" The daisy, scattered on each mead and down,  
 A golden tuft within a silver crown  
 (Fair fall that dainty flower, and may there be  
 No shepherd graced that doth not honour thee !) ;  
 The primrose, when with six leaves gotten grace  
 Maids as a true love in their bosom place ;  
 The spotless lily, by whose pure leaves be  
 Noted the chaste thoughts of virginity ;  
 Carnations sweet, with colour like the fire,  
 The fit impresas for enflamed desire ;  
 The harebell, for the stainless azure blue,  
 Claims to be worn of none but those are true ;  
 The rose, like ready youth, enticing stands,  
 And would be cropt if it might choose the hands ;  
 The yellow kingcup (Flora them assigned  
 To be the badges of a jealous mind) ;  
 The orange-tawny marigold (the night  
 Hides not her colours from a searching sight) ; . .  
 The columbine in tawny often taken ; . . .  
 The pansy ; thistle, all with prickles set ;  
 The cowslip, honeysuckle, violet ;  
 And many hundreds more that grace the meads,  
 Gardens and groves, where beauteous Flora treads ;—  
 Were by the shepherds' daughters (as yet are  
 Used in our cots) brought home with special care.

\* \* \* \* \*

As in the rainbow's many-coloured hue  
 Here see we watchet deepened with a blue ;  
 Here a dark tawny with a purple mixed ;  
 Yellow and flame with streaks of green betwixt ;  
 A bloody stream into a blushing run  
 And end still with the colour which begun,



Drawing the deeper to a lighter stain,  
 Bringing the lightest to the deep'st again ;  
 With such rare art each mingleth with his fellow,  
 The blue with watchet, green and red with yellow,  
 Like to the changes which we daily see  
 About the dove's neck with variety,  
 Where none can say, though he it strict attends,  
 Here one begins, and there the other ends :  
 So did the maidens with their various flowers  
 Deck up their windows, and make neat their bowers,  
 Using such cunning as they did dispose  
 The ruddy peony with the lighter rose,  
 The monk's-hood with the bugloss, and entwine  
 The white, the blue, the flesh-like columbine,  
 With pinks, sweetwilliams, that far off the eye  
 Could not the manner of their mixtures spy."

From among modern poets, Keats might furnish us with several companion passages. Here is one—his description in *Endymion* of the flowers and vegetation round a sleeping youth :—

" Above his head  
 Four lily stalks did their white honours wed  
 To make a coronal ; and round him grew  
 All tendrils green, of every bloom and hue,  
 Together intertwined and trammelled fresh :  
 The vine of glossy sprout ; the ivy mesh,  
 Shading its Ethiop berries ; and woodbine,  
 Of velvet leaves and bugle-blooms divine ;  
 Convolvulus in streaked vases flush ;  
 The creeper, mellowing for an autumn blush :  
 And virgin's bower, trailing airily ;  
 With others of the sisterhood."

144. "jet;" spelt "jeat" in First and Second editions.

149. "amaranthus." So spelt in First edition ; "amarantus" in Second.

151. "laureate hearse." *Hearse* not in our modern sense of the carriage which conveys a coffin to the grave, but in the older sense of tomb, or even the coffin itself (see note to *Epitaph on Marchioness of Winchester*, 58). "Laureate hearse" is "laurelled hearse," i.e. having the poet's laurel on it.

152—154. "For so, to interpose a little case,  
 Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise,  
 Ay me ! whilst thee," &c.

The First and Second editions have a full stop after "surmise;" which rather impairs the effect of the meaning. Milton has been speaking of the "hearse" of Lycidas, and the flowers fit to be strewn upon it in mourning, when he suddenly reminds himself that all that is but a fond fancy, inasmuch as Lycidas had perished at sea, and his body had never been recovered. "We let ourselves think of thy hearse," he

says, "and it is a kind of pleasure to do so, for it interposes a little ease; but alas! all the while, thy body is in no hearse, but is washed about hither and thither in the sounding seas."

156.--162. "*Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides . . . or whether thou . . . sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old, where the great Vision of the guarded Mount looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold.*" To understand this passage, the reader should look at a map representing the west coast of Europe. King had been shipwrecked in the Irish Sea, not far from the British coast, and the poet wonders whither his body may have been drifted by the tides and currents. Had it been drifted northwards, along the West-Scottish coast as far as the Hebrides, where perhaps it was sunk to the bottom of the "*monstrous*" (monster-containing) deep; or had it been washed southwards as far as to the famous *Land's End*, or extreme point of Cornwall? Famous! for was not this extreme south-west promontory of Britain the *Bellerium* of the Roman geographers; and did it not contain that sea-fortress, called St. Michael's Mount, of which all Englishmen had heard, and which was one of the wonders of Cornwall?—Instead of "*sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old*," Milton, as the Cambridge MS. of the poem shows, had originally written "*sleepst by the fable of Corineus old*." His first intention, therefore, had been to identify the promontory of Land's End with the mythical Corineus of the British Legends, the companion of the Trojan Brutus, and the founder and namefather of the Kingdom of Cornwall, just as Brutus was the founder and namefather of the British realm generally (see note to *Comus*, 824—857); but, for some reason of euphony or of poetic glamour, he had erased *Corineus* and substituted *Bellerus*. Perhaps this *Bellerus* figures as a subordinate personage somewhere in old Cornish or British tradition; but it has been supposed that Milton, desiring a legendary namefather for the special bit of Cornwall called *Bellerium* by the Romans, took the liberty of adding such an imaginary personage to the retinue or the posterity of the great giant-killing Corineus. At all events, "*sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old*" simply means "floatest near Land's End."—But, if near Land's End, then near St. Michael's Mount! Of this fact Milton makes much. And no wonder. To this day, tourists in Cornwall, if they go as far as Land's End, never fail to visit St. Michael's Mount. It is a steep rock, about 200 feet high, in Mount's Bay, round which the sea washes completely at high tide, but which is connected at low tide with the mainland and the town of Marazion. I have walked to it from Marazion over the connecting bit of sandy and pebbly beach; but, the tide having risen during the hour or so I was on it, I had to return in a boat. And what do you see on the rock? You see a castle, still well-appointed as a residence, and occasionally inhabited by the family in possession (the old Cornish family of the St. Aubyns); and in or round this castle you can trace the remains of an older Norman stronghold or fortress, and of a monastery of Benedictines which preceded the fortress and reached

back into the Anglo-Saxon times. You are told that the rock was once called "The Hoar Rock in the Wood," and that even in the fifth century it was regarded with religious reverence; and you are shown the origin of all the feeling about it in a semi-accessible craggy seat, overhanging the sea, and called "St. Michael's chair," because there some hermits once saw an apparition of the Archangel Michael. With all this there mingles in the minds of modern tourists, as one reason for the celebrity of the Mount, the recollection of the present passage in *Lycidas*. But, as the passage itself implies, the Mount was celebrated before Milton made this mention of it, and he made this mention of it because of its previous celebrity.

" St. Michael's Mount who does not know  
That wards the western coast?"

Spenser had said, in his *Shepherd's Calendar* (July) fifty-seven years before *Lycidas* was written; and in Drayton's *Polyolbion* (Song I.), not only had the Mount been described, but it had been made to speak its memories of the forgotten ages with which it had been familiar:—

" Then from his rugged top the tears down trickling fell;  
And, in his passion stirred, began again to tell  
Strange things that in his days Time's course had brought to pass:  
That forty miles, now sea, some time firm foreland was,  
And that a forest then which now with him is flood,  
Whereof he first was called the Hoar Rock in the Wood."

The legend of the apparition of St. Michael is that incident in the history of the Mount on which Milton's imagination had fastened. Possibly he had never seen Land's End; but, in his readings about it, what had struck him most was this great Vision of the Archangel on the top of the neighbouring "guarded Mount," or rock-fortress, in the extreme bay of Cornwall. And so, as he fancies the dead body of his friend whirled somewhere in the tide round Land's End, there flashes in, by inevitable association, this vision of the great Archangel, seated in his craggy chair on the top of the Mount, and gazing over the waters! But gazing whither? Here also Milton's imagination was swayed by his reading. It was a kind of boast of the Cornish people that from Land's End there was a direct line of sea-view southwards, passing France altogether, and hitting no European land till it terminated in Spain. This boast had found literary expression. Thus, Drayton (*Polyolb.*, XXIII.):—

" Then Cornwall-creepeth out into the western main,  
As, lying in her eye, she pointed still at Spain."

Nay, it appears, Spain, on her side, was aware of the same fact, and returned the compliment; for in a passage from Orosius, the geographer of the fifth century, quoted by Warton, it is said of Brigantia, a town

in the north-west of Spain, that it had "a most lofty watch-tower, of admirable construction, in full view of Britain." If the reader will look at the map, he will see that the statement is perfectly accurate, in the sense that, if the eye could travel 500 miles, there might be a direct interchange of view, without any interrupting land, between Cornwall and the north-west Spanish province of Galicia. This explains the rest of Milton's phraseology. Land's End, in his imagination, is the part of Britain "where the great Vision of the guarded Mount"—i.e. St. Michael in his rocky chair—"looks to *Namancos* and *Bayona's* hold." In the old maps of Spain *Namancos* is marked as a town in the province of Galicia, near to Cape Finisterre; and *Bayona* is a city on the west coast of the same province, some way to the south of the Cape. The notion, once entertained, that by "*Bayona's* hold" Milton meant *Bayonne* in southern France, and that by the fancy-name of *Namancos* he meant to designate the site of the famous ancient *Numantia* of eastern Spain, is nonsensical in itself, and misses that exact tradition of the geographical relationship between Spain and Cornwall which he took pains to commemorate.

159. "*moist*," i.e. tearful.

161. "*Where the great Vision of the guarded Mount.*" The tenth and last non-rhyming line in the poem.

163, 164. "*Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth:  
And, O ye dolphins, waft the hapless youth.*"

In the first of these lines (which to me seem the worst in the poem, and the most like a "conceit") it is no longer Lycidas that is addressed, but the Archangel Michael. Instead of continuing his gaze over the sea to distant Spain, let him turn homeward to the nearer seas, and melt with pity for the youth there drowned. In the second line the allusion is to the legend of the lyrist Arion, who had charmed the dolphins by his singing, and was carried ashore by them when the sailors had thrown him overboard.

165—181. "*Weep no more*," &c. In this closing strain of the Monody, changing the grief for the loss of Lycidas into joy over the thought of his elevation into the society of Heaven, there is a close resemblance, even to identity of expressions, to the closing part (lines 198—219) of the *Epitaphium Damonis*, written two years later. Compare also the last four stanzas of Spenser's pastoral lament for the Shepherdess Dido in the November part of his *Shepherd's Calendar*. Such merging of a funereal elegy into the religious thought of the translation of the dead to the higher happiness of another world was especially natural to Milton. See *On the Death of a Fair Infant* and *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*. But Virgil, after a more Pagan fashion, and in more Pagan phraseology, has something of the same kind. See *Ecl.* v.

173. "Through the dear might of Him that walked the waves." Matt. xiv. 22—33. Note the appositeness to the whole subject of the poem in this reference to Christ's power over the waters.

176. "unexpressive": *i.e.* inexpressibly sweet.

181. "And wipe the tears," &c. Rev. vii. 17.

183, 184. "Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore," &c. Here, after a contemplation of the state of the dead Lycidas which is purely Christian and Biblical, there is a relapse into the classic manner, and Lycidas is converted into a *numen*. Thus, as Thyer notes, Virgil's deification of the dead Daphnis (*Ecl.* v. 64, 65):—

"Deus, deus ille, Menalca!  
Sis bonus, O felixque tuis;"

and Mr. Browne quotes a still closer parallelism from a Latin eclogue of the Italian pastoralist Sannazaro, in which a drowned friend is told—

"Numen aquarum  
Semper eris, semper lætum piscantibus omen."

There is a hint of the same kind respecting the dead Diodati in *Epitaph. Dam.* 207—211.

186—193. "Thus sang the uncouth swain," &c. Note the separateness of this closing stanza from the rest of the poem. It is a stanza of Epilogue, added, as it were, in Milton's own name, and distinguishing him from the imaginary shepherd, or "uncouth (*i.e.* unknown) swain," who has been singing the previous lament for Lycidas. That imaginary shepherd was, of course, Milton too; but in this stanza Milton looks back upon what he had written in that character, and criticises it, or at least characterizes it. It had been a "*Doric lay*," *i.e.* a poem written after the fashion of the bucolic poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, whose dialect was the Doric variety of the Greek. Nay in this lay "*the tender stops of various quills*" had been touched; *i.e.* there had been changes of mood and minute changes of metre in it.

192, 193. "At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue:  
To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new."

A peculiarly picturesque ending, in which Milton announces that he is passing on to other occupations. The last line seems to be an improvement upon one in Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*, published in 1633 (vi. 78):—

"Home, then, my lambs; the falling drops eschew:  
To-morrow shall ye feast in pastures new."

No line of Milton's is more frequently quoted; but it is generally spoilt in the quotation by the substitution of the word "*fields*" for "*woods*."



## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In only two passages does Todd report any considerable variation of the printed text of the poem from the original draft in Milton's own hand among the Cambridge MSS. :—

(1) Lines 58—63 ran originally in the draft thus :—

“ What could the golden-haired Calliope  
 For her enchanting son,  
 When she beheld (the gods far-sighted he)  
 His gory scalp roll down the Thracian lea ? ”

Then, in the margin, after the words “enchanting son,” was inserted this substitute for the two following lines .—

“ Whom universal Nature might lament,  
 And Heaven and Hell deplore,  
 When his divine head down the stream was sent,  
 Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore. ”

Of the whole passage as so altered in the draft the present six lines are an improved expansion.

(2) For the beautiful flower-and-colour passage, lines 142—151, the draft had the following :—

“ Bring the rathe primrose that unwedded dies,  
 Colouring the pale cheek of unenjoyed love  
 And that sad flower that strove  
 To write his own woes on the vermeil grain :  
 Next add Narcissus that still weeps in vain,  
 The woodbine, and the pansy freakt with jet,  
 The glowing violet,  
 The cowslip wan that hangs his pensive head,  
 And every bud that Sorrow's livery wears ;  
 Let daffadillies fill their cups with tears ;  
 Bid amaranthus all his beauty shed,  
 To strew,” &c.

“Sorrow's livery” is changed into “sad escutcheon,” and that into the present reading, “sad embroidery,” and other verbal changes are made ; but the passage still remains in the draft short of its present perfection.

Smaller Variations noted by Todd are the following :—In line 10 for “he knew” the draft has “he well knew” ; in line 22 for “And bid” it had originally “To bid” ; in line 26 for “opening” it had first “glimmering” ; in line 30 for “star that rose at evening bright” it had first “even-star bright”. merely, with “burnished” for “wester-  
 ing” in the following line ; in line 47 for “wardrobe” it had originally “buttons” ; in line 69 for “Or with” it had “Hid in” ; in line 85 for “honoured” it had “smooth,” with “soft-sliding” for “smooth-sliding” in the following line ; in line 105 “Scrawled o'er” appeared first for



"Inwrought," though "Inwrought" is substituted in the margin ; in line 129 for "nothing" the draft has "little"; in line 138 "stintly" appears for "sparely," though "sparely" had been first written ; in line 139 for "Throw" the draft has "Bring" ; in line 153 for "frail" it has "sad" ; in line 154 for "shores" it has "floods ;" in line 160 for "Bellerus" it had originally "Corineus," though "Bellerus" appears as an after-thought ; and in line 176 for "And hears" it has "Listening."

## THE SONNETS.

SONNET I.—See Introd. to the Sonnet (Vol. II. pp. 281, 282), and note to *Il Penseroso*, 61—64. No farther annotation is needed here, unless I may remark that "*warblest*" (line 2) is printed "*warbl'st*" in the First and Second editions, and is to be pronounced accordingly.

SONNET II.—Observe the rhymes "*shew'th*" and "*endu'th*" to "*youth*" and "*truth*," both rather quaint to our ears now, and the former indicating the old pronunciation of the word "to *shew*." For the rest, the Sonnet is sufficiently annotated in the Introd. to it (Vol. II. pp. 282, 283).

FIVE ITALIAN SONNETS AND CANZONE.—For the subject of these pieces, and the probable date and circumstances of their composition, see Introd. to them (Vol. II. pp. 283—285).—As the word "*Reno*" in line 2 of Sonnet III. was printed "*Rheno*" in Milton's editions, a misconception seems to have prevailed among early editors that the German *Rhine* was meant ; whereas it is the Italian river *Reno*, north of Bologna.

Farther annotation of the pieces resolves itself chiefly into a criticism of their Italian style, and a detection of the minute errors or irregularities of idiom which they may contain. This duty having already been performed by two eminent Italian scholars, it is sufficient here to present the results :—(1.) In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1836, a contributor, signing himself "J. M." and acknowledging an Italian scholar as his authority, gave these Italian poems of Milton "for the first time printed with corrections" : *i.e.* not as they had been printed by previous English editors, whose slight knowledge of Italian obliged them to follow slavishly the copies in Milton's editions of 1645 and 1673 ; but as they would be printed by an Italian editor, punctiliously keeping to the original words, but giving them that tidiness of modern spelling, &c., which is given in reprints of Dante, Tasso, and other old Italian poets. The "J. M." of this communication was the Rev. John Mitford, and the Italian friend to whom he was indebted was, as he afterwards announced (*Addenda* to Mitford's Memoir of Milton, prefixed to the

Pickering edition of Milton's Works), Mr. Panizzi of the British Museum, now Sir Antonio Panizzi. Subjoined to the text were several notes by Mr. Panizzi, pointing out solecisms or obscurities in Milton's Italian. To the word "*possa*" in line 10 of the first Italian Sonnet (Sonnet III.) this note was appended: "This *possa* is an Anglicism: '*mover possa*' here seems to be used as 'can move,' and '*possa*' is 'may.'" On the phrase "*io a l' altrui peso*" in line 11 of the second Italian Sonnet (Sonnet IV), Mr. Panizzi wrote, "I do not recollect any such Italian phrase: this seems unintelligible, although I guess the meaning." To the word "*Altri*" in line 8 of the Canzone the comment subjoined was "This and the following three lines are not very clear;" and to the phrase "*il gran mondo*" in line 7 of the last Italian Sonnet there was appended simply the note "*Quære*," as if the phrase seemed exceptionable. Only in three or four places, therefore, did Mr. Panizzi find Milton's Italian noticeably at fault. (2.) The late Mr. G. Rossetti, the commentator on Dante, read these Italian pieces at Mr. Keightley's request, and furnished some observations on the Italian, which Mr. Keightley has printed, with added remarks of his own, in his edition of Milton's Poems. Mr. Rossetti was more severe than Mr. Panizzi had been. He objected to "*qual*" in line 4 of the first Italian Sonnet (Sonnet III.), saying *cui* would be better; he objected to "*meco*" for *a me* in line 6, and to "*mai*" for *non mai* in line 12, of the second Sonnet (Sonnet IV.); in the Canzone, he noted the phrases "*M' accostandosi*" (line 2) and "*Dinne, se*" (line 5), and the construction "*Perchè*," &c. in line 12, as not quite idiomatic, and proposed substitutes; in the third Sonnet (Sonnet V.) he found line 10 beginning "*Parole*" inharmonious, the word "*faticosa*" in line 12 a little strange, and "*degli*" for *dagli* in line 13 perhaps an error of the press; in the fourth Sonnet (Sonnet VI.) he thought "*n' uscendo poco*" in line 10 used for mere metrical reasons instead of "*uscendone poco*," and he saw no difference between "*s' agghiaccia*" and "*s' ingiela*" in line 11; and in the last Sonnet (Sonnet VII.) he said "*Poichè fuggir me stesso*," &c. ought to have been "*Poichè di fuggir me stesso*," &c. Some of these criticisms seem to have been on grounds of personal taste rather than of mere grammar and idiom; and, indeed, Mr. Keightley, in quoting them, defended Milton against some of them, and produced examples in his justification from the old Italian poets, especially Dante,—On the whole, the conclusion is that, though Milton was an accomplished reader and student of Italian, he was not so perfect in the literary use of it but that the foreigner might be detected in some of his phrases and constructions. At first sight, this might seem to favour the idea hinted at in the Introduction (pp. 284, 285), that these Italian pieces might have been written by Milton in England before he had visited Italy. But, on the other hand, it has to be remembered that a year in Italy would not make even the ablest English scholar perfect in the Tuscan idiom, and also that, as Milton certainly *published* the pieces as they

now stand after he had had all the benefit of his residence in Italy, they do gauge his knowledge of Italian at its best.—I may mention that the Italian text in this edition has been kindly revised for me by my friend Mr. W. M. Rossetti.

SONNET VIII.—For the date and circumstances of the Sonnet see Introd. (*antè*, pp. 285, 286).—"Colonel" (line 1) has to be pronounced as a trisyllable: the old English word was *coronel*; which, says Wedgwood, meant "the *captain coronal* of a regiment, the chief captain, from *corona*, a crown."—For "*charms*" (line 5) see note, *P. L.* IV. 642.—"*The great Emathian conqueror*" (line 10) is Alexander the Great, so called from Emathia, a part of Macedonia, and used poetically for the whole; of whom it is told that, when he sacked the Boeotian city Thebes and razed it to the ground (B.C. 335), he ordered the house of the Theban poet Pindar, who had died more than a century before, to be left untouched.—"*Sad Electra's poet*" (line 13) is Milton's favourite Euripides, one of whose tragedies is "*Electra*." The story is that, when the Spartan Lysander had taken Athens, and it was proposed to destroy it utterly (B.C. 404), the victors were so moved by the casual recitation of some verses from a chorus in the play of Euripides, at one of their banquets, that they resolved to spare the city and only raze the fortifications. Euripides was then recently dead (B.C. 406).

We have printed line 3 as it stands in the edition of 1673, and also in the Cambridge MS.; but in the edition of 1645 it ran thus: "*If ever deed of honour did thee please.*"

SONNET IX.—See Introd. (II. 286). Observe the rhyme of "*Ruth*," the proper name (line 5), with "*ruth*," the abstract noun, meaning "pity" (line 8). Such rhymes of words identical in sound and spelling, though differing in meaning, are now accounted illegitimate in English verse; but formerly they were allowed. Chaucer has them (a familiar instance is in lines 17 and 18 of the Prologue to his *Canterbury Tales*), and Spenser has them frequently. In Italian and Spanish poetry they are still allowed. They seem to have been vanishing from English poetry in Milton's time; and this is the only instance in Milton's original poetry, as distinct from his translations.—Biblical passages in Milton's mind in the Sonnet are Matt. vii. 13; Luke x. 42; Ruth i. 14—17; Matt. xxv. 1—13, and Rom. v. 5.

In the Cambridge MS. we find that Milton had originally written "*blooming virtue*" for "*growing virtues*" in line 7, and that line 13 ran originally thus: "*Opens the door of bliss that hour of night.*" Both passages are corrected into their present form on the margin.

SONNET X.—See Introd. (II. 286, 287). "*That old man eloquent*" is the Athenian orator Isocrates, who died B.C. 338 at the age of ninety-eight years, just after the great battle of Chæroneia, in which Philip of Macedon defeated the conjoined Athenians and Boeotians

and crushed the liberties of Greece.—“*Though later born,*” &c. As the Earl of Marlborough died in March 1628-9, when Milton was full twenty years of age and already a writer of poetry, the expression in the text is not strictly correct, unless we suppose that by “*th. days wherein your father flourished*” he referred to the earlier portion of the lawyer-statesman’s career.

SONNET XI.—Though the title prefixed to this and the following Sonnet in the Cambridge MS. is “*On the Detraction which followed upon my writing certain Treatises*” it is but one of those treatises that is especially referred to in the present Sonnet, and the subject is treated humorously in the main (see Introd., II. 288, 289). The treatise in question was the third in order of Milton’s four Divorce Tracts. It appeared in March 1644-5, or eighteen months after the first edition of the original Tract on “*The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,*” the principles of which it was intended to confirm. It consisted of about a hundred small quarto pages, and had a very full title-page. “*TETRACHORDON : Expositions upon the foure chief places in Scripture which treat of Mariage or nullities in Mariage*” : such was the upper part of the title-page ; after which followed a citation, chapter and verse, of the four places in question, a farther description of the purpose of the book, a Greek motto from the “*Medea*” of Euripides, and the imprint “*London : Printed in the yeare 1645.*” Only the author’s initials appeared on the title-page,—thus “*By the former author, J. M.*” ; but the name “*John Milton*” in full was affixed to a preatory dedication of the Treatise “*To the Parliament.*” Altogether, in form, as well as in substance, it was a portentous treatise, amusing and puzzling ordinary people who saw it in shop-windows, as much as it shocked the theologians. The word “*Tetrachordon,*” in particular was a puzzle for all less literate folks about Aldersgate Street and Chapside. “*Have you seen this Tet—Tetra—Tetra—what’s its name ?*” they said to each other, giving it up. Hence Milton’s Sonnet, written perhaps a year after the publication of the book, and when, his wife having returned to him, he had removed from Aldersgate Street to the adjacent street called Barbican.—He comes to the defence of the book, title and all : The book was a careful and serious one, and had interested good intellects in London for some time after its appearance, though now, it seemed, its day was past, and there remained only stray copies in stalls, and the wonder of common-place street-passengers gazing at its extraordinary title-page ! Yes ! there they were—Milton himself had seen them !—three or four at a time, in front of a book-stall, staring at a copy, and spell-spelling at the name till one might have walked to Mile-End Green ! (Mile-End is in Whitechapel, and was so called from its distance, roughly measured, from the central parts of London : it was a common in Milton’s time, and the favourite terminus of a citizen’s walk). But surely Londoners had not been so fastidious of



late in the matter of the pronunciability of the names they adopted! Scotch names, for example! Was *Tetrachordon* harder than *Gordon*, *Colkitto*, *Macdonnel*, *Galisp*, or others that had recently been imported from Scotland and were in all men's mouths?—The particular Scottish names here selected by Milton for his purpose have been identified with only partial accuracy by the commentators, and even by Sir Walter Scott in his reference to the Sonnet in a note to his *Legend of Montrose*. Bishop Newton, by way of explanation of the names, having written "We may suppose that these were persons of note among the Scotch ministers who were for pressing and enforcing the Covenant" (how little an English bishop was then able to know of the history of his country at any point where it had lapsed into such an incredible off-track as Puritanism or Presbyterianism!), Scott corrected him thus: "Milton only intends to ridicule the barbarism of Scottish names in general, and quotes, indiscriminately, that of *Gillespie*, one of the apostles of the Covenant, and those of *Colkitto* and *Macdonnel*, both belonging to the same person, one of its bitterest enemies." This correction of Scott's (substantially anticipated by Warton) has sufficed for all the recent commentators; but it is imperfect.—One of the leaders of the Scottish Covenant certainly was George Gillespie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh; and, as he was also one of the Scottish Presbyterian ministers deputed to attend the Westminster Assembly in 1643, and had been since then residing in London, partaking in the Assembly's debates, and doing his best to bring round the English to strict Presbyterianism, his name must have been familiar to Milton. It is not impossible, therefore, that in the word *Galasp* Milton has a side-hit at this reverend person, whose memory is still dear to Scottish Presbyterians, but whose anti-toleration opinions, held also by all his Scottish colleagues in the Assembly, and by most of the English, made him one of Milton's certain enemies in the Divorce speculation and in various others. But the likelihood is that the direct reference in *Galasp* is not to this Gillespie, but to another person who rejoiced in that name as one of several that belonged to him, and who was in fact the same as the "*Colkitto* or *Macdonnel*" pointed to by Scott. If so, this *Galasp* was a very different being from his namesake of the Westminster Assembly, and that reverend divine would have been glad to see him hanged.—The year 1645, in or shortly after which Milton's Sonnet was written, was the year of that extraordinary Scottish episode of the great Civil War on which Scott founded his *Legend of Montrose*. The daring young Marquis of Montrose, who had gone in disguise into the Scottish Highlands in the previous year with a commission from King Charles, had succeeded in rousing the clans in his Majesty's behalf; and, by a series of the most astonishing marches and battles, he had shattered and paralysed the Argyle or Presbyterian Government, and re-conquered all Scotland, as it seemed, into allegiance to Charles. This had been most perplexing news for the English Parliamentarians;

for, though the Army of Fairfax and Cromwell had been carrying all before them in England, such a Scottish diversion in favour of Charles was of tremendous consequence, and threatened to protract the war indefinitely by encouraging Charles to continued resistance. Never had there been more anxiety in England as to the state of affairs in Scotland; never had the names of Scottish persons and Scottish things been more frequent on English lips; and, even after there had come the relief of Montrose's sudden defeat and ruin by General David Leslie at the battle of Philiphaugh (Sept. 1645), people still talked in London of the audacious Scottish Marquis, his enterprise, his wild Highlanders, and his other associates. Now, among these associates the chief was Montrose's Lieutenant-general, the immediate commander of that horde of mixed Irish and West-Scottish Celts that had first flocked to Montrose's standard and begun the rising. He was gigantic Highlander from the Island of Colonsay, but with family connexions with the Irish Macdonnells, Earls of Antrim, and recently in service of the Earl of Antrim in Ireland; and his name in its full Gaelic form was "Alastair Macdonnell, Mac-Cholla Chiotach, Mhic-Guillesbuig, Mhic-Alastair, Mhic-Eoin Chatanic": *i.e.* "Alexander Macdonald, son of Colkittoch (the left-handed), son of Gillespie, of Alexander, son of John Cathanach." By more convenient Lowland Scottish abbreviation he was "Alexander Macdonald the younger," "young Colkitto" (*i.e.* left-handed, like his father "Old Colkitto," who was still alive); but his additional designation of "Macgillespie" was also in occasional use. What a name to reach London! It had struck Milton; and so, when he wanted a set of words as hard as *Tetrachordon*, here they were ready for him in the name of one Highland barbarian, well enough known to the Londoners, who was "*Macdonnell or Colkitto or Galasp*" all in his own single person. I am confirmed in this belief as to the *Galasp* by the opinion of Mr. David Laing, the greatest literary authority in Scottish literary antiquities (see his edition of *Baillie's Letters*, II. 499), and also by the fact that the other Scottish name immortalized in the Sonnet is taken from Montrose's following. Among Montrose's most influential adherents in his enterprise there were several *Gordons*, of whom the most prominent were George, Lord Gordon, the eldest son of the Marquis of Huntley, and his next brother Charles Gordon, Viscount Aboyne. Lord Gordon was killed in one of Montrose's battles, and the subsequent behaviour of Lord Aboyne and the Gordons generally had much to do with the final issue of the enterprise. Hence the word *Gordon* also had been borne on the wings of the wind to London. It is rather curious to note, if only as a point in the history of phonetics, that the four names selected by Milton, two of which are now rather musical than otherwise to English ears, should then have seemed so rugged.—They "*would have made Quintilian stare and gasp*," says Milton; and he could not have named a better referee in such a matter than this most famous teacher of Rhetoric



among the Romans (A.D. 42—118), in whose master-work on Education so much is said about elegance and attention to melody in the choice of words.—In the last three lines of the Sonnet, however, Milton changes his key, and, instead of continuing his comic defence of the word *Tetrachordon*, breaks out angrily against the illiteracy of an age that could object to a treatise bearing such a name. It had not been always so, he says.—“*Thy age, like ours,*” &c. The construction of this passage is important, and is generally missed. It is “*Thy age, O soul of Sir John Cheek, did not, like ours, hate learning worse than toad or asp, when thou first taughtest Greek to Cambridge and to King Edward;*” and the meaning is “Once there was a time when a bit of Greek, like the word *Tetrachordon*, would have been welcome rather than otherwise: viz. when the famous Sir John Cheke (1514—1557), the first Professor of Greek at Cambridge, introduced the effective study of that language in the University, fixed the English pronunciation of it, and also taught it privately to King Edward VI. That age did not, as ours does, hate learning worse than toad or asp.” Where Milton wrote “*like ours*” we should now say “*unlike ours*.”

From the Cambridge draft of this Sonnet in Milton's own hand it appears that “*A book was writ*” in line 1 is an amendment for “*I writ a book*” originally written; “*woven*” in line 2 for “*wove it*”; “*The subject new, it walked*” in line 3 for “*It went off well about*”; “*good intellects, now seldom*” in line 4 for “*good wits, but now is seldom*”; and “*rugged*” in line 10 for “*rough-hewn*,” and that again for “*barbarous*.” The last correction is in Milton's own hand; the others had been dictated by him, and are in a different penmanship.—In the edition of 1673 the word “*it*” after “*is*” in line 8 was accidentally omitted, and the name “*Colkitto*” in line 9 was misprinted “*Coliktto*.” Both misprints are noted among the Errata. In some modern editions the sentence “*Why is it harder?*” &c., is converted into “*Why, it is harder,*” &c., the sign of interrogation being omitted; which spoils the sense.

SONNET XII.—In this Sonnet the subject of the last is continued, but Milton comments more fiercely on the reception that had been given to the *doctrine* of his Divorce Pamphlets. They had brought him little else than infamy and abuse; they had brought round him all the “owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs” of the time, hooting, braying, gibbering, and barking at him. Among the miscellany so designated certain Presbyterian clergymen must have been prominently in his mind. Not the less did he retain his opinion that the doctrine he had promulgated was an important and beneficial one, a highly necessary contribution to the true theory of individual and social liberty. He compares the reception given it to the treatment of the goddess Latona and her newly-born twins by the Lycian rustics. These

twins afterwards "held the sun and moon in fee" (*i.e.* in full possession), for they were Apollo and Diana; and yet, when the goddess, carrying them in her arms, and fleeing from the wrath of Juno, stooped in her fatigue to drink of the water of a small lake, the rustics railed at her and puddled the lake with their hands and feet—for which, on the instant, at the goddess's prayer, they were turned into frogs, to live for ever in the mud of their own making (Ovid, *Met.* vi. 337—381).—The sentiment of lines 11, 12 was repeated, as Hurd observed, in Milton's *Eikonoclastes*, published in 1649: "None can love Freedom heartily but good men: the rest love not Freedom, but License."—"Rove" in line 13 means *shoot astray*; and "For" in the last line means *Notwithstanding*.

From the Cambridge draft it appears that Milton had first written "*buzzards*" for "*cuckoos*" in line 4, and that line 10 ran originally "*And hate the truth whereby they should be free.*"

ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE.—In this "Tailed Sonnet," as we have ventured to call it, on account of its form (*Sonetto Codato* was the Italian phrase), Milton perseveres in the strain of the two foregoing Sonnets, but less in mere defence of his Divorce Doctrine, and more in denunciation of the intolerance of the Presbyterians generally. It may have been written in 1646, or possibly not till 1647.—"*thrown off your Prelate Lord, and . . . renounced his Liturgy.*" Episcopacy was formally abolished in England by ordinance of the Long Parliament in Sept. 1646, but it had been virtually abolished and the Church of England Presbyterianized some years before; the Liturgy, after being practically in disuse for some time, had been prohibited under penalties in 1644. No one had written more resolutely in favour of these changes than Milton himself in 1641–2, when as yet he and the Presbyterians were at one.—"*To seize the widowed whore Plurality,*" *i.e.* to be yourselves the successors of the Prelates in one of their worst practices, that of conjoining parochial livings, University posts, &c., so as to enrich themselves and each other by the aggregate incomes of charges that ought to have been kept separate. Since 1644 this had been an accusation against some of the Divines of the Westminster Assembly, and Milton could have named instances.—"*Dare ye for this [i.e. for the sake of your incomes and pluralities] adjure the civil sword?*" It was the uniform demand of the Presbyterian clergy that not only should Presbytery be established as the national system of worship and church-government, but all deviations from it, all meetings for worship elsewhere than in the Presbyterian churches, and also all heresies and blasphemies, should be punished by the state. For some of the graver heresies, capable of being characterized as blasphemies, they demanded death.—"*ride us with a classic Hierarchy*": *i.e.* with an organization of your so-called Classes or Presbyterial Church-courts, composed of the ministers and selected lay-elders of defined

districts, instead of, as before, under Prelacy, with Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. In the Scottish Presbyterian Kirk the next authority above that of the mere Kirk-session of each individual congregation, was the Presbytery proper, or council of the ministers and elders of a whole town, or a country-district; the more favourite English word for such a Presbytery was a *classis*; when London was formally Presbyterianized in the end of 1645, it was divided into twelve such *classes*; and the same organization was extended to Lancashire, with a view to its general adoption over all England. Hence the significance of the phrase "*classic Hierarchy*."—"Taught ye by mere A. S. and Rutherford." Among the most conspicuous defenders of strict Presbytery against the Independents and advocates of a Toleration was a certain Adam Steuart, a Scotchman, then living in London, where four or five pamphlets of his, published in 1644, but with his initials only, A. S., excited a good deal of controversy. With him Milton associates Samuel Rutherford, one of the four Scottish Divines of the Westminster Assembly, and author of "*A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbytery in Scotland*," and other tracts in the same strain, expounding the principles of Presbytery for the English. He was a man of eminence among the Scottish divines of his time, and Professor of Divinity in St. Andrews, where he died in 1661, leaving many works, and a name still remembered with affection in Scotland. While he and A. S. are mentioned by Milton, the general sneer is that the Presbyterian system which the English clergy were so largely adopting had been taught them by a few insignificant Scotchmen.—"*named and printed heretics by shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call!*" "Shallow Edwards" is the Rev. Thomas Edwards, M.A., an Englishman by birth, then a preacher in London, and well known as the author of several popular treatises in behalf of strict Presbytery and against Independency and Toleration; of which by far the most famous was his "*Gangraena: or a Catalogue of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time*," published in three parts in 1645-6. It is an extraordinary collection of personalities and scurrilities, fluently written; and among the scores of "heretics" named and denounced in it is Milton on account of his Divorce Pamphlets. Milton's reference to him is, therefore, a *quid pro quo*. The "Scotch What-d'ye-call" has hitherto eluded commentators—some guessing at Gillespie of the Westminster Assembly from the previous supposed mention of him in Sonnet XI. (see note there), others at Alexander Henderson, also one of the Scottish Commissioners in the Assembly, and, by universal consent, then the ablest man in the Scottish Church. I think I can vouch that he is neither of these, but another of their Scottish colleagues in the Assembly—no other than the Rev. Robert Baillie, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards Principal there, whose *Letters and Journals* are still of standard value, as the richest, most graphic, and,

with all their Presbyterian prejudice, most trustworthy account of many of the English and Scottish transactions of that time. For, among Baillie's publications during his residence in London, one, issued in the end of 1645, was "*A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time: wherein the Tenets of the principal Sects, especially of the Independents, are drawn together into one Map, for the most part in the words of their own authors;*" and in this book, as well as in a sequel to it published in the end of the following year, Milton is stigmatized for his Divorce heresy very much in the same way as in Edwards's *Gangræna*. For greater contempt, Milton, while coupling him with Edwards, leaves him anonymous. And, by a singular fate, Milton's assumed forgetfulness of the very names of those troublesome Scottish critics of his in London has become a reality since among his countrymen. Read, for example, Warton's references to them in his notes on this very Sonnet. After having told who the Rutherford of line 8 was, he says, honestly enough I have no doubt, "Rutherford's *Letters*, called *Joshua Redivivus*, are the most genuine specimen I remember to have seen of the enthusiastick cant of the old Scotch divines;" and then, to illustrate the "Scotch What-d'ye-call" of line 12, he adds:—"Perhaps [he was] Henderson, "or George Galaspie, another Scotch minister with a harder name, and "one of the ecclesiastical commissioners at Westminster. John Henderson appears as a *loving friend* in Rutherford's *Joshua Redivivus*, "B. III. Epist. 50, p. 482. And Hugh Henderson, B. I. Epist. 127, "p. 186. See also, *Ibid.* p. 152. And Alexander Henderson, B. I. "Epist. 16, p. 33. But I wish not to bewilder myself or my readers "any further in the library of fanaticism. Happily, the books, as well "as the names of the enthusiasts on both sides of the question, are "almost consigned to oblivion." A most candid and instructive confession by an English scholar of the eighteenth century! Yet the Henderson over whose Christian name Warton bungles was the second founder of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and one of the most massive figures in the British History of his time; and the business in which he and his colleagues, Baillie, Rutherford, and Gillespie, were so strenuously engaged in London from 1643 onwards, in conjunction with about 120 English clergymen, and under the orders of the English Parliament, was one which vitally interested all England then, modified English society remarkably for the next half-generation, and handed on influences and sentiments that are powerful in the English mind to this day—if only, let us say, the sentiment of disgust at the recollection of it, and desire to hear no more about it, except by superficial tradition, or through the convenient pages of Clarendon. But surely English scholarship might, with propriety and profit, be as inquisitive about the details of an eccentric portion of English History as it has always been allowed to be about the genealogy of the Greek gods, the names of Horace's mistresses, or the constitution of the court of Areopagus!—All this in full sympathy with Milton's feelings when he wrote the



Sonnet. To him and to many others the proceedings of those Scottish divines in London, and of the Assembly to which they belonged, had become a real annoyance, and the prospect of the strict Presbyterian ascendancy which they were establishing was unendurable. Hence, in continuing his invective, he addresses the Westminster Assembly almost by name. "*We do hope to find out all your tricks,*" he says, "*your plots and packing, worse than those of Trent;*" the meaning of which is that not even in the famous Council of Trent itself, which had settled and redefined the creed of the Roman Catholic Church after the Reformation (1545—1563), had there been so much intriguing and sharp practice as there had been in the Westminster Assembly since its meeting in July 1643. The word "*packing*" implies an assertion that the Assembly from the first had been unfairly constituted—that it was not a fair representation of English religious opinion, but a body composed almost entirely of Presbyterians, and in the interest of foregone conclusions. Facts gave some colour to this charge; for the few moderately Episcopal clergymen that had been at first nominated to the Assembly had dropped off or been excluded, and there were only five avowed Independents in it to contest the decisions of the compact Presbyterian majority.—"*That so the Parliament may,*" &c. The only hope of the Independents, and other claimants of religious freedom, lay in the two Houses of Parliament, and especially in the Commons, where, though Presbyterian opinions were also in the ascendant and a trial of the Presbyterian system had been resolved on, the Independents had great influence, and there was a consequent indisposition to that policy of universal Presbyterian compulsion which the divines of the Assembly advocated. More than once the Parliament had rebuked the over-officiousness of the Assembly, and reminded it that it was not an authority in the realm, but only a body called together by Parliament for special business and entirely under the instructions of Parliament while it performed that business. Especially in April 1646 there had been a case of this kind, when the Commons voted certain proceedings of the Assembly to be a breach of privilege, and so intimated to the Divines that a repetition of such proceedings might subject them individually to heavy punishment. It is this that Milton has in view; and he anticipates a time when the Parliament might see fit to come to a severe reckoning with this body of its own making, and teach it which was the master and which the servant.—"*Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears,*" i.e. punish you to the extent of reducing those badges of sanctity which you wear about your heads, ostentatiously broader than other people's, like the phylacteries of the Pharisees (Matt. xxiii. 5), though passing over your ears, and so treating you more mercifully than you would treat your so-called "heretics" if you had the power.—"*New PRESBYTER is but old PRIEST writ large.*" This aphorism, which was to stand in the Parliamentary "*charge*" or indictment against the Presbyterians, turns on a play of

words. The word "*Priest*" being simply a contraction of the Greek word "*Presbyteros*," "an Elder," Milton's insinuation is that the change from Prelacy, or even from Roman Catholicism, to the new Presbyterianism devised for England, would be but giving up a slighter for a more extended form of the same article.

Two corrections discernible in the Cambridge MS. of this remarkable piece are worth noting. Instead of "*Shallow Edwards*," which is the name by which this London fanatic of 1646 will be remembered to the end of time, Milton had first written "*haire-brain'd Edwards*," which was probably as true. "*Hair-brained*" is erased and "*shallow*" substituted in the margin. Again the line "*Clip your phylacteries, though baulk your ears*" had been originally written "*Crop ye as close as marginal P——'s cares*," the allusion being to the celebrated William Prynne, the Lincoln's Inn lawyer, who had been twice pilloried and had his nose slit and his ears cut off for anti-Prelatic pamphlets, by sentence of the Star-Chamber during Laud's persecuting rule. Since his release from prison at the opening of the Long Parliament, in 1640, Prynne had been a conspicuous Presbyterian, enforcing his views in tract after tract of a dry and learned kind, always with references to his authorities running down the margins of the pages. Prynne's want of ears and the margins of his pamphlets were subjects of popular jest; but Milton had a special grudge against him on account of a reference to himself in one of the "marginal" oddities. It was clearly in good taste, however, to erase the allusion in the Sonnet, referring as it did to a cruelty unjustly endured, under a tyrannical Government, by a brave, though thick-headed, man.—Besides these two corrections, the only others exhibited by the MS. draft are "*widowed*" for "*vacant*" in line 3, and "*our*" for "*the*" before the word "*consciences*" in line 6.

SONNET XIII.—"*not to scan with Midas' ears, committing short and long*" : i.e. not to mis-match short syllables with long syllables (from the Latin sense of *committere* in such a phrase as *committere pugiles*, to match gladiators in the circus); which was the kind of scanning of which Midas may be supposed to have been guilty when he decided in favour of Pan in the musical contest between that god and Apollo, and had his faulty ears changed into those of an ass in consequence. The reference seems to be to the common fault of musical composers in paying no attention to the words they are setting, and so laying the musical stress often on insignificant and non-emphatic syllables; from which fault Lawes is declared to be free.—"*exempts*," after a double nominative, is the reading both in the printed edition of 1673 and in the Cambridge MS.—"*send her wing*." So in the edition of 1673, but *lend* in the Cambridge MS. and in most recent editions.—"*the priest of Phæbus' quire*" : i.e. the priest, or sacred official, of the band of contemporary poets.—"*or story*." This is explained by a marginal note to the Sonnet as it was prefixed to Lawes's *Choice Psalms*, &c., published by Moseley in 1648 (see



Introd., II. 290—292). “The story of Ariadne set by him to musick,” says the note; the words of the said story being by the poet Cartwright.—“*Dante . . . his Casella . . . Purgatory.*” The reference is to the passage in Dante’s *Purgatorio*, Cant. II., where he represents himself as meeting, in a crowd of other souls, the musician Casella, who had been his dear friend in life, and asking him to sing, even there, if it were permissible, one of those love-songs in which he excelled on earth. Casella complies, and sings a song of Dante’s own. The shades of Purgatory are called “*milder*,” in comparison with those of the *Inferno*, from which the poet had just emerged when he met Casella.

The drafts of this Sonnet among the Cambridge MSS. (see Introd., II. 290) show that it reached its present state after several corrections.\* Thus, line 3 had originally been written “*words with just notes, which till then used to scan*,” and this again had been changed into “*words with just notes when most were wont to scan*,” before the present reading was adopted. Again “*committing*” in line 4 had been changed into “*mis-joining*,” though afterwards taken back; and lines 6, 7, 8, had run thus:—

‘*And gives thee praise above the pipe of Pan :  
In after age thou shalt be writ a man  
That didst reform thy art, the chief among.*”

Finally, lines 12 and 13 had at first run thus:—

“*Fame, by the Tuscan’s leave, shall set thee higher  
Than old Casell, whom Dante wooed to sing.*”

Here it may be noted how surely every correction of Milton’s was an improvement.

SONNET XIV.—“*earthly*.” So in edition of 1673, and clearly a superior reading to “*earthly*,” which has slipped into modern editions.—“*speak*,” line 12, is the reading in the edition of 1673, and is perhaps preferable to “*spake*,” which has been substituted.—Scripture texts in Milton’s mind in the Sonnet are: Rom. vii. 24, Rev. xiv. 13, Acts x. 4, Ps. xxxvi. 8, 9.

From the first Cambridge draft of this Sonnet we find that “*load*” in line 3 was originally “*clod*”; that line 4 originally ran “*Of flesh and sin which man from heaven doth sever*”; and that lines 6—10 ran thus:—

“*Straight followed thee the path that saints have trod :  
Still as they journeyed from this dark abode  
Up to the realms of peace and joy for ever,  
Faith showed the way, and she, who saw them best  
Thy handmaids,*” &c.

An intermediate form of line 9 was “*Faith, who led on the way, and knew them best.*”

SONNET XV.—“*though new rebellions raise their Hydra heads, and the false North*,” &c. See historical particulars in Introd. to the Sonnet (II. 293-4).—“*Her broken league*”: i.e. the “Solemn League and

Covenant," for mutual defence and the prosecution of Religious Reform, which the Scots had proposed to the English in 1643, and which since then had been the great documentary band between the two kingdoms, sworn to, voluntarily or compulsorily, by almost the entire populations of both. The Scots charged the English with having broken this League, both by being harsher to Charles and less loyal to monarchy than the Covenant required, and also by allowing too great licence of religious opinion and practice, and not being zealous enough for Presbytery; and this was the chief pretext for Hamilton's expedition into England in 1648 in aid of Charles against the English Parliament. Some of the English, on the other hand, said the Scots had broken the League.—*"To imp their serpent wings,"* i.e. to add strength to the Royalist insurrections in England that were raising their Hydra heads. *To imp* was *to engraft*, and hence to mend a hawk's wing by inserting new feathers for broken ones. Thus Shakespeare (*Rich. II.*, II. 1):—

"If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke,  
Imp out our drooping country's broken wing."

—"public fraud" (line 13). By the year 1648 it had become a charge of the Independents and Army-chiefs against the less resolute Parliamentarians that they had mismanaged and misappropriated the public revenues, and that their half-hearted policy against Charles arose from a dread of being called to account.

This is one of the four Sonnets not published in Milton's life-time, but first in 1694 by Milton's nephew Phillips as an Appendix to his memoir of Milton prefixed to an English translation of Milton's *Letters of State*. These Sonnets were not incorporated in any edition of Milton's Poems till 1713, and were then printed mainly according to Phillips's copies. Newton, in 1752, went back to the text of the Sonnets presented in the drafts preserved among the Cambridge MSS., and he has been followed by most subsequent editors. For the reasons explained in General Introduction to the Minor Poems (II. 181), there can be no doubt that this course is the right one, and that Phillips's copies of 1694 had been vitiated by misrecollection or mistranscription. In the present Sonnet, his copy, besides two glaring errors in pointing, presents the following differences from the Cambridge MS. copy in Milton's own hand:—"And fills" for "filling" in line 2; "which" for "that" in line 4; "valour" for "virtue" in line 5; "while" for "though" in line 6; "her" for "their" in line 8; "acts of war" for "endless war" in line 10; "injured truth" for "truth and right" in line 11; "be rescued from the brand" for "cleared from the shameful brand" in line 12; "shares" for "share" in line 14.

SONNET XVI.—"a cloud," &c. A recollection, as Newton noted, of Virgil's *nubem belli* (*Æn.* x. 809).—"crowned Fortune," i.e. the crowned King Charles, and his family—"Darwen stream, with blood of Scots im-

*brued*," i.e. not the Derwent in Derbyshire, as some commentators have imagined, but the Darwen in Lancashire, which falls into the Ribble near Preston. It was in that neighbourhood, and over the ground traversed by the Ribble and its tributaries, that Cromwell fought his famous three days' battle of Preston, Aug. 17-19, 1648, in which he utterly routed the Scottish invading Army under the Duke of Hamilton. The stream, and a bridge over it where there was hard fighting, are mentioned in Cromwell's own letter of Aug. 20, 1648, to Speaker Lenthall, describing the battle; and Mr. Carlyle, in a note to that letter, has given a list of the various tributaries to the Ribble, the Darwen included, in illustration of the range of the battle (*Cromwell's Letters*: ed. 1857, I. p. 289). As the Darwen is not marked in ordinary maps of Lancashire, commentators have denied the existence of such a Lancashire stream, and supposed that Milton meant the Ribble, but forgot its name and put that of the Derbyshire Derwent instead. Here again one sees that it is unsafe to doubt Milton's accuracy.—"*Dunbar field*": the famous Battle of Dunbar, fought by Cromwell Sept. 3, 1650, when he beat the Scottish Army under General David Leslie, and substantially annexed Scotland to the English Commonwealth. Mr. Carlyle's description of the battle in his *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* (II. 178—187) is one of the most memorable passages of that work.—"*resounds*": the verb in the singular, to distribute it between the three nominatives, one of which is still to come.—"*Worcester's laureate wreath*": Cromwell's crowning victory of Sept. 3, 1651, "his thrice victorious 3rd of September," when he defeated, at Worcester, the army which Charles II., then just crowned King in Scotland, had brought into England to reinstate him there also. After the battle Charles had to skulk about in disguise till he could escape again to the Continent.—Milton had judiciously selected for mention three of Cromwell's latest and greatest military victories; and the victories of another kind to which he points him in lines 9—14 are victories over the Presbyterian clergy, their intolerance, and their greed. Here, though with especial reference to certain incidents of May 1652 (see *Introd. to the Sonnet*, II. 297-8), Milton recurs to the strain of his lines *On the New Forcers of Conscience*.—It is noticeable that the present is the only one of Milton's Sonnets that ends in a rhyming couplet (see *Gen. Introd. to the Sonnets*, II. 278—280).

This is another of the four Sonnets that were misprinted by the early editors of Milton, because they were taken from Phillips's copies of 1694, and not from the genuine copies in the Cambridge MSS. (see note to last Sonnet).—In Phillips's copy to the present Sonnet, it was mangled by the total omission of one line (line 5), and by inaccuracies in the other lines, as follows:—

" Cromwell, our chief of men, that through a crowd  
Not of war only, but distractions rude,  
Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,  
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast ploughed,

And fought God's battles, and his work pursued,  
 While Darwent streams, with blood of Scots imbrued,  
 And Dunbarfield resound thy praises loud  
 And Worcester's laureate wreath : yet much remains  
 To conquer still ; Peace hath her victories  
 No less than those of War : new focs arise,  
 Threatening to bind our souls in secular chains.  
 Help us, &c.

Obviously, this copy is a sheer vitiation of the original as we have it in the Cambridge draft. That draft itself, however, presents one interesting correction. Line 9 there stood at first thus :—

“ And twenty battles more : yet much remains.”

The insertion of “ *Worcester's laureate wreath* ” for “ *twenty battles more* ” was an afterthought.

SONNET XVII.—“ *when gowns, not arms, repelled,* ” &c. : i.e. in that period of Roman History when it was on statesmen, rather than on warriors, that the defence of the Commonwealth rested.—“ *The fierce Epirot and the African bold* ” : to wit, Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, a formidable enemy of the Romans from B.C. 280 to B.C. 272 ; and the Carthaginian Hannibal, their great enemy from B.C. 220 to B.C. 182.—“ *the drift of hollow states.* ” Commentators have supposed here an allusion to the States of Holland, the relations of which to the English Commonwealth were not very explicit.—“ *to know both spiritual power and civil,* ” &c. See Introd. to the Sonnet, II. 298, 299.

This is one of the Sonnets printed in a vitiated form by Phillips in 1694 (see note to Sonnet XV.). Save that in line 1 Phillips's copy substitutes “ *sage counsels* ” for “ *sage counsel,* ” that copy corresponds with the Cambridge draft as far as to the end of line 6 ; after which it proceeds thus :—

“ Then to advise how war may best be upheld,  
 Mann'd by her two main nerves, iron and gold,  
 In all her equipage : besides, to know,  
 Both spiritual and civil, what each means,  
 What serves each, thou hast learn'd, what few have done.  
 The bounds of either sword to thee we owe ;  
 Therefore on thy right hand Religion leans,  
 And reckons thee in chief her eldest son.”

But the Cambridge copy itself, as dictated by Milton, reached its present state after several corrections. For “ *then to advise* ” in line 7 there had been first dictated “ *And to advise* ” ; for “ *Move by* ” in line 8 “ *Move on* ” ; instead of the present lines 10–11, the following :—

“ What power the Church and what the Civil means  
 Thou teachest best, which few have ever done,”

with a subsequent alteration to

“ Both spiritual power and civil, what each means  
Thou has learned well, a praise which few have won ; ”

and for “ *firm hand* ” in line 13 “ *right hand* .”

SONNET XVIII.—“ *the bloody Piemontese, that rolled mother with infant down the rocks.* ” In explanation of this Warton refers to the contemporary account of the massacre by Sir W. Moreland, where there is a print of this particular piece of cruelty, and a story of an infant found alive at the foot of a rock after three days in its dead mother’s arms.—“ *Their martyred blood and ashes sow* ” : an adaptation of the aphorism of Tertullian, “ The blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church. ” —“ *The triple Tyrant* ” : i.e. the Pope, with his three-tiered crown, called “ *Tricoronifer* ” in Milton’s Latin poem *In Quintum Novembris*, line 55.—“ *A hundredfold* ” printed “ *A hunder’d fold* ” in edition of 1673.—“ *the Babylonian woe.* ” The Church of Rome was regarded by the Puritans as the mystical Babylon of the Apocalypse, the doom of which was foretold (Rev. xvii. and xviii.) ; and Milton in his *In Quintum Novembris* (line 156) had called the Pope “ *Antistes Babylonius.* ”

SONNET XIX.—“ *Ere half my days.* ” For the date of Milton’s blindness see Introduction to the Sonnet, II. 300, 301.—“ *that one talent,* ” &c., Matt. xxv. 14—30. Milton speaks of his eyesight as the “ one talent ” he had received.—“ *thousands* ” : viz. of Angelic beings.

SONNET XX.—“ *Favonius* ” : a poetical synonym for Zephyr, the West-wind.—“ *that neither sowed nor spun,* ” Matt. vi. 26—29.—“ *spare to interpose them oft* ” : interpreted by Mr. Keightley to mean “ spare time to interpose them oft ; ” but surely rather the opposite—“ refrain from interposing them oft. ” *Parcere* in Latin with a verb following had this sense of “ refraining from, ” and “ spare ” in English was used in the same way.

SONNET XXI.—“ *Let Euclid rest, and Archimedes pause* ” : i.e. lay aside your mathematical and physical studies (see Introd. to the Sonnet, II. 305).—“ *what the Swede intend, and what the French* ” : see Introd., II. 304. Most editors print “ *intends* ” here ; but it is distinctly “ *intend* ” in the edition of 1673. There is a recollection here, as Newton pointed out, of Horace, *Od.* ii. 11.

“ Quid bellicosus Cantaber, et Scythes,  
Hirpine Quinti, cogitet, Adria  
Divisus objecto, remittas  
Quærere, &c. ; ”

perhaps also of *Od.* i. ix. 13, and *Eccles.* iii. 1.

SONNET XXII.—“ *this three years’ day.* ” See Introd., II. 308. “ This day three years ” is the prosaic form, and some have unwarrantably proposed that reading here.—“ *though clear to outward view,* ” &c.



Milton is equally explicit on this point in a passage in his *Dej. Sec.*, where he discusses his blindness. His eyes, he says, had totally lost their power of seeing: "*ita tamen extrinsecus illæsi, ita sine nube clari ac lucidi, ut eorum qui acutissimum cernunt: in hac solum parte, memet invito, simulator sum.*"—"Or sun, or moon, or star," &c. Compare *Par. Lost*, III. 40 *et seq.*, and *Sams. Ag.* 80 *et seq.*—"conscience," i.e. "consciousness."—"to have lost them overplied in Liberty's defence": i.e. in writing his great pamphlet *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, published in 1650, in reply to Salmasius, whose *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I.* had appeared in 1649. In that pamphlet itself Milton had said that, being in ill-health while he wrote it, he had been "forced to write by piecemeal, and break off almost every hour;" and in its sequel, the *Defensio Secunda*, published in 1654, or perhaps a year before the present Sonnet was written, he had inserted a more express passage, to the effect that when he had undertaken the reply to Salmasius the sight of one eye was already nearly gone, and he had persevered in his task, from a sense of paramount duty, against the positive warnings of physicians that it would accelerate total blindness.—"*my noble task, of which all Europe rings.*" Only in this case have I adopted a reading from Phillips's printed copy of 1694. In the Cambridge draft of the Sonnet, as dictated by Milton, the word is "*talks*" and not "*rings*," and I have no doubt "*talks*" is what Milton himself would have printed. But the word "*rings*," substituted by Phillips, probably because the first line of the Sonnet to Fairfax was still echoing in his ear, has so recommended itself by its energy, and has become so identified with the passage by frequent quotation, that no editor since Newton has had the heart to return to "*talks*."—"the world's vain mask." Ps. xxxix. 6, "Surely every man walketh in a vain shew."

With the exception of "*rings*" in line 12 (see above), Phillips's deviations from the Cambridge MS. draft of this Sonnet are all for the worse. For "*light*" in line 3 he substituted "*sight*"; for "*sight*" in line 4 "*day*"; for "*of*" at the beginning of line 5 "*or*"; for "*a jot*" in line 7 "*one jot*"; for "*the world's*" in line 13 "*this world's*"; and for "*better*" in line 14 "*other*."—In the Cambridge draft itself, however, there are some corrections. For "*Heaven's hand*" in line 7 Milton had originally dictated "*God's hand*"; for "*bear up and*" in line 8 "*attend to*"; and for "*Right onward*" in line 9 "*Uphillward*."

SONNET XXIII.—See Introd. to the Sonnet, II. 308—309.—*like Alcestis from the grave, whom Jove's great son,* &c. The reference is to the beautiful drama of *Alkestis* by Euripides, where it is told how the brave god Herakles, Jove's great son, brought back the dead Alkestis from her grave, and restored her to her husband Admetus. The story is accessible now to English readers in the fine transcript of it, with poetic comments, in Mr. Browning's *Balaustion*.—"Purification in the Old Law": a reference to the regulations of the Mosaic Law in Levit.



xii.—“*Her face was veiled.*” See, for the significance of this, Introd., II. 309; but perhaps there is a recollection also of Alkestis, as she was brought back to Admetus by Hercules.

“There is no telling how the hero twitched  
The veil off.”

says Mr. Browning in re-imagining that scene.

## TRANSLATIONS.

THE FIFTH ODE OF HORACE, LIB. I.—“*Plain in thy neatness?*” Warton objected to this translation, on the ground that Horace’s words “*simplex munditiis*” mean “plain in her dress, or, more periphrastically, in the manner of adorning herself.” But Milton, in the Latin copy of Horace’s ode printed parallel with his translation in the edition of 1673, adopts the reading “*simplex munditie;*” and to this his translation is exact.

PSALMS LXXX.—LXXXVIII.—See Introd., II. 310—315. Milton’s statement, in his note prefixed to his version of these Nine Psalms, being that he had translated punctiliously from the original Hebrew, and that all save the Italic phrases in his version were exact renderings of that original, I submitted the proof for this edition, with Milton’s marginal Hebrew notes and comments copied in it from the edition of 1673, to the Rev. Dr. A. B. Davidson, Professor of Hebrew in the New College, Edinburgh, with a request that he would report on the accuracy of the marginal notes, and on the amount of knowledge of Hebrew indicated by them. Dr. Davidson has favoured me with the following remarks:—

“P. 8. marg. 1: for *Be Sether* read *Besether* (one word) as in p. 9; marg. 2 [*Be* is a preposition, but is always attached to its word.]

“P. 9 marg. 3: *Tishphetu* would be more accurately pronounced *tishpetu* (*p* for *ph*); but probably the author wrote *ph*.

“P. 10 marg. 7: *Shifta* is read in the Hebrew Bible *Shofta* (*o*, not *i*). Probably *Shifta* is a mere misspelling. [Some verbs give *i* for *o* in this part; and, if an unpointed Bible had been used, the reading *shifta* might indicate not very accurate knowledge of the language. But the accuracy of the other words seems against this supposition.]

“The printing of the words is extremely accurate. The author must have had, I should say, a familiar acquaintance with the vocalized text; and some of his remarks—such as that on p. 11 marg. 7: “*neoth elohim* bears both”—indicate also familiarity with Hebrew idiom.

"Of course, in the transcription of Hebrew words *gn* represents the *Ayin*, and *j* is to be pronounced *y* as in Hallelujah."

While these remarks by a Hebrew scholar will suffice for the main professed feature of the Version of the Nine Psalms, the English reader may judge for himself of the poetical merits. (See Introduction, II. 313, and remember also Landor's remark that "Milton was never so much a regicide as when he lifted up his hand and smote King David.") One or two verbal notes may be added:—Ps. LXXX. 35, *haut*, for *haughty*, an old form, found in Spenser and Shakespeare, but nowhere else in Milton's poetry—*Ibid*, lines 14, 30, 78, the identical rhyme of *vouchsafe* and *safe*; and line 60 *vine* rhyming with *divine*. In the edition of 1673 *vouchsafe* is so spelt in lines 14 and 30, but *voutsafe* in line 78, as generally in *Par. Lost*.—Ps. LXXXVI. lines 26—28, the word "*works*" rhyming to itself.

PSALMS I.—VIII.—As was pointed out in the Introduction (II. 315, 316) the peculiarity in this version of the first Eight Psalms is that in each Psalm there is an experiment of a special metre. Psalm I. is in heroic couplets; Psalm II. in Italian tercets, or rhymes interlinked in threes, as in Dante's *Divina Commedia*; Psalm III. in a peculiar six-lined stanza; Psalm IV. in a different six-lined stanza; Psalm V. in a peculiar four-lined stanza; Psalm VI. in another kind of four-lined stanza; Psalm VII. in a six-lined stanza different from either of the previous six-lined stanzas; and Psalm VIII. in an eight-lined stanza. But in each metre there are irregularities and laxities. Observe the double rhymes "*nations*" "*congregations*" in Ps. II. 1—3; "*glory*" "*story*," and "*millions*" "*pavilions*" in Ps. III. 7, 8, and 15—18; "*unstable*" "*miserable*" in Ps. V. 25—27; "*reprehend me*" "*amend me*," and "*weeping*" "*keeping*" in Ps. VI. 1—4 and 17—20; "*under*," "*wonder*," "*asunder*," "*nation*," "*habitation*," "*foundation*," and "*offended*," "*bended*," "*intended*," in Ps. VII. 2—5, 25—30, and 44—47.—Note also, as peculiar verbal forms, "*sustain*" used substantively in Ps. III. 12; "*deject*" used adjectively Ps. VI. 3; and "*beareth*" for "*birth*" or "*production*," Ps. VII. 4 (compare *Par. Lost*, IX. 624, and note there).

SCRAPS FROM THE PROSE WRITINGS.—See Introd., II. 316, 317.

## THE LATIN POEMS.

"DE AUCTORE TESTIMONIA."—These five pieces of eulogium prefixed to the Latin Poems in the edition of 1645, and repeated in that of 1673, were a selection from complimentary testimonies which Milton had received from the Italian scholars and wits whose acquaintance he had, made during his residence in Italy in 1638-9 (General Introd., II. 161). His reception among these scholars and wits, especially in Florence, Rome, and Naples, had been most cordial; they had entertained him privately, and admitted him to the meetings of their "Academies," *i.e.* the Literary and Philosophical Debating Societies which then abounded in all the Italian cities; and the impression he had made on them, by his conversation, and by incidental specimens of his writing in Latin and Italian (for few, if any, of them knew English), had been quite extraordinary. This appears even through the extravagant Italian politeness of the written compliments they addressed to him before his departure back to England. Milton, while printing these compliments, notes their extravagance, but confesses to his pleasure in being able to produce to his countrymen such proofs of the estimation in which he had been held by honourable men abroad. There can be little doubt that one motive for printing them was a desire to counteract, as much as possible, that opinion of Milton which prevailed among his countrymen in 1645 in consequence of his numerous polemical writings of the four preceding years—the opinion, namely, that he was merely a fierce prose-pamphleteer, of extreme and revolutionary ideas (see General Introduction, Vol. II. pp. 166—168).—About the Neapolitan MANSO, the writer of the first of the five testimonies quoted, sufficient information has been given in the Introduction to the Latin Poem "*Mansus*" (II. 368—371). About the Roman SALSILLI, the writer of the second, there is similar information in the Introduction to the Latin Verses addressed to him (II. 366, 367). Of SELVAGGI, the writer of the third, nothing is known, save that he was probably a Roman. ANTONIO FRANCINI and CARLO DATI, the writers of the fourth and fifth, were Florentines, and leading spirits in the Literary Academies of Florence at the time of Milton's visit. Of all the Florentine group they were the two who seem to have recollected Milton most fondly, and whom he recollected most fondly. There is special mention of both by name in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, written immediately after his return to England (lines 136—138); and Dati, who was a very young man when Milton first saw him in Florence, was one of his correspondents afterwards. Three letters of the correspondence are extant—one in Latin from Milton to Dati, dated "London, April 21, 1647," and two in Italian from Dati to Milton, dated from Florence, "Nov. 1, 1647," and "Dec. 4, 1648."

## ELEGIARUM LIBER.

## ELEGIA PRIMA.

3. "*occidua Devæ Cestrensis ab orâ.*" See Introduction, II. 326, 327; and compare *Lycidas*, 55 and note there.

4. "*Vergivium . . . salum*": the Irish sea. Camden's *Britannia*, Warton says, had familiarized the name in Milton's time. Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, several times uses *Vergivian* as the name of the sea.

8. "*Debet, at unde brevi reddere jussa velit.*" A recollection, as Richardson noted, of Horace, *Od.* 1. iii. 5—8.

9. "*refluâ . . . undâ*": *i.e.* its tidal wave.

10. "*patria*," in the sense of "my native city."

11—20. "*Fam nec arundiferum,*" &c. These ten lines are supposed to convey the story of Milton's temporary rustication from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1626 (see Introd., II. 327, 328); and it seems impossible to evade that interpretation. The phrases most significant are "*dudum vetiti laris*," "*duri minas Magistri*," "*Cætera ingenio non subeunda meo*," "*exilium*," "*profugi nomen*," and "*exilii condicione*." It has indeed been proposed to construe the first of these phrases in a way different from that which has been usual with those who have read it with the story of the rustication in their minds. They (*e.g.* Cowper in his translation of the Elegy, and Warton, Todd, and Mr. Keightley) have taken "*lar*" to mean "college," or "college-chamber," and so have read the whole line thus: "Nor does any love of [longing for] my lately forbidden college-room vex me." But why, it has been asked, not take "*lar*" in its more direct sense of "home," "fireside," and so read the line thus: "Nor does longing for my lately forbidden home in London now vex me, as it used to do at Cambridge"—*i.e.* "Nor, now that I am back in London, have I any longer the feeling of home-sickness"? Plausible as this is, and more consistent than the other reading with the ordinary usage of *lar*, I am still not sure but the other reading is the right one. It seems to fit in better with the context; and that "*lar*" might have been used by Milton in the sense of college-room seems the likelier from his subsequent use of "*patrios penates*" for his father's house in London. Either way, the interpretation of this particular line leaves the other phrases untouched, and they contain sufficient allusion to some incident in Milton's college-life equivalent to rustication. "*Si sit hoc exilium*," &c., can hardly be understood otherwise.—In Buchanan's curious Elegy, entitled *Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiæ*, there is a distich not unlike lines 15, 16:—

“ Quid memorem interea fastidia mille laborum,  
Quæ non ingenuâ mente ferenda putes? ”

21—24. “ *O utinam vates . . . ille,* ” &c. Milton's fondness for Ovid finds here very exaggerated expression.

29—36. “ *Seu catus,* ” &c. On these eight lines Warton remarks that the comedies hinted at are rather the Terentian than those of the contemporary English stage. “ It is the view of a scholar, and he does not recollect that he set out with describing a London theatre. ”

35, 36. “ *Sæpe novos,* ” &c. Richardson compared two lines in Claudian's *De Nuptiis Honorii et Mariæ*, 3, 4 :—

“ Nec novus unde calor nec quid suspiria vellent  
Noverat incipiens, et adhuc ignarus amandi ; ”

and also Ovid's lines, *Met.* iv. 329, 330 :—

“ pueri rubor ora notavit  
Nescia quid sit amor ; sed et erubuisse decebat. ”

37, 38. “ *Sive cruentatum furiosa Tragedia,* ” &c. See note, *Penseroso*, 97—102.

40. “ *lacrymis dulcis amaror.* ” So Catullus (*Ad Manlium*) :—

“ Quæ dulcem curis miscet amaritiem. ”

41, 42. “ *Seu puer infelix,* ” &c. Shakespeare's *Romeo* ?

43, 44. “ *Seu ferus e tenebris,* ” &c. In Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or his *Richard III.* ?

45, 46. “ *Seu mæret Pelopeia,* ” &c. He reverts now to Greek Tragedy.

49, 50. “ *Nos quoque lucus habet,* ” &c. The allusion does not seem to be, as Warton fancied, to any country-house of Milton's father, nearer town than the house at Horton he afterwards occupied ; for, as Mr. Keightley asks, what could have brought there the *Virgineos choros* of line 52 ? Some suburban place of public resort, such as Gray's Inn Garden, or one of the Parks, seems to be intended. Kensington Gardens would be about the present equivalent.

54. “ *possit.* ” So in Second edition, changed from “ *posset* ” in First.

58. “ *via.* ” The more natural construction would have been “ *viam* ” ; but there are classic precedents for Milton's form.

65. “ *Achæmeniae turritâ fronte puellæ.* ” According to Warton, Sandys in his *Travels*, first published in 1615, described the high head-dresses of the women of the part of Persia anciently called Achæmenia.

66. “ *Memnoniamque Ninon.* ” Mr. Keightley observes that it was Susa, and not Ninos or Nineveh, that was called “ the Memnonian city ” by Herodotus.

69, 70. "*Nec Pompeianas Tarpeia Musa*," &c. The "Tarpeia Musa" is here used for the Roman poets generally, or more expressly for Ovid, whose house was near the Tarpeian Rock, and who, in his *Art. Amat. Lib.* 1., recommended Roman gentlemen in pursuit of beauty to walk slowly up and down in the shade of Pompey's Portico, if they did not object to the *sera et sapientior ætas* of the ladies they were likely to see there, but above all never to miss the theatres.

73. "*Tuque urbs Dardaniis, Londinum*," &c. London, in the British legends, was founded by the Trojan settlers who came in with Brutus, and was first called Trinovantum or New Troy.

77—80. "*Non tibi tot cælo*," &c. An expansion of Ovid's, *Art. Amat.* 1. 59:—

"Quot cælum stellas, tot habet tua Roma puellas."

84. "*et roseam posthabitura Cypron*." The phrase is from the *Æneid*, 1. 15:—

"Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam  
Posthabitâ coluisse Saino."

87, 88. "*Circes atria . . . Molyos*," &c. See notes, *Comus*, 46—50, 636, 637.

89, 90. "*Stat quoque*," &c. See note *antè*, lines 11—20. Whatever was the nature of Milton's absence from Cambridge for a while in the second year of his undergraduateship, it is certain that it did not involve the loss of even one term in his undergraduate course. The "*stat*," therefore, may imply "It has been satisfactorily arranged that I return," &c.

92. "*alternos . . . modos*," *i.e.* the alternate Hexameters and Pentameters of the Elegy.

## ELEGIA SECUNDA.

1, 2. "*baculo fulgente . . . ciere gregem*." See Introduction to the Elegy, II. 328, 329.

5, 6. "*plumis sub quibus accipimus delituisse Jovem*," *i.e.* the swan-plumage of Jupiter when he wooed Leda. Warton quotes Ovid's line (*Heroides*, VIII. 68):—

"Nec querar in plumis delituisse Jovem."

7, 8. "*Hæmonio juvenescere succo . . . in Æsonios . . . dies*." A recollection of Medea's occupation in Ovid's *Met.* VII. 264, 265:—

"Illic Hæmoniâ radices valle resectas,  
Seminaque, floresque, et succos incoquit acres,"

and of the subsequent description of the result of the process, when



Æson, the old father of Jason, had the magical decoction poured into his veins by Medea, and was straightway made young again. See also *Com.* 638, and note there; and compare *Mansus*, 75.

9, 10. "*Dignus quem . . . Coronides.*" Another Ovidian reference; more especially, as Mr. Keightley has noted, to *Fast.* vi. 745 *et seq.* Æsculapius, the god of medicine, son of Apollo, but here, after Ovid, called Coronides because his mother was Coronis, restored to life Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, whose death had greatly vexed Diana. "*Multum indignante Diana,*" Ovid's phrase for the goddess's anger at the death, suggests to Milton the "*sæpe rogante deâ*" in the matter of the resuscitation.

12. "*Phæbo*": the Vice-Chancellor of the University?

13—16. "*Talis in Iliacâ,*" &c. In the allusions in these lines Warton discerns proofs of Milton's early familiarity with Homer. The Eurybates of lines 15, 16, is one of the heralds of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* sent to the court of Achilles to demand Briseis (*I.* 320 *et seq.*); but Mr. Keightley questions the accuracy of the Homeric reference in the two preceding lines to the god Hermes (called *Cyrenius* from his temple in mount Cyllene in Arcadia). "We are unable," he says, "to find any instance of Hermes being sent to the palace of Priam; for in the only two instances (*Il.* ii. 786; xxiv. 160) it is Iris that is sent." In this second instance, however, after Iris had delivered Jove's message to the afflicted Priam in his palace, and encouraged him to go forth for the recovery of the dead body of Hector, slain by Achilles, it is Hermes that is specially despatched to complete the mercy by guiding Priam to the tent of Achilles (*Il.* xxiv. 334 *et seq.*). When Hermes encounters the old king he is certainly no longer in his palace, but in the plain outside Ilium, driving through the darkness in his chariot towards the Greek entrenchment and ships. In the phrase "*in Iliacâ stabat Cyllenius aulâ,*" therefore, Milton does take a liberty with the Homeric text.

19. "*pondus inutile terre.*" A literal translation of Homer's phrase *ἔρῳσιον ἄχθος ἀποέρης* (*Il.* xviii. 104).

21. "*Academia.*" Here, as well as in the only other instance of the use of the word in Milton's Latin poems (Epilogue to Eleg. VII.), the penult is made short, against the usual practice

### ELEGIA TERTIA. .

3—8. "*Protinus en subiit,*" &c. The reference in these six lines is to the ravages of the Plague in England in 1625 and 1626, mentioned also in the poem *On the Death of a Fair Infant* (see line 68 of that poem,

and Introd. to it, II. 189). Among the thousands who had died of the Plague (35,417 in London and its neighbourhood alone, according to Whitlocke) there were not a few persons of rank. The mortality by this cause had fallen greatly by the beginning of 1626; but in September or October in that year, when this Elegy was written, the horror was still of recent memory.

9—12. "*Tunc memini*," &c. The other recent calamities, which Milton here represents himself as remembering in September or October 1626, were the deaths of some of the conspicuous champions of Protestantism on the Continent in that early stage of the great Thirty Years' War the object of which was the recovery of the Palatinate for its hereditary Prince-Elector, nominally "King of Bohemia," husband of the English Elizabeth, daughter of James I. The "*clarus dux*" and his "*frater verendus*" of lines 9, 10, may be, as Sir David Dalrymple suggested to Warton, the young Duke Christian of Brunswick and Count Mansfeldt, chivalrous supporters of the Palatinate cause (called "brothers," as having been "brothers-in-arms"), both of whom died in 1626, the former by poison; the "*heroes rapti*" and "*amissi duces*" of lines 11, 12, lamented by all Belgia, may, on the same suggestion, include Henry Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford, who died at the siege of Breda in 1625. He was a relative of the more celebrated Sir Horace Vere, on whom, and his English troops, much of the hard work in the Palatinate had rested from 1620 to 1624, but who had returned to England in this latter year (to be created Baron of Tilbury in 1625), and may therefore count also among the "*amissi duces*" of the Low Countries at that epoch.

13. "*dignissime Præsul*." See Introduction, II. 329, 330.

21. "*fluvio contermina quercus*." *Conterminus*, as Warton pointed out, is a favourite word with Ovid; and in one passage (*Met.* viii. 620) he has the phrase "*tiliæ contermina quercus*."

22. "*prætereuntis aquæ*." The exact phrase occurs, as Todd noted, in the second of Buchanan's Latin Elegies.

30. "*Semideamque animam*," &c. Compare *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, line 21.

32. "*Roscidus occiduis Hesperus exit aquis*." Ovid has "*Hesperus roscidus*" in *Fasti*, II. 314; and "*Eois Lucifer exit aquis*," in *Epist. ex Ponto*, II. v. 50. The observation is Warton's. Mr. Keightley adds that the second passage may have led Milton into an astronomical error here. As Lucifer rises in Ovid out of the Eastern waters, why should not Hesperus rise out of the Western? "This," says Mr. Keightley, "is an impossibility, for the Evening Star is always to the east of the Sun."

33. "*Tartessiaco . . . æquore*," i.e. in the Atlantic, beyond Tartessus, the southern district of Spain, to the west of the Pillars of Hercules. *Tartessius* is Ovid's adjective (*Met.* xiv. 416): "Presserat occiduis Tartessia littora Phœbus"; but Warton finds *Tartessiacus* in Martial, and in Buchanan's Latin Poems.

41. "*Thaumantia proles*," i.e. Iris, the Rainbow-goddess, the daughter of Thaumas, who was the son of Pontus and Ge.

43, 44. "*Non dea . . hortos Alcinoi Zephyro Chloris amata*." The Greek goddess *Chloris* is the Roman *Flora*; and how she became the wife of *Zephyrus* is told by Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 195 *et seq.* :—

"Chloris eram, quæ Flora vocor. Corrupta Latino  
Nominis est nostri littera Græca sono.  
Chloris eram, Nymphe campi felicitis, ubi audis  
Rem fortunatam ante fuisse viris. . . .  
Ver erat : errabam : Zephyrus conspexit ; abibam ;  
Insequitur ; fugio. Fortior ille fuit. . . .  
Vim tamen emendat dando mihi nomina nuptæ."

The particular gardens over which Milton here fancies Chloris or Flora lavishing her colours are those of Alcinous, the happy king of the Phæacians in the *Odyssey*. Compare *Par. Lost*, V. 340, 341, and IX. 439—441 ; and see also *Eleg.* IV. 34—36.

46. "*Ditior Hesperio flavet arena Tago*." The Tagus in Spain was celebrated for its golden sands. Ovid, describing the effects of Phaethon's fiery course in heaven on the various rivers, particularizes that on the Tagus thus (*Met.* II. 251):—

"Quodque suo Tagus amne vehit fluit ignibus aurum."

47. "*Favoni*": i.e. of Zephyrus. See Sonnet XX.

49, 50. "*Talis in extremis terræ Gangetidis oris Luciferi regis*," &c. Warton, imagining the *Lucifer rex* to be the Lucifer of *Paradise Lost*, i.e. Satan, whose palace is described there as being on the northern bounds of Heaven (V. 757 *et seq.*), could reconcile this passage with that only by a strained interpretation of "*in extremis terræ Gangetidis oris*" as implying a northern direction ; and, besides, he confessed that he could not find any fiction, such as Milton hints at, of a palace of Lucifer in those parts. But "*Lucifer rex*," as Steevens pointed out, is here not a name for Satan, but simply for the Sun or Light-bringer, whose home is placed by all poets in the far East. Ovid's description of the palace of Sol, at the beginning of *Met.* II., may have been in Milton's mind.

59. "*gemmatis . . . pennis*." Warton quotes from Ovid (*Remed. Am.* 39), "*movit Amor gemmatas aureus alas*."

63, 64. "*Nate, veni*," &c. Rev. xiv. 13. But compare the whole of this dream of Heaven in the Elegy, and vision of Bishop Andrewes glorified there, with the close of *Lycidas*, and also with the close of the *Epitaphium Damonis*.

### ELEGIA QUARTA.

1. "*Curre per immensum subito, mea littera, pontum*." Warton compares the beginning of Ovid's *Trist.*, III. 7 :—

"Vade salutatum subito perarata Perillam,  
Littera, sermonis fida ministra mei."

2. "*Teutonicos . . . agros*," i.e. Germany, where Young was.

3. "*Segnes rumpe moras*." Quoted *verbatim*, as Mr. Keightley notes, from Virgil, *Georg.* III. 42, 43.

5, 6. "*Sicanio frænantem carcere ventos Æolon*." Copied, as Warton noted, from Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 224 :—

"Æolon Hippotaden frænantem carcere ventos ;"

where, however, *cohibentem* appears for *frænantem* in some editions. See also Virgil, *Æn.* I. 52—54.—"*Sicanio*," because the Island of Lipara (Lipari), where, in most accounts, Æolus had his residence and cave, was off the Sicilian coast. So Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 416, 417 :—

"Insula Sicanium juxta latus Æoliamque  
Erigitur Liparen."

6. "*virides . . . Deos*" : i.e. the ocean-gods, represented as green-haired.

7. "*Cærulcamque . . . Dorida*" : i.e. Doris, the wife of Nereus, and mother of the Nereids, or sea-nymphs : hence, as here, the sea-queen.—All this mythological circumstance about the conveyance of a ship-letter suggests the hazards of the sea-post in those days, and the anxiety with which the sender of such a letter imagined it on its way.

10—12. "*Vecta quibus Colchis . . . aut queis Triptolemus, . . . Eleusinâ missus ab urbe*," &c. *Colchis* (the Colchian) is Medea, one of whose exploits was her flight from Corinth and her faithless husband Jason to Athens in a chariot drawn by winged dragons. *Triptolemus*, a native of Eleusis, and the inventor of agriculture, had such another dragon-drawn chariot, given to him by Demeter or Ceres, in which he rode from his native land over the earth, distributing the blessings of husbandry, even to the Scythian coasts. Warton cites Ovid, *Met.* v. 648, 649 :—

"Jam super Europen sublimis et Asida terram  
Vectus erat juvenis, Scythicasque advertitur oras ;"

and refers to another passage (*Trist.* III. viii. 1—4) where Ovid conjoins the chariot of Triptolemus with that of Medea, wishing he had them both for his own use, that he might revisit his native land.—Milton certainly studs the beginning of his letter thickly enough with mythological allusions. He was but nineteen years of age, and he was writing to his old preceptor in the classics.

14. "*Hamburgæ*." See Introduction, II. 330, 331.

15, 16. "*ab Hamâ*," &c. According to Warton, "Krantzius, a Gothic geographer, says that the city of Hamburg in Saxony took its name from Hama, a puissant Saxon champion, who was killed on the spot where that city stands by Starchater, a Danish giant." Hence the *Cimbrica clava* of line 16.

18. "*Præsul*": the same title as had been given to Bishop Andrewes in the last Elegy, and a very honourable title to give to Young, who was only chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburg. Was there any early Presbyterian feeling in this selection of the same designation for the Chaplain as for the Bishop?

19, 20. "*Ille quidem*," &c. A recollection of Horace's well-known words about Virgil, "*animæ dimidium meæ*" (*Od.* I. iii. 8).

23—28. "*Charior ille mihi quàm*," &c. Here is another bunch of historical and mythological allusions to please his old preceptor:—First Young is dearer to Milton than Socrates, the wisest of the Greeks, was to his pupil, Alcibiades, the son of Clinias, and descended from the famous Ajax, the son of Telamon; then he is dearer than Aristotle was to *his* pupil, Alexander the Great, whose mother was Olympias (called *Chaonis* from Chaonia, a district of her native country Epirus), and his reputed father Philip, but his real father Jupiter Ammon or Lybian Jove; and, finally, Milton's regard for Young is such as Achilles, King of the Myrmidones, had for *his* two instructors—viz. (1) Phoenix, King of the Dolopes, and son of Amyntor, and (2) Cheiron, the best of the Centaurs, and the son of Cronos and the nymph Philyra.—Did Milton carry all the names and synonyms in his memory, or did he help himself with a Dictionary as he wrote? For lines 27, 28, at all events, he helped himself, as Warton noted, with recollections from Ovid—*Art. Amat.* I. 11 and 337, *Met.* II. 676 (where Cheiron is expressly called "*Philyreius heros*"), and *Fasti*, v. 379 *et seq.* (where "*Philyreius heros*" occurs again). Here, as all through the Elegies, Milton's special acquaintance with Ovid appears.

29—32. "*Primus ego Aonios*," &c. Of this interesting acknowledgment by Milton of his obligations to Young's teaching it has been remarked by Mr. Keightley that the use of the word "*primus*" is rather awkward. In strict idiom it would imply that Milton was the first or chief of Young's pupils, not that he was first a pupil of Young's. May not Milton, however, have had something of the first sense in his mind?



33—38. "*Flammeus at signum ter*," &c. The dating in this passage has to be noted. Thrice, says Milton, had the flaming *Æthon* (one of the four heroes of the Sun, according to the enumeration in Ovid's *Met.* II. 153, 154) seen the sign of the Ram, and clothed its woolly back with new gold; and twice had Chloris or Flora (see note, *Eleg.* III. 43, 44) overspread the old earth with new herbage; and twice had Auster, the South-wind, removed Flora's wealth; nor yet in this interval had it been permitted him to see Young's face, or hear him speak. Literally translated, this means that three vernal equinoxes, or 21sts of March, two summers, and two falls of the year, had passed since Milton and Young last met. Now, the present *Elegy* is headed by Milton himself "*Anno ætatis 18*;" and, by the analogy of his similar datings of other pieces (see Introductions to *Elegiæ* II. and III., and to *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, and to *In obit. Procanc. Med.* among the *Sylvæ*), this has to be translated "At eighteen years of age," so as to fix 1627 as the year of the composition of the *Elegy*. That, accordingly, is the date assumed in the Introduction to it (II. 330—332). If, then, the dating as above; by the three equinoxes, &c., has to be back from that point, we are referred to about February or early March 1624-5 as the time when Milton had last seen Young, and the present *Elegy* must have been composed about April 1627. Here, however, a puzzle arises. The first of Milton's Latin *Familiar Epistles* is one to Young, and is dated "London, March 26, 1625" (see *Introd.*, II. 331, 332); and in that *Epistle* Milton apologizes to Young for not having written to him for more than three years (*quod autem hoc plusquam triennio nunquam ad te scripserim, quæso, &c.*). He also speaks of his regret at Young's absence, and accounts for his neglect of correspondence by the very pain caused by the thought that one so dear and so often in his imagination should be actually separated from him by so long a tract of intervening earth ("*quam longinquo a me distes terrarum intervallo*"). This corroborates the idea, otherwise consistent with facts, that Young had ceased his preceptorship to Milton, and gone abroad as a preacher, if not to assume his chaplaincy in Hamburg, early in 1622. But how, then, are we to reconcile the two datings—that of the *Familiar Epistle*, which sends Young abroad in 1622, and says that for more than three years after that Milton had never written to him; and that of this *Elegy*, which says that Milton had not seen Young for about two years and a month, *i.e.*, according to the date of the composition of the *Elegy* itself, since March or February 1625? Two suppositions present themselves:—(1) Milton may have misdated his *Elegy* from hazy recollection; and it may actually have been written and sent to Young at Hamburg about the same time as the Latin *Familiar Epistle*, *i.e.* in March 1625. What lends plausibility to this supposition is the fact that in the *Familiar Epistle* Milton does speak of a metrical composition which he meant to accompany it. "Although I had resolved with myself, most excellent Preceptor," so the letter opens, "to send



you an Epistle composed in metrical numbers, yet I did not think I had done enough unless I also wrote something else in prose ; for truly the boundless and singular gratitude of my mind, which your deserts justly claim from me, was not to be expressed in that cramped mode of speech, straitened by fixed feet and syllables, but by a free oration, nay rather, were it possible, by an Asiatic exuberance of words." This distinctly implies that Milton had then a metrical Epistle to Young on hand, and it rather implies that Young was to receive it with the Prose Letter. Unless, then, there was some other metrical Epistle to Young, now lost, may not this *Elegia Quarta* be the very Epistle announced in the Prose Letter? But, if so, is it likely that it would have been delayed for two years and more? Or, even if "*anno ætatis* 18" is interpreted "in his eighteenth year," in violence of the analogy of other pieces, so as to date the Elegy 1626, would not the delay of a year and more, which would still be involved between the Elegy and the Epistle announcing it, be rather inconceivable? On the whole, then, may we not suppose that this Elegy was composed in March 1625-6, and sent to Hamburg with the Epistle, but afterwards accidentally misdated by Milton when he published it in 1645? (2) It may be maintained that the dating of the Elegy, 1627, is correct, and that the discrepancy of three years between the time it seems to assign to Young's departure from England and the time which the *Familiar Epistle* seems to assign to the same event can be reconciled. It would be reconciled by the supposition of a temporary visit by Young to England precisely before March 1625, when the Prose Epistle was written. There is nothing inconsistent between this supposition and the language of the Prose Epistle. On the contrary, that Epistle may be read as if it had been evoked, not by a letter from Young at Hamburg complaining that, for more than three years, *i.e.* since the beginning of 1622, when Young had gone abroad, Milton had never written to him, but by a mild personal remonstrance to the same effect when the preceptor and the pupil met again in London. It may be supposed that Milton, affected by this remonstrance, did not let much time pass after Young's return to Hamburg without making up for the long previous silence by an Epistle to be sent after him, and to be accompanied by a Poem. Then, however, two years and a month or so did pass, during which Milton relapsed into neglect of correspondence with his old teacher ; and not till about April 1627 is he again so smitten with a sense of this neglect as to write again. Then, however, he *is* so smitten ; and, to make amends, he sends the Elegy, now numbered *Elegia Quarta* and dated 1627. The calculation in that Elegy, that three spring equinoxes, two summers, and two autumns, had passed since he had *seen* Young, would then be literally exact, although Young had first gone abroad in 1622. But what of the Poem promised to Young in the Letter of March 1625? Either that Poem had then been duly sent with the Letter, in which case it is now lost, and the present *Elegia Quarta* is a totally new one ;

or Milton had not then sent the Poem, but only the Prose Letter, and this *Elegia Quarta* is that identical promised Poem, meditated and perhaps begun in 1625, but not finished till 1627, when, with the necessary modifications for lapse of time, it is made to do duty as a second missive to Young at Hamburg, with a repetition of apologies. The very apologies made in the Elegy (see lines 49—68) are capable of this latter construction. "When I wrote to you on March 26, 1625, shortly after my last sight of you in England," these apologies may be prosaically interpreted, "I mentioned to you a composition in verse which I intended should accompany the letter: to my shame be it said, I never sent it, and two years and a month have again elapsed since you have heard from me either in prose or in verse; but here at last is my Elegy, sincere though delayed, begging forgiveness."——Having presented the two alternatives as fairly as I can, I will only add that, though by no means assured, I incline to the second, in the second of its two forms: viz. that there were not two Elegies to Young, but that the present *Elegia Quarta* is the redemption in 1627 of the promise of an Elegy made in the Prose Epistle of 1625. This gets rid of two difficulties at once. It gets rid of the supposition that Milton had lost one of his Latin Elegies; which is inconsistent with the known care with which he preserved his MSS. It gets rid also of the supposition that Milton misdated the *Elegia Quarta*, and misdated it by more than two years—a supposition inconsistent with his accuracy in such matters, and not justified by the slighter case of proved error in the dating of the first piece of his *Sylvæ* (see Introd. to that piece). Also, I think the style of the *Elegia Quarta* stronger and more mature than we could suppose in a poem written by Milton in March 1625, when he was but sixteen years old complete, and had just gone to Cambridge, and which would therefore have to rank as actually the first of his preserved compositions, in Latin or in English, after his juvenile paraphrases of two of the Psalms, and as preceding any other piece by a whole year. On the other hand, adhesion to the date 1627 necessitates the supposition, for which there is no other authority at present, that Young had paid a visit to England in 1624-5, some three years after his first going abroad in 1622; for the statement in an Elegy of 1627, that two years and a month had elapsed since Milton had seen Young and heard the sound of his voice, is otherwise inexplicable.

41—46. "*Invenies dulci cum conjuge,*" &c. An adaptation, as Warton observed, of Ovid's lines (*Trist.* III. vii. 3, 4):—

"Aut illam invenies dulci cum matre sedentem,  
Aut inter libros Pieridasque suas."

The preceding lines of the same Elegy had already been in Milton's mind (see note to line 1).

49. "*Hæc quoque, paulum oculos in humum defixa modestos.*" Also, as Warton observed, from Ovid (*Amor.* III. vi. 67):—

"Dixerat. Illa oculos in humum dejecta modestos," &c.

53—68. "*Accipe sinceram, quamvis sit sera,*" &c. On the significance of this apology see preceding note, lines 33—38.

55, 56. "*quam casta recepit Icaris,*" &c. The allusion is to Penelope (called *Icaris Penelopeia*, because she was the daughter of Icarus), as she is represented by Ovid (*Heroid.* i. 1), writing to her long absent husband Ulysses:—

"Hanc tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Ulix.  
Nil mihi rescribas ut tamen : ipse veni."

61. "*Tu modo da veniam fasso*" : a frequent expression with Ovid. Thus "*Da veniam fasso*" in *Epist. ex Pont.*, IV. ii. 23 and in several other places cited by Warton.

65. "*sarissiferi . . . Thracis*" : the pike-bearing Thracian. The *sarissa*, as Warton notes, was a Macedonian weapon, and is mentioned by Ovid (*Met.* XII. 466), "*Macedoniâque sarissâ.*"

71—82. "*Nam vaga Fama refert,*" &c. I cannot better annotate this passage, respecting the perilous condition of Hamburg, and of Young in it, at the date of the Elegy, than by quoting Mr. Carlyle's condensed account, in his *History of Frederick the Great* (ed. 1869, vol. I. p. 211), of what he calls the "Second Act" of the Thirty Years' War:—"Except in the '*Nether-Saxon circle*' (distant North-west "region, with its Hanover, Mecklenburg, with its rich Hamburgs, "Lübecks, Magdeburgs, all Protestant, and abutting on the Protestant "North), trembling Germany lay ridden over as the Kaiser willed. "Foreign League got up by France, King James, Christian IV. of "Denmark (James's brother-in-law, with whom he had such a "drinking' in Somerset House, long ago, on Christian's visit hither), "went to water, or worse. Only the '*Nether-Saxon Circle*' showed "some life ; was levying an army ; and had appointed Christian of "Brunswick its Captain, till he was poisoned [see note, *Eleg.* III. "9—12];—upon which the drinking King of Denmark took the com- "mand. Act *Second* goes from 1624 to 1627 or even '29 ; and "contains Drunken Christian's Exploits. Which were unfortunate, "almost to the ruin of Denmark itself, as well as of the Nether-Saxon "Circle ;—till in the latter of these years he slightly rallied, and got a "supportable Peace granted him (Peace of Lübeck, 1629) ; after which "he sits quiet, contemplative, with an evil eye upon Sweden now and "then. The beatings he got, in quite regular succession, from Tilly "and Consorts, are not worth mentioning."—Such, seen through the telescope of History, was the warlike turmoil in North Saxony the contemporary rumour of which alarmed Milton for Young's safety in

Hamburg, and drew these ten lines from his pen. The lines themselves do not seem to fix, in any absolute manner, the question of date discussed in the previous note (33—38). Any time between 1624 and 1627 the countries of the Lower Elbe were the scene of war between the Imperialists under Tilly and the Protestants of the Saxon union with Christian of Denmark as their ally; and all that time Hamburg was more or less in danger. The closer gathering round Hamburg, and the immediate chance of a siege of that city, pointed at in lines 73—76, may belong either to 1626 or to 1627; in both which years the tremendous Wallenstein, with his horde from all nations, co-operated with Tilly in those parts.

75. "*Enyo*": the goddess of War in the Greek mythology, delighting in bloodshed and the sieges of towns.

77, 78. "*suum concessit Thracia Martem . . . Odrysios . . . equos.*" The warlike character of the Thracian tribes led to the belief that Thrace was the especial habitation of Ares or Mars; and the *Odrysæ* were a specially ferocious Thracian tribe, that might well supply the god with horses.

80. "*ærissonam Diva perosa tubam*": the goddess Eirene, or Peace.

84. "*solus inopsque.*" From Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 217, as Warton remarked:—

"Solus, inops, expes, leto poenæque relictus."

87—104. "*Patria, dura parens,*" &c. This passage has been construed by Warton and all the commentators as an outbreak, in academic language, of Milton's early Puritanism, or disgust with that system of ecclesiastical tyranny in England which, before 1640, had driven so many scores of non-conforming ministers of the Gospel, with thousands of their adherents, into exile in Holland, or elsewhere on the Continent, and even to the New-England colonies in America. Now, as there had been a continued persecution of extreme Puritanism in England, with expatriation of its representatives, since the reign of Elizabeth, something of this feeling *may* have been in Milton's mind when he wrote the passage. It is to be remembered, however, that it was written in 1627, or a year before Laud became Bishop of London, and six years before he became Archbishop of Canterbury, and that the main mass of the persecutions and expatriations of Puritans now remembered so keenly in the History of England lies within the period of Laud's rule in his Bishopric and Archbishopric—*i.e.* from 1628 onwards. Hence the prevalent feeling in the passage is to be taken rather as "O hard Britain, that drivest some of thine own children, and even faithful and eminent ministers of the Gospel among them, abroad for a livelihood!" than as "O cruel Episcopal England, that banishest, under the name of Puritans, so many of thy worthiest and most conscientious sons!" For such an exclamation as this last Milton was prepared when the time came; but



it had hardly yet come. Moreover, there is not the least reason to think that Young went abroad on account of persecution for his opinions or on other grounds of conscience. He was not a Separatist, like most of those whom persecution had driven abroad from 1590 to 1628. He went simply from stress of livelihood; and he returned to England, to be a Vicar in the Church of England, of Puritan opinions certainly, but not conspicuously troubled for them, during the whole time of that supremacy of Laud which filled Holland with Puritan exiles and colonized New England. Attention to dates will often save misconceptions.

97—100. "*vates terræ Thesbitidis*," &c.: i.e. Elijah the Tishbite. See 1 Kings xix. "*Sidoni dira*" (voc.) is Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, King of Sidon (1 Kings xvi. 31).

101, 102. "*Talis et . . . Paulus*," &c. See Acts xvi. 9—40. On "*Æmathiā*" for Macedonian see note, Sonnet "Captain or Colonel." In the reference to the scourging of St. Paul by the Macedonian magistrates of Philippi there can hardly be, as commentators have taken for granted, an allusion to the horrible punishments of Puritans by the English Star-Chamber under Charles I. The most famous cases of this kind were those of Leighton, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick. Now the public torture and mutilation of Dr. Alexander Leighton for his *Zion's Plea against Prelacy* did not occur till 1630; the punishment of Prynne for his *Histriomastix* was not till 1634; and the second punishment of Prynne with his fellow-offenders, Burton and Bastwick, was not till 1637.

103, 104. "*Piscosæque . . . Gergessæ*," &c. See Matt. viii. 28—34. "*Gergessa piscosa*," fishy Gergessa, is a picturesque name for "the country of the Gergesenes." Ovid (*Met.* x. 531) has "*Piscesamque Cnidon*."

113, 114. "*Ille Sionææ*," &c. The reference is to the destruction in one night of Sennacherib's Assyrian host before Jerusalem: 2 Kings xix. 35, 36. Strangely enough, as Mr. Keightley remarks, Warton and Todd missed this obvious fact, translated *Sionææ arx* into Samaria, and confused the Biblical reference in these two lines with that in the next eight.

115—122. "*Inque fugam vertit quos in Samaritidas oras*," &c. A poetic rendering, in brief, of 2 Kings vii. 3—10, where it is told how, on the panic of a miraculous noise of chariots and horses, as if of a great host, heard at night, the Syrians, with their King Ben-hadad, who were besieging Samaria and had almost reduced it by famine, fled to a man, leaving their camp desert. *Damascus* was the Syrian capital.

119. "*Cornea pulvereum dum verberat ungula campum*." Obviously an adaptation of Virgil's famous "*Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum*," but with a very successful variation in the studied sound "*um—dum*."

123. "*Et tu.*" Warton thought that for very obvious reasons the reading here ought to be "*At tu*"; and Mr. Keightley agrees with him. I see no reason for doing so. The connexion of meaning is "Just as those starving Samaritans were relieved in their despair by that miraculous panic among their Syrian besiegers, so do thou *also* keep up hope," &c.; and this connexion would be spoilt by the substitution of *At* for *Et*.

125, 126. "*Nec dubites,*" &c. The prophecy in these concluding lines was very soon fulfilled. See note *antè*, lines 87—104, and sketch of Young's subsequent life, *Introd.*, II. 333—335.

### ELEGIA QUINTA.

1. "*In se perpetuo Tempus revolubile gyro*": possibly a recollection, thinks Warton, of a line in Buchanan's *De Sphæra* :—

"In se præcipiti semper revolubilis orbe."

But another poem of Buchanan's, which Milton may more readily have had in recollection in this composition, is his Elegy "*Maiæ Calendæ*"; which is, in fact, just such another poem on the Approach of Spring as this of Milton's. There we have the line :—

"Dum renovat Maius senium revolubilis ævi."

Touches of resemblance may be discerned or supposed between Milton's Elegy and Buchanan's, as is natural from the identity of subject; but Milton's is the more luxuriously poetical.

5—8. "*Fallor? an,*" &c. See, on the peculiar use of the figure of repetition in these lines, note to *Comus*, lines 221—224; and compare *Eleg.* VII. 56, and the Epigram *In Prod. Bomb.* 3.

6—8. "*Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest,*" &c. Warton here observes "There is a notion that Milton could write verses only in the Spring or Summer, which perhaps is countenanced by these passages. But what poetical mind does not feel an expansion or invigoration at the return of the Spring?" Unfortunately, Milton's own information, in his later years, to his nephew Phillips, was the very reverse of this. It was "that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal": *i.e.* from Sept. 21st to March 21st (Phillips's *Memoir* in 1694). If this is true, the approach of Spring actually checked Milton's *ingenium*. But that refers to about 1663, when Milton was between fifty and sixty years of age; and we are now at 1629, when he was but twenty.

9, 10. "*Castalis,*" &c. *Castalia* is the ordinary form of the word; but Buchanan has *Castalis unda* (the Castalian fount) in his First Elegy. The "*bifidumque cacumen*" is, of course, Mount Parnassus; *Pirene* is



the famous fountain of Corinth. Mr. Keightley suggests that, as Pegasus came to drink at Pirene, the young poet probably confounded it with Hippocrene, produced by a stroke of the hoof of the same Pegasus on Mount Helicon. The suggestion seems unnecessary. Pirene itself had reputation as a fountain favoured by the Muses, and might be associated with the Castalian Fount and Mount Parnassus. Thus Persius, in the Prologue to his *Satires*, which Milton may have had in his mind :—

“Nec fonte labra prolui Caballino [Hippocrene],  
Neque in bicipiti somniâsse Parnasso  
Memini, ut repente sic poeta prodirem;  
Heliconidasque pallidamque Pirenen  
Illis remitto quorum imagines lambunt  
Hederæ sequaces.”

13. “*Penëide lauro*” : with laurel from the Thessalian stream, Peneius.

19, 20. “*Intuiturque animus*,” &c. Todd very fitly compares the famous passage in Shakespeare (*Mids. N. Dr.* V. 1), “The poet’s eye, in a fine phrenzy,” &c.

25, 26. “*Philomela . . . foliis adoperta novellis . . . dum silet omne nemo*” : almost exactly the first two lines of the Sonnet “*To the Nightingale*.”

27. “*Urbe ego*,” i.e. Milton is writing in London.

30. “*perennis*.” So in the edition of 1673. In that of 1645 the word was “*quotannis*” ; which was a blunder of quantity, the last syllable being long. The blunder had not escaped Salmasius, and others interested in finding fault with Milton’s Latinity.

31, 32. “*Jam sol, Æthiopus . . . Tithoniaque arva . . . ad Arctos*,” &c. As by “*Æthiopus*” Milton here meant the South, so, by “*Tithonia arva*” Mr. Keightley supposes he meant the East. “After the vernal equinox” adds Mr. Keightley, “the sun rises to the north of east.”—“*aurea lora*” is quoted by Warton from Ovid (*Art. Amat.* i. 550).

35. “*Lycaonius . . . Bootes*.” Mr. Keightley remarks, “This is not a proper expression for Bôotes, which had nothing to do with Lycaon, whose daughter was turned into the *plaustrum cæleste*.” But Milton had strict mythological authority. Although the northern constellation Bôotes was represented by some as the stellified Icarus, by others he was represented as the stellified Arcas, the Eponymic hero of the Arcadians ; and this Arcas, in some mythologies, was that very son of Lycaon whose flesh was served up by his father before Zeus, and whom the disgusted God restored to life, while he destroyed the rest of the house of Lycaon. In that case, he was a brother of Callisto *alias* Helice, daughter of Lycaon, who was stellified as the Greater Bear, or northern wain, or Arctos. Even if Arcas is taken, not as the son of Lycaon, but as the son of Callisto or Helice by Zeus (which is one

form of the myth), he was still *Lycaonian*, as being the grandson of Lycaon; and so anyway Milton hits right in the jumble. Both Bōōtes (Arcas, son or grandson of Lycaon) and Arctos, the *plaustrum cæleste* or Northern Wain (Callisto or Helice, daughter of Lycaon and sister or mother of Arcas), were Lycaonian offshoots up in heaven; and the only question, in this passage, is whether Bōōtes regarded the "*plaustrum cæleste*" which he was following as his sister or as his mother. See Ovid, *Met.* II. 466—507; also note to *L'Allegro*, line 80. Martial (IV. III. 5, 6) conjoins the two constellations:—

"Sidus Hyperborci solitus lassare Bōōtæ,  
Et madidis Helicen dissimulare comis."

43. "*caruisti . . . puellâ.*" Warton noted the expression as from Ovid, *Art. Amat.* II. 249.

49—52. "'*Desere,*' Phæbus ait," &c. Warton compares this passage with Ovid, *Amor.* I. XIII. 35—40. The aged husband of Aurora or Eos is Tithonus; her lover, the *Æolides venator*, is Cephalus, son of Æolus, the "Attic boy" of *Penseroso*, 124. She saw him first hunting on Mount *Hymettus*. Ovid (*Met.* VI. 681) calls him "*Æolides Cephalus.*"

58. "*Pandit ut omni-feros luxuriosa sinus*": not unlike Buchanan's line in his *Elegy* on May above mentioned:—

"Omni-feros pandens copia larga sinus."

61, 62. "*Ecce, coronatur . . . Idæam pinea turris Opim*": i.e. the lofty forehead of the Earth is crowned with wood, as that of Ops, or Cybele, the goddess of fertility, the great all-bearing mother, is crowned with a tower of pines. For the "towered Cybele" see note *Arcad.* 20—25. Tibullus, as Warton noted, has the phrase "*Idææ Opis*" (I. IV. 68); and this may have suggested the pines of Mount Ida for the crown of the goddess.

65, 66. "*Floribus . . . Tænario placuit diva Sicana Deo.*" The "*Tænarius Deus*" is Pluto, so-called from the black cavern, in the promontory of Tænarus in Laconia, which was regarded as one of the mouths of Hell, and up through which Hercules dragged the hell-dog Cerberus. He carried off the *diva Sicana*, or Sicilian goddess, Proserpine, as she was gathering flowers.

74. "*hinc titulos adjuvat ipsa tuos*": because Phœbus was also the God of Medicine.

83. "*Tethy . . . Tartesside lymphâ.*" *Tethys* is the ocean generally; the "*Tartessis lymphâ*" is the Tartessian sea, the sea west of the Spanish Tartessus, the Atlantic. See note, *Eleg.* III. 33.

91. "*Semeleia fata*": the fate of Semele, who was burnt up by the presence of Jove in his full godhead.

93. "*sapientius*": *i.e.* more wisely than when you intrusted your chariot to Phaethon: an ingenious linking, as Warton remarked, of this speech of Tellus to Phœbus in Milton's Elegy with the speech of the same goddess to the same god in Ovid (*Met.* II. 272 *et seq.*), where she complains of her horrible scorching by Phaethon's escapade.—"*Cum*" in the same line is simply "when;" and "tu" and "tuo" are slyly emphatic.

108. "*Puniceum . . . crocum.*" See *L'Allegro*, 124, and note there.

119. "*sera crepuscula.*" Warton quotes Ovid, *Met.* I, 219:—

"Ingredior, traherent cum sera crepuscula noctem."

122. "*Semicaperque Deus, semideusque caper.*" Warton, quoting from Ovid, has "*Semicaper Pan*" (*Met.* XIV. 515), and "*Semicaperve Deus*" (*Fast.* IV. 752); and Todd refers to Statius (*Theb.* VI. 112) for "*Semideumque pecus*," and to Ovid (*Art. Amat.* II. 24) for the line

"Semibovemque virum, semivirumque bovem."

125. "*Mænalius Pan.*" Mænalus was a mountain in Arcadia, the principal country of Pan; and hence he is called "Mænalius Deus" (Ovid, *Fast.* IV. 650). See *Arcad.*, 102, and note there.

129. "*cupit malè tecta videri*": from Virgil, *Ecl.* III. 66:—

"Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri."

135—140. "*Te referant . . . Jupiter.*" As Mr. Keightley remarks, there seems to be a heightening of the strain in this close of the poem. O that the Golden Age might return to the Earth, and spring be perpetual there!

## ELEGIA SEXTA.

10. "*Festaque cœlifugam quæ coluere Deum.*" Milton means simply "these December festivities of yours;" but he recollects that the Roman Saturnalia, or festivities in honour of Saturn, and of the golden days of primitive equality when this god resided on earth, were held in the middle of December.

17, 18. "*Sæpiùs Aoniis clamavit collibus EUÆ  
Mista Thyoneo turba novena choro.*"

*i.e.* "More than once the nine Muses, in a crowd together, have shouted *Euæ* on the Aonian (Bœotian) hills, mingled with the Bacchic dance-revel." *Thyoneus* was one of the names of Bacchus, after his mother Semele, or *Thyone*; and Bœotia or *Aonia* was the central seat of the Muses. They are represented as companions of Bacchus in the legends; but Milton's particular fancy in these lines seems to be an invention of his own for his purpose.

19, 20. "*Naso Corallæis*," &c.: i.e. "The poet Ovid (*P. Ovidius Naso*) sent bad verses from the scene of his banishment, the country of the savage *Coralli*; and the reason was that there was no feasting there, and no vines planted." The poems written by Ovid during his exile at Tomi on the Euxine sea (A.D. 8—18) were his *Tristia*, his *Epistolæ ex Ponto*, and his *Ibis*, besides parts of his *Fasti*; and these, in the judgment of critics, were not so good, or at least not so graceful, as his previous poems, all written in Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, amid the luxuries of civilized society. Ovid himself acknowledges something of this change. Thus, *Epist. ex Ponto*, iv. ii. 15—22 :—

"Nec tamen ingenium nobis respondet ut ante ;  
Sed siccum sterili vomere littus aro.  
Scilicet ut limus venas excæcat in undis,  
Læsaque suppresso fonte resistit aqua,  
Pectora sic mea sunt limo vitiata malorum,  
Et carmen venâ pauperiore fluit.  
Si quis in hac ipsum terrâ posuisset Homerum,  
Esset, crede mihi, factus et ille Getes."

He also speaks in other places of his hard fare in exile, the hardships of the climate, &c. Thus *Epist. ex Ponto*, i. iii. 49—52 :—

"Orbis in extremi jaceo desertus arenis,  
Fert ubi perpetuas obruta terra nives.  
Non ager hic pomum, non dulces cducat uvas ;  
Non salices ripâ, robora monte virent."

The *Coralli*, mentioned by Ovid as the "*pelliti Coralli*" or "fur-clad *Coralli*" (*Epist. ex Ponto*, iv. viii. 83), were not actually the people among whom he was living at Tomi, but one of those tribes of the Getæ or Scythians of the Danube with whom he was brought into contact, and to whose visits the shores at Tomi were too subject (*nimum subjecta*). In *Epist. ex Ponto*, iv. ii. 37, 38, he says :—

"Hic mea cui recitem nisi flavis scripta Corallis,  
Quasque alias gentes barbarus Ister habet ?"

He did learn the language of these Getæ, and compose verses in it, which were received with applauses at Tomi.

21, 22. "*Quid nisi vina . . . cantavit Tëia Musa*," &c. From Ovid he passes to Anacreon, a native of the Greek city of Teos or Teios on the Ægean coast of Asia Minor, and hence called "*Tëia Musa*." By "*brevibus modis*" the short structure of the so-called Anacreontics is designated. Even in the mention of Anacreon Milton, as Warton noted, is guided by Ovid. Thus (*Trist.* ii. 363—365) :—

"Quid nisi cum multo Venerem confundere vino  
Præcepit lyrici Tëia Musa senis ?"

23—26. "*Pindaricosque inflat numeros*," &c. *Teumesius Euan* is the Boeotian Bacchus, called *Euan*, from the cry to him by his priestesses

in their revels, and *Teumesius*, from Teumesus, a mountain in Bœotia; and the connexion of the passage is "Pindar's lyrics also, the Theban Pindar's, are inspired by the Bacchus of his native Bœotia."—" *Dum gravis*," &c., alludes to the subjects of Pindar's odes, especially the chariot-races at the Olympic games, near Elis in the Peloponnesus.

27, 28. "*Quadrismoque madens Lyricen Romanus*," &c. Next in the list comes Horace, referred to by his Odes to Glycera and Chloe (i. 19 and 23), and called *Lyricen Romanus* by a whim of Milton's, Mr. Keightley thinks, inasmuch as *Lyricen* is a hybrid word, and Horace's name for himself (*Epist.* i. xix. 32, 33) is "*Latinus Fidicen*." The "*quadrismo Iaccho*," or "four years old Bacchus," is suggested by Horace himself (*Ode* i. ix. 5—8):—

"Dissolve frigus, ligna super foco  
Large reponens; atque benignius  
Deprome quadrimum Sabinâ,  
O Thaliarche, merum diotâ."

37. "*Thressa . . . barbitos*." Thracian, because Orpheus was Thracian.

39—48. "*Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum*," &c. In the whole of this passage we have a charming picture of a room, as it might be on a winter-evening, in some English country mansion in Milton's time, well-lit, elegantly furnished, and full of young people gracefully enjoying themselves. We see the tapestried hangings, we hear the music, we see the fingers that make it at the instrument, and the bright eyes of the fair dancers. The *psallit ebur* almost modernizes all, by making us think of whatever, two hundred and fifty years ago, was likeliest to a piano and had ivory keys. It may have been about thirty years earlier that Shakespeare (Sonnet 128) wrote—

"How oft, when thou, my music, music play'st  
Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds  
With thy sweet fingers, when thou gently sway'st  
The wiry concord that mine ear confounds,  
Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap  
'To kiss the tender inward of thy hand!"

55—66. "*At qui bella refert, . . . augur iture Deos*." I have already called attention (Introduct., II. 337) to the peculiarly Miltonic significance of this passage, coming so powerfully after the quiet grace of the preceding context. I can only repeat that the passage is worth getting by heart.—The "*Samius magister*" is Pythagoras, born at Samos.

67—70. "*Hoc ritu vixisse ferunt*," &c. The mythical persons named are—Tiresias, the Theban prophet, struck blind in his old age; the singer and philosopher Linus, also a Theban (hence called *Ogygian*, from *Ogygia*, one of the names of Bœotia); the soothsayer and priest Calchas, who accompanied the Greeks to Troy; and Orpheus, the Thracian singer in his old age. See Introduct. to *Par. Lost*, I. 104, 105.



71. "*Sic dapis exiguus, sic rivi potor Homerus.*" Here Milton flatly contradicts Horace, who insists on it as an axiom that no good poet was ever a water-drinker, and argues, on internal evidence, that Homer cannot have been such (*Epist.* 1. xix. 1—6):—

"Prisco si credis, Mæcenas docte, Cratino,  
Nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt  
Quæ scribuntur aquæ potoribus: ut male sanos  
Adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas,  
Vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camœnæ.  
Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus."

Milton's personal philosophy led him to this contradiction of Horace, respecting Homer at least, and poets of the higher or prophetic strain, though he had yielded the axiom in the earlier part of the *Elegy* as it respected certain orders of poets, and Horace himself. He had, doubtless, in his mind the grand figure of the blind old Homer of the legends, going from city to city, and living on alms, and sometimes poorly on those, in exchange for his songs. Once, it is said in the pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer*, the blind poet, till then known only by his name of Melesigenes, was induced by an unusually kind reception he had met from the people of Cumæ, to petition the authorities of that city for a state-maintenance for the rest of his life, that he might wander no more, but make them and their city celebrated. The proposal seemed to be favourably entertained in the public assembly, till one speaker remarked that, if they undertook to feed *homers* on application (*homer* being a word in the Cumæan dialect for "blind man"), they would soon have too many such useless cattle on their hands. The vote, accordingly, was in the negative; and the blind man left the city in anger, with this curse, that there should never to the end of time be a poet born in Cumæ. But the Cumæan nickname stuck to him, and *Melesigenes* became thenceforward *Homerus*.

72. "*Dulichium vexit per fræta longa virum, et,*" &c. "It is worthy of remark," Warton says, "that Milton here illustrates Homer's poetical character by the *Odyssey*, and not by the *Iliad*." The Island of Dulichium was part of the kingdom of Ulysses; hence he is the "*Dulichius vir*"; and the allusions are to such adventures of Ulysses in the *Odyssey* as his visit to Circe (here called the *Perseian Phæbas*, or *Priestess of Phæbus*, because she was the daughter of Phoebus and Perseis), his escape from the Sirens, and his descent into the infernal regions.

79—90. "*At tu si quid agam scitabere,*" &c. See *Introd.*, II. 337, and *Introd.* to *Hymn on the Nativity*, II. 196, where this passage fixes the date of that English poem.

90. "*Tu mihi, cui recitem, judicis instar eris.*" See *Comus*, 617 *et seq.*, and note there.



ELEGIA SEPTIMA.

1. "*Amathusia*": Venus, so called from the town of Amathus in Cyprus, one of the chief seats of her worship. So her son, Cupid, is called *Cyprius* in line 11.

21. "*Talis in æterno juvenis Sigeius Olympo.*" The line, as Warton noted, is from Tibullus, IV. ii. 13:—

"*Talis in æterno felix Vertumnus Olympo.*"

The "*juvenis Sigeius*" is Ganymede son of Tros. He was generally called *Phrygius Ganymedes* (Ovid, *Met.* x. 155); but *Phrygia* was once a general word and included the Troas, with its town of Sigeum.

24. "*Thiodamanteus Naiade raptus Hylas.*" Hylas, son of Thiodamas, King of Mysia, was the favourite of Hercules, and was carried away by water-nymphs, who were enamoured of his beauty.

31—34. "*strato Pythone superbum edomui Phœbum . . . et, quoties meminit Peneïdos,*" &c. Phœbus, proud of his victory over the serpent Python, thought his darts superior to those of Cupid, until the little god made him fall in love with Daphne, the daughter of the river Peneus; and then he knew whose darts hurt most.

37, 38. "*Cydoniusque . . . venator, et ille,*" &c. The name "*Cydonius venator*" (from *Cydonia*, a city in Crete, famous for its arrows) seems to be here indefinite, like the "*Parthus eques*" of the preceding line, and not to designate any particular person. Probably the "*Parthus eques*" suggested the "*Cydonius venator*"; for Virgil (*Ecl.* x. 59, 60) has—

"libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu  
Spicula:"

and again (*Æn.* XII. 856—858):—

<sup>1</sup> sagitta  
Armatam sævi Parthus quam felle veneni  
Parthus, sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit."

Against the usage in these, and in other passages,\* Milton, as Mr. Mitford noted, makes the first syllable in *Cydonius* long, and the second short.—The other person, "*ille,*" is Cephalus, one of the legends about whom is that he shot his own wife Procris accidentally with an unerring arrow, the gift of Artemis.

39. "*ingens . . . Orion*": the famous giant and hunter of the Greek mythology, changed into the constellation of that name.

40. "*Herculeæque manus, Herculeusque comes.*" The "hands of Hercules" himself were subdued by love when he span for Omphale;

for the "companion of Hercules," similarly conquered, Mr. Keightley suggests Telamon.

46. "*Nec tibi Phœbæus porriget anguis opem.*" Æsculapîus, the god of Medicine, son of Phœbus, came to Rome in the form of a snake, to stay a pestilence. Ovid tells the story, *Met.* xv., and uses the phrase "*Phœbeius anguis*," as Warton noted.

51, 52. "*Et modò quæ nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites, et modò,*" &c. : *i.e.* now the favourite walks of the citizens within London itself (Charter House Garden, the Temple Gardens, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Gray's Inn Gardens, &c.), now the more suburban places of resort (Hyde Park, Hampstead, &c.).

56. "*Fallor ? an.*" See *Eleg.* V. 5—8, and note there. 4

81, 82. "*proles Junonia . . . inter Lemniacos,*" &c. Vulcan, who, when flung out of heaven by Jupiter, fell on the island of Lemnos.

83, 84. "*Talis et obreptum solem respexit . . . Amphiaraus.*" The story of the hero Amphiaraus, who went unwillingly to the war against Thebes, fought bravely in it, but was at last swallowed up in a chasm of the earth as he was careering in his chariot from the pursuing enemy, is hinted at by Ovid in a line the last half of which Milton has adopted (*Epist. ex Pont.* III. i. 51, 52):—

"Notior est factus Capaneus a fulminis ictu ;  
Notus humo mersis Amphiaraus equis."

But, as Warton suggests, Milton may have had in his mind the splendid description of the hero's descent in the *Thebaid* of Statius (vii. 818—823):—

"Illum ingens haurit specus, et transire parantes  
Mergit equos : non arma manu, non frena remisit :  
Sicut erat, rectos defert in Tartara currus,  
Respexitque cadens cœlum, campumque coire  
Ingemuit : donec levior distantia rursus  
Miscuit arva tremor, lucemque exclusit Averno."

Warton justly remarks on the fine taste shown in the allusion to Amphiaraus for Milton's purpose. In the preceding lines he had compared his desolation of heart, as the unknown London beauty vanished from his gaze, and he knew he should never see her again, to the feelings with which Vulcan in Lemnos may have thought of the heaven from which he had been suddenly flung ; now he mends the image by saying he is like Amphiaraus, who, as he sank in his chariot through the dark chasm that was to close over him, took one last look upwards at the sky and the sun.

POSTSCRIPT TO ELEGIA SEPTIMA.—"*Hæc ego mente olim lævâ,*" &c. See *Introd.*, II. 339, 340.—The more the general tenor of the Postscript is considered in connexion with the circumstances of Milton's

life, the more it will appear that by *Academia* in line 5 he does not mean the University of Cambridge, as all the commentators have supposed, but the Platonic Philosophy. True, it may have been at Cambridge that he first imbibed this Philosophy from Plato's writings; but the writings themselves, and not the University, are the "shady Academy" that he thinks of as affording him the "Socratic streams." He is thinking, in fact, of the original Academia of Athens, the celebrated groves of Academus, where Plato taught in person; and, by metaphor, he makes his study of Plato's works to have been his own walking in spirit in those illustrious groves. How, indeed, even in physical consistency, could Milton have thought of Cambridge, whose "*juncosæ paludes*" and "*nuda arva, umbrasque negantia molles*" he had pictured so vividly in his first Elegy, as now "*umbrosa*" and flowing with streamlets? Still, if there is any doubt, Cambridge ought to have the benefit. For, certainly, he has made the penult of *Academia* short here, just as he did when he used the word indubitably for Cambridge University (see *Eleg.*, II. 21).—"*Et Diomedeam vim timet ipsa Venus.*" The Platonic Philosophy, howsoever imbibed, had, before 1645, taken such possession of Milton as to have driven out of his mind any juvenile love-folly like that which this Elegy commemorated; and now, let Venus herself try him, and she would find him no less obdurate a combatant than the hero Diomedes had been, when he pursued her, lady-god though she was, through the ranks of war, wounded her in the wrist, and sent her screaming to Mars for help back to Olympus (*Iliad*, v. 335 *et seq.*).

## [EPIGRAMMATA.]

IN PRODITIONEM BOMBARDICAM.—"*Fallor ? an.*" See *Eleg. Quinta*, 5—8, and note there.—"*Qualiter ille . . . liquit Iordanios . . . agros.*" The prophet Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 11,

IN EANDEM :—" *Quæ septemgemino Bellua monte lates ?*" : the Papacy, resting on the seven hills of Rome, and regarded by zealous Protestants as the Beast of the Apocalypse (Rev. xiii.)—" *Ille quidem sine te consortia serus adiuvit astra.*" King James was dead several years before this Epigram was written. Would Milton in later manhood have made the same *post-mortem* disposition of this king ?

IN EANDEM :—" *Purgatorem animæ derisit Iacobus ignem*" : i.e. King James, as a good Protestant, derided the doctrine of Purgatory. Note the unusual *Iacobus*, instead of *Iacobus*, as in the preceding Epigram.—"*Nec inultus,*" &c. Compare *In Quintum Novembris*, 44.

IN EANDEM :—The jest is "How absurd that Rome, which had excommunicated James, and doomed him to Styx and the world below,

should have changed her mind, and tried to hoist him by gunpowder quite the other way!"

IN INVENTOREM BOMBARDÆ.—"*Iapetionidem*": Prometheus. *He* only snatched a little fire from the chariot of the sun, and brought it down on the tip of a stick; but the inventor of gunpowder had robbed Jove himself of the whole power of his thunder.

AD LEONORAM ROMÆ CANENTEM.—See Introduction, II. 341, 342.—"*Angelus unicuique suus*," &c. A fancy in which I discern something characteristic of Milton.—"*mens tertia*," some third mind, intermediate between God and Angel.—"*assuescere*." Mr. Keightley notes the faulty structure of this line, the cæsura falling on the first syllable of a word.—"*Quod, si cuncta Deus est*," &c. Mr. Keightley refers to the Pantheistic exposition in Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 724 *et seq.*

AD EANDEM :—" *Altera . . . Leonora*": the Princess Leonora of Este, sister of the Duke of Ferrara, Tasso's love for whom, dating from 1566, makes so much romance in biographies of the poet.—"*Dircæo Pentheo*." Pentheus, King of Thebes (hence called "Dircæan Pentheus," because *Dirce* was also one of the celebrities of the Boeotian legends), was furiously opposed to the worship of Bacchus in his dominions, till the god, to punish him, inspired him with a desire to behold the Bacchic orgies himself, when he was torn to pieces. Ovid, in telling the story (*Met.* III.), describes the phrenzy of his rage, and his eyes "*quos ira tremendos fecerat*."—" *desipuisset*": misprinted in both Milton's own editions: "*desipuisset*" in First, and "*desipulisset*" in Second.

AD EANDEM :—" *Sirena . . . claraque Parthenopes fana Achelöiados, Chalcidico . . . rogo?*" &c. Naples, primitively called *Parthenope*, and poetically *urbs Parthenopæia*, derived that distinction from the legend, that the body of Parthenope, one of the Sirens, was found and sacredly entombed on the seashore at that point of the Italian coast. The Sirens were *Acheloiads*, as being daughters of the river-god Achelöus. *Chalcidicus* was another word for "Neapolitan," inasmuch as Naples had been enlarged and reedified by a colony from the island of Eubœa, the chief town of which was *Chalcis*.—" *Illa quidem vivit*," &c. : *i.e.* The true Siren is Leonora; for she is of Neapolitan birth, though now residing in Rome (Introd., II. 342).—" *rauci murmura Pausilipi*": meaning probably, Mr. Keightley thinks, the murmurs of the waves at the foot of Mount Posilipo, and without any such reference as Warton supposed to the famous grotto there.

APOLOGUS DE RUSTICO ET HERO.—See Introd., II. 352.

DE MORO.—See Introd., II. 342, 343. There, after giving an account of the purposes of the scrap, and of the circumstances in which it was used by Milton, first in his *Defensio Secunda* (1654), and next in his *Authoris ad Alexandri Mori Supplementum Responsio* (1655), I

concluded by saying, "The only reason for including it among Milton's Poems and in the *Elegiarum Liber* is that it certainly is Milton's and is in elegiac verse." I am not sure now but that this assertion that the scrap is Milton's own was too positive. In his *Def. Sec.* he introduces it with the words "Unde aliquis, et lepidi sané quisquis ingenii, hoc distichon"; and in the *Responsio* he reintroduces it with these: "Ego vero authorem Batavum et notissimum illud de te distichon, quo me facillè defendam, recito." It seems implied that Milton only used a lampoon of foreign origin, which had reached England, and perhaps been copied into the news-sheets of the Commonwealth. He himself, however, was credited with it, or at least with the circulation of it. (See Art. "Alexander Morus" in Bayle's Dict.).

AD CHRISTINAM, SUECORUM REGINAM, NOMINE CROMWELLI.—See Introduction, II. 343—352.

## SYLVARUM LIBER.

### IN OBITUM PROCANCELLARII MEDICI.

4. "*Iäpeti . . . nepotes*": Iapetus, son of Heaven and Earth, the father of Prometheus, &c., was regarded by the Greeks as the general ancestor of mankind.

5. "*Tænaro*." See note, *Eleg. Quinta*, 65, 66.

10—12. "*non ferus Hercules, Nessi venenatus cruore, Æmathiâ jacuisset Cêtâ*." The death of Hercules was caused by his having been lured by his wife Dejanira, in her jealousy, to put on the blood-stained shirt of the centaur Nessus, whom he had himself slain with a poisoned arrow; and the funeral-pyre of the hero, whence he ascended to the gods, was on the top of Mount Cêtâ, on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia, and hence called Æmathian or Macedonian (see note, Sonnet "Captain or Colonel"). Warton cites from Horace (*Epod.* xvii. 31, 32) the phrase "*Atro delibutus Hercules Nessi cruore*."

13, 14. "*fraude turpi Palladis . . . occisum . . . Hectora*." In the *Iliad* (xxii.) the encounter of Hector with Achilles is brought about by a deception of the goddess Pallas, which Hector does not discover till the combat is begun and he is about to receive his death-stroke.

15, 16. "*Quem larva Pelidis peremit ense Locro, Jove lacrymante*": i.e. Sarpedon, a son of Jupiter, fighting on the Trojan side, and killed by Patroclus, who wore the armour of Achilles, and is therefore called his *larva* or phantom (*Iliad*, xvi.). For the *ense Locro* Mr. Keightley accounts thus: "Because Menœtius, the father of Patroclus, was a Locrian."—"Jove lacrymante" is an allusion to the bloody drops which



Jupiter, in the *Iliad*, shed on the earth when he consented that Sarpedon should die.

17. "*verba Hecateia*": words of witchcraft, from *Hecate* (see note, *Comus*, 135). Ovid, as Warton noted, has "*Hecateia carmina*" (*Met.* XIV. 44).

18. "*Telegoni parens*": Circe, mother of Telegon by Ulysses. Ovid, as Warton remarked, calls Circe by the same name (*Epist. ex Pont.*, III. i. 123).

20. "*Ægiali soror*": Medea, whose brother was Absyrtus, called also Ægialeus.

21. "*Numenque trinum*": the three Fates. See note, *Lycid.* 75.

22. "*Artes*," &c. Mr. Keightley notes the awkward cæsura in this line.

23, 24. "*Machaon*," &c. Machaon, son of the god Æsculapius, was physician or surgeon-in-chief to the Greeks in the Trojan war, and was killed by Eurypylus. Warton remarked, after Steevens, that the death of Machaon by the spear of Eurypylus is not in the *Iliad* itself, but is related circumstantially in the continuation of the *Iliad* by the Greek poet Quintus Calaber, or Quintus Smyrnæus. He notes that this author, "not at present very familiar to boys of seventeen," was, according to Phillips, one of the classics read by Milton with his pupils. The fact in the text, however, may have been within Milton's information *indirectly* in 1626.

25, 26. "*Philyreie*," &c.: Cheiron, the wise centaur and physician, son of Saturn and Philyra, and tutor of Achilles, Æsculapius, and so many other heroes. See *Eleg. IV.*, and note there. He died from an accidental wound from one of the poisoned arrows of Hercules. There are various accounts of the manner of the accident; but Milton follows Ovid, *Fast.* v. 379 *et seq.*; where Cheiron is called "*Philyreius heros*," and the hopelessness of his wound is thus described:—

"Sanguine Centauri Lernææ sanguis Echidnæ  
Mixtus ad auxilium tempora nulla dabant."

28. "*Cæse puer genetricis alvo*": Æsculapius, the God of Medicine himself, son of Apollo and Coronis, and brought into the world in this fashion when his mother was destroyed. He was killed at last by Jove's lightning, because Pluto complained that he had saved the lives of so many.

29. "*Tuque, O alumno major Apolline*." The "*tu*" is the dead medical Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Gostlyn, the subject of the poem (see *Introd.*, II. 352, 353); but the expletive phrase has puzzled commentators. Warton was sure that "*Apolline*" is a misprint for "*Apollinis*"; but, having made the change, and so translated the passage "And



thou, O greater than the pupil of Apollo," he was uncertain who this "pupil of Apollo" might be. As he could hardly be Æsculapius, who was not so much the pupil of his father Apollo in the medical art as of Cheiron, to whom his father had entrusted his education, Warton ingeniously suggested Iapis, the son of Iasos, celebrated by Virgil (*Æn.* XII. 391 *et seq.*) thus:—

"Jamque aderat Phœbo ante alios dilectus Iapis  
Iasides: acri quondam cui captus amore  
Ipse suas artes, sua munera, lætus Apollo,  
Augurium citharamque dabat, celeresque sagittas.  
Ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis,  
Scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi  
Maluit, et mutas agitare inglorius artes."

Now, if we are forced to the reading "*Apollinis*," Iapis may certainly be the "*alumnus*." But are we forced to that reading? If "*Apolline*" were a misprint in the edition of 1645, it was not likely to escape correction in the edition of 1673. Why not retain "*Apolline*" and translate "*alumno*," not "pupil," but "tutor" or "foster-father"? There are examples of this. The meaning would then be "And thou (Gostlyn) greater in medicine than thy master Apollo."

31. "*Cirrha*": a town at the foot of Parnassus, and therefore not far from the Mount Helicon of the next line.

37. "*fila rupit Persephone tua*." After Proserpine or Persephone became Queen of Hades, she regulated the deaths of human beings, cutting the threads of their lives herself or by Atropos.

45. "*Æaci*." Æacus was co-judge of the dead with Minos and Rhadamanthus.

## IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS.

1. "*Jam pius extremâ veniens Iacobus ab arcto*." James came from Scotland in 1603, and the Gunpowder Plot attempt was on the 5th of November 1605. "*Pius Iacobus*" is conventional. See note, *In Prod. Bomb.* No. 2.

2, 3. "*Teucrigenas populos . . . regna Albionum*." In the old British legends, as afterwards compiled by Milton in his *History of England*, the Britons are Troy-sprung or *Teucrigenæ* (from Teucer, ancestor of the Trojans), inasmuch as the true founder of the British realm was Brutus with his Trojan colony, B.C. 1150; but before that time the island had been called *Albion*, and its inhabitants *Albiones*, from a giant Albion, son of Neptune, who ruled it for a while about B.C. 2220.

- 7—47. “*Cum ferus ignifluo regnaus Acheronte tyrannus,  
Eumenidum pater, æthereo vagus exul Olympo,  
Fortè*” &c.

In the whole of this description of Satan out on wing surveying the round of our planet, and indeed in the ideas and construction of this Latin poem generally, written in Milton's eighteenth year, Warton detected “an early and promising prolusion” to *Paradise Lost*. I can confirm the observation. The Satan of this Latin poem is, in sketch, though with concentration of his energies on one act, the Satan of *Paradise Lost*, or more particularly that Satan as he is continued into *Paradise Regained*; and the tenacity of the conception through forty years of Milton's life is remarkable.—It is no contradiction of this that Milton in this poem invests Satan at the outset with classic names and epithets, calling him, for example, “father of the Eumenides or Furies,” as Pluto was in some of the mythologies, and Acheron in others, and representing him as “exiled from Olympus.”

13. “*Illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos*”: an adaptation, as Richardson noted, of Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 335, 336.—

“*Tu potes unanimes armare in prælia fratres,  
Atque odiis versare domos.*”

23. “*Summauns*”: an old and rather rare name for Pluto, a contraction of “*Summus manium*,” Chief of the Dead. Ovid has the name, *Fast.* vi. 731.

27—30. “*Neptunia proles . . . qui*,” &c. This is the giant Albion (see note, 2, 3, *antè*). He had ruled our island forty-four years and given it his name, Milton tells us in his summary of the legends (*Hist. of England*), “till at length, passing over into Gaul, in aid of his brother Lestrygon, against whom Hercules was hasting out of Spain into Italy, he was there slain in fight.” Hercules is called *Amphitryonides*, after his putative father Amphitryon, his real father being Jupiter. All this, Milton says in the last line, happened before the age of the Trojan war: in the legendary chronology (note 2, 3) it was no less than a thousand years before that age.

- 31—33. “*At simul hanc, opibusque et festâ pace beatam*,” &c. Here, as Warton noted, a phrase is borrowed from Ovid's description of Envy, *Met.* ii. 790—796, and the whole of that passage is recollected:—

“*Adopertaque nubibus atris,  
Quacunque ingreditur, florentia proterit arva,  
Exuritque herbas, et summa cacumina carpit:  
Afflatuque suo populos, urbesque, domosque  
Polluit: et landem Tritonida conspicit arcem,  
Ingeniis, opibusque, et festâ pace, virentem:  
Vixque tenet lacrymas, quia nil lacrymabile cernit.*”

36, 37. "*Qualia Trinacriâ . . . clausus in Ætnâ . . . Tiphæus.*" The hideous hundred-headed giant Typhon or Typhœus, after frightening all the gods, was crushed down by Jupiter under the fires of Mount Ætna.

38. "*adamantinus.*" So in First edition ; misprinted "*adamantius*" in Second.

39. "*Dentis . . . cuspidè cuspis.*" Evidently Milton meant to make the sound of this line an echo to the sense.

45. "*natat.*" Misprinted "*notat*" in Second edition.

48. "*Jamque pruinosas velox superaverat Alpes.*" Steevens referred to Lucan, I. 183:—

"Jam gelidas Cæsar cursu superaverat Alpes."

49—53. "*A parte sinistrâ nimbifer Apenninus,*" &c. : *i.e.* Satan, after crossing the Alps, and entering Italy, makes direct for Rome by a route which keeps the Apennines on his left hand as he flies and Tuscany in the main on his right. He has a pleasure in looking at Tuscany as the old Etruria, so famous for its magic and superstitions.

53. "*Mavortigence . . . Quirini*" : *i.e.* Romulus, the son of Mars, called Quirinus after he was deified, though Mars himself is also called Quirinus.

54—63. "*Lucem, cum circumgreditur totam Tricoronifer urbem,*" &c. With malicious ingenuity Milton makes Satan arrive in Rome, on his diabolical errand, on the eve of St. Peter's Day (to be exact, let us say June 28, 1605), when the Pope went in procession through the city, with his Cardinals preceding him, and there was all the unusual stir and ceremonial in consequence, with gatherings of priests and friars of all orders, a great service in St. Peter's, &c. In the satirical and semi-humorous tone of the description throughout one sees young Milton's willing sympathy with the utmost intensity of the English Protestant feeling of his time.

57. "*submisso.*" So in Second edition : "*summisso*" in First.

64—67. "*Qualiter exululat Bromius, Bromiique,*" &c. Not even will Milton's love of music let him praise the thunders of singing with which he fancies the vaults and dome of St. Peter's resounding on that Eve. No ; they were like the howling of Bacchus (here called by his surname of *Bromius*, "the Roaring") and of the crew of Bacchus, singing their orgies on the Echionian mountain, Aracynthus, while the neighbouring river Asopus trembles at the din, and the farther-off Mount Cithæron answers with his rocky echoes. \* *Echionian* is properly "Theban," and both Asopus and Cithæron were in Boeotia, near Thebes ; but Aracynthus, called also Actæus, was in Acarnania, more than a hundred miles west from Thebes, and quite out of the range of

Bœotian echoes. Mr. Keightley fancies that Milton was misled in his topography by Virgil, *Ecl.* II. 24 :—

“Amphion Dirceus in Actæo Aracyntho,”

where “*Amphion Dirceus*” means “the Thēban Amphion.”

71—73. “*Captum oculis Typhlonta*,” &c. The horses of Night are familiar creatures in classic poetry; and Spenser has them, *F. Q.*, I. v., where they are described thus (stanza 20) :—

“Before the dore her iron charet stood,  
Already harnessed for journey new,  
And cole-blacke steedes yborne of hellish brood;”

and again, with a difference (stanza 28) :—

“Through niirksom airc her ready way she makes :  
Her twyfold teme, of which two blacke as pitch,  
And two were browne, yet each to each unlich,  
Did softly swim away.”

It was a daring beauty in Milton to be the first (as he is believed to be) who gave these horses names. His lines may be thus translated :—

“Typhlos the blind to lead, and with him the fierce Melanchætes,  
Toipid Slope next, whose snie was Acherontæus,  
Coupled with shaggy Phlux, whose mane flew cloudily round her.”

Each name is from the Greek, and is etymologically significant, as if he had called the horses *Blinding*, *Blackhaired*, *Silence of Hell*, and *Shuddering*.

74. “*regum domitor*” : the Pope, with the polite title of “*Phlegetontius hæres*” also fitted to him.

75, 76. “*Ingreditur thalamos (neque enim,*” &c.). This insinuation is conventional, as against Popes in general, the verb *producit* being in the present tense; and it is not to be regarded as directed against the particular Pope who reigned in June 1605 : viz. Paul V.

80—85. “*Assumptis micucrunt tempora canis*,” &c. In this description of Satan as he stood at the Pope’s bedside there is a touch of resemblance to the appearance given to Satan in the temptation in the wilderness, *Par. Reg.*, I. 314 *et seq.* and 497, 498; but the special equipment in the garb of a Franciscan friar is, as Warton pointed out, from two passages in Buchanan. Thus, in Buchanan’s *Franciscanus*, a Satire on the Franciscans :—

“Haud quoties longo sub syrmate rasum  
Cerno caput, tortum funem, latumque galerum  
Atque fenestratum soles captare cothurnum,  
Cernere me Paulum credo.”

Again in the same poet's *Fratres Fraterrimi*, xxxiv., entitled "Somnium," and describing the apparition of St. Francis at the poet's bedside :—

"Cum mihi Franciscus, nodosâ cannabe cinctus,  
Astitit ante torum, stigmata nota gerens.  
In manibus sacra vestis erat, cum fune galerus,  
Palla, fenestratus calceus, hasta, liber :  
Et mihi subridens, 'Hanc protinus indue,' dixit."

86—89. "*Talis . . . Franciscus eremo.*" Warton thinks that here Milton means St. Francis d'Assisi, the founder of the Franciscan order (1182—1226), but has, by mistake, attributed to that Saint incidents which properly belong to the life of St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuit Missionary (1506—1552).

92. "*Dormis, nate?*" So, as Warton notes, *Iliad*, II. 23, Εὔδεις, Ἀρπείος υἱέ ;

96. "*pharetrati . . . Britanni.*" In memory, as Mr. Keightley supposes, of the ancient fame of the English bowmen.

97. "*Latius . . . Cæsar*" : the Roman Cæsar, or Emperor of Germany. The Cæsar or Emperor in 1605 was Rodolph II.

102, 103. "*disjectam . . . classem,*" &c. The shattered Spanish Armada of 1588.

104, 105. "*Sanctorumque cruci tot corpora fixa probrosæ,  
Thermodoontêâ nuper regnante puellâ.*"

These are the Roman Catholics put to death in England during the reign of Elizabeth, here called "*Thermodoontea puella*" or "Amazonian girl," from Thermodon, a river falling into the Euxine sea in the country of the legendary Amazons. Ovid's adjective, as Warton noted, is *Thermodontiacus* ; but Todd refers for *Thermodoonteus* to Propertius, III. xiv. 15, 16. There, however, the form, in the edition I have at hand, is *Thermodonteus* :—

"Qualis Amazonidum nudatis bellica mammis  
Thermodonteis turma vagatur agris ;"

and, if this reading is correct, Milton has not the warrant of this passage, either for his word, or for shortening the second syllable of it. Indeed, the name of the river is Θερμώδων.

116. "*ad consilium*" : to his Parliament.

117, 118 : "*Patricios,*" members of the House of Commons ; "*procerum de stirpe creatos,*" Peers ; "*grandævos patres,*" &c., Bishops and Privy Councillors.

120. "*nitratî pulveris.*" The accepted Latin phrase for Gunpowder was "*pulvis nitratus*" or "*pulvis nitrosus.*"

126. "*vel Gallus atrox, vel sævus Iberus.*" The French King in 1605 was Henry IV., the hero of Navarre; the Spanish King was Philip III. Milton thinks of the two peoples and their religion, and not of the particular sovereigns.

127. "*Sæcula . . . Mariana*": the times of "the Bloody Mary," Elizabeth's predecessor.

133. "*Tithonia*": Aurora or Morning, the wife of Tithonus.

135. "*nigri . . . nati*": Memnon, the dark King of Ethiopia, son of Tithonus and Aurora, for whose untimely death in the Trojan war Aurora was inconsolable. See note, *Pens.* 18.

138. "*revolvens*": rolling back.

139—154. "*Ist locus*," &c. This Latin poem, juvenile production though it is, contains fine poetical passages; and the present is one of them. With various precedents in his mind, the young poet imagines a place on the earth where there is a Cave of Murder and Treason; and he describes it with much power:—

"Far there exists a place, girt round with unchangeable night gloom,  
Once the foundation vast of a building yielded to ruin,  
Now the den of pitiless Murder and double-tongued Treason,  
Who at one birth came forth as the issue of termagant Discord:  
Here, mid rubbish-heaps and ruptured masses of stone-work,  
Coffinless bones lie about, and iron-spigoted corpses."

Round the cavern are Stratagem, Strife, Calumny, Fury, Fear, and all shapes of Death; pale Horror hovers over it; the shrieks of ghosts are heard in the silence of the spot; the very ground is blood-soaked; while far in the interior, shunning the cavern's mouth, lurk Murder and Treason themselves, restlessly looking back in continual dread.

143. "*fræruptaque.*" So in Second edition. In the First the word was "*semifractaque*"; which gave a false quantity, the first syllable of *semi* being long. Milton ought to have known this, if only from line 122 in his own *Elegia Quinta*.

155. "*pugiles Romæ*": "champions of Rome" in the sense of hired bravoës or ruffians.

156. "*antistes Babylonius*": the Babylonian priest; Rome, in the Protestant interpretation, being the great Babylon of the Apocalypse.

158. "*Gens exosa mihi.*" Warton refers to Juno's speech to Æolus, *Æn.* 1. 65 *et seq.*, for the phrase "*Gens inimica mihi*," and a certain general resemblance.

165. "*paruere gemelli.*" The *gemelli* are Murder and Treason. The first syllable of *paruere* being long, Milton, as Warton observed, either committed a false quantity here, or is to be absolved on the ground



that he meant the *u* to pass as *v*, and the whole word to be a trisyllable. In the only other case of his use of the same verb in his Latin poetry, "*Parere Fati discite legibus*" (*In ob. Pro. Med.*, written in the same year), the law of the verse permits the initial syllable of the line to be either long or short: so that instance does not help us to a decision. It is in his favour, however, that in a preceding line in this same poem, *In Quint. Nov.* (26) he has the quantity right in the compound "*apparent*."

166—169. "*Interea longo flectens curvamine cælos despicit . . . Dominus*," &c. A combination of two Biblical passages—Ps. xviii. 9 and Ps. ii. 4.

170—193. "*Esse ferunt spatium*," &c. In this imagination of the House or Tower of Fame, the young poet dares to come after Ovid's similar description (*Met.* xii. 39—63) and Chaucer's much more elaborate one (*House of Fame*: beginning of Book III.). He helps himself to touches from both, and uses also Virgil's description of Fame herself (*Æn.* iv. 173—188); yet he produces an Abode of Rumour quite his own, and suitable for his purpose.

171. "*Mæotidas undas*": distinctly so in both Milton's editions; but certainly, as Mr. Keightley observes, either a mistake or a misprint for *Mæotidas*. For Milton cannot have meant Lake *Mæotis*, which is in Egypt, but the great Lake *Mæotis*, now "the sea of Azof," north of the Black Sea. That lake, washing the western end of the Caucasian chain, does lie close to that boundary-line between Asia and Europe where Milton places his House of Fame.

172. "*Titanidos . . . Famæ*." According to Virgil as above (*Æn.* iv. 178—180), where Fame is represented as the daughter of Terra, and sister of the Titans Cœus and Enceladus.

178—180. "*Qualiter instrepitant . . . agmina muscarum*," &c. The original of this image, in its exact form, as Warton noted, is in the *Iliad*, ii. 469 *et seq.*, and xvi. 641; but Chaucer has a modification of it in his *House of Fame*, describing the coming in of the petitioners to the Goddess:—

"But, while that I beheld this sight,  
I heard a noise approchen blive,  
That fareth as bees don in an hive,  
Ayenst hir time of out-flying:  
Right such a maner murmuring  
For all the world it seemed mee."

181. "*Illa*," Fame; "*matris*," Terra or Earth; Fame's mother. See *antè*, 172.

182—188. "*Auribus innumeris cinctum caput . . . nec tot, Aristoride, . . . volvebas lumina*." Aristorides is Argus, the hundred-eyed guardian

of the cow Io, or Isis; his father was Aristor. Compare Virgil's Fame, as above (181—183):—

“Cui, quot sunt corpore plumæ,  
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,  
Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.”

And Chaucer's, as above:—

“For as fele eyen hadde she  
As fethers upon foules be,  
Or weren on the beastes four  
That Goddes trone can honour . . .  
And, sothe to tellen, also shee  
Had also fele up-standing eares  
And tongues as on a beast been heares.”

The propriety of such a corporeal organism for the goddess Fame or Rumour is obvious.

207. “*Dextra tubam gestat Temesæo ex ære sonoram.*” Temese, on the Calabrian coast, was famous for its copper, and Warton quotes from Ovid the phrase “*Temesæa æra.*”—In Chaucer, Fame does not herself carry a trumpet, but is attended by Æolus, the wind-god, carrying two trumpets, a golden one for good report or praise, and a brass one for evil report or infamy.

208. “*cedentes . . . auras.*” Compare *Par. Lost*, II. 842, where the phrase “the buxom air,” as Todd remarked, literally translates this.

220—226. “*Attamen . . . celebratior anno.*” It seems impossible to doubt that Milton suddenly huddled up in these closing lines a poem which he intended to be longer. If he had kept proportion with the foregoing parts of the poem, the proceedings of Fame or Rumour after her arrival in England ought to have been more gradual; the indefinite horror caused by her murmurings should have been seen encircling the dark deed to which they appertained; and the ring should have been drawn closer and closer till we reached the actual 5th of November and the capture of Guy Fawkes in his cellar. Probably Milton had to get the piece ready by the 5th of November, 1626, and had to cut it short at the last moment. As it is, it is the best Gunpowder Plot poem in existence; and in the last two lines we seem to hear the cries of the boys in the streets carrying Fawkes about in effigy.

#### IN OBITUM PRÆSULIS ELIENSIS.

4—6. “*Quem nuper effudi,*” &c. A reference to his *Elegia Tertia*. For the interval between the death lamented in that piece and the death lamented in this, see *Introd.*, II. 354.

7—10. “*Cum centilinguis Fama . . . spargit,*” &c. This is as if Milton had still in his ear lines 211, 212 of the preceding poem, *In*

*Quint. Nov.* Possibly he did not write the present piece till he had finished that, though Bishop Felton had died Oct. 5.

10. "*Neptuno sotos.*" See *In Quint. Nov.*, 26, 27, and note there; also *Comus*, 18—29. Mr. Keightley thinks Milton was the first to call the Britons outright "sons of Neptune;" but I should doubt it.

13, 14. "*insulâ quæ nomen Anguillæ tenet*": i.e. the Isle of Ely, so called from its abundance of eels (*anguillæ* Lat. for "eels"). The word *Ely* in old English meant Eel-Island; so that "Isle of Ely" is tautological.

17. "*potentem . . . Deam*": i.e. Death.

18, 19. "*Nec vota Naso in Ibida concepit . . . diriora.*" The *Ibis* of Ovid, one of the poems which he wrote in his exile, is a furious invective, in 646 lines of elegiac verse, against an unknown enemy. There had been a similar poem, with the same fancy-name, by the Greek poet Callimachus, in abuse of his pupil Apollonius Rhodius, who had given him offence.

20—22. "*Grainsque vates,*" &c. The early Greek poet Archilochus (about B.C. 680), famous for the severity of his satires, and of whom the story is that, when Lycambes, who had promised him his daughter Neobule in marriage, broke his word and gave her to another, he took revenge in a poem of such tremendous scurrility that the whole family hanged themselves. He left an extraordinary reputation; and Horace (*Epist.* i. xix. 23 *et seq.*) claims to have introduced his verse and spirit, though not his matter, among the Latins.

25, 26. "*Audisse tales videor . . . sonos,*" &c. As appears from the sequel, it is the voice of the dead Bishop that the poet hears.

31—44. "*Non est, ut arbitraris,*" &c. The drift of this passage is that the voice which the poet hears corrects that Pagan view of Death which would regard it with anger and execration, and substitutes the Christian view, which justifies acquiescence, and even joy. In the classic mythology, he is told, Death may be the daughter of Night, or of Erebus, or of a Fury, or born under Chaos, or what not; but Christianity teaches that she is God's minister, sent from heaven to collect His harvests, and call souls out of their fleshly tabernacles, either to the light above or to judgment below. Note, however, the relapse into classic imagery in lines 39—44. The Hours were among the children of Themis by Jupiter, as in the Orphic hymn quoted by Warton:—

Ὠραι θυγατέρες Θέμιδος καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος.

45. "*Hanc ut vocantem,*" &c. A strange error has been committed here by all the editors. They make the quotation end with the preceding line at "*subterraneas,*" and print as if at the words "*Hanc ut*

*vocantem*" Milton resumed speech in his own name. Accordingly, they suppose Death herself to have been the speaker of all those words which Milton has hitherto heard mysteriously uttered, from line 27 to line 44, defining the true nature of Death; and they suppose "*Hanc ut vocantem lætus audivi, cito fœdum reliqui carcerem*," &c., to mean "As joyfully I heard her so speaking, speedily I (Milton) left this foul prison, and," &c., to the end of the poem. If, however, one reads on to the end of the poem, it becomes obvious that it could not be Milton himself that is speaking. Were he the speaker, then the whole passage from line 45 to the end would be a kind of dream by Milton of a flight upwards through the starry spaces to which he was carried by the effects on his imagination of the voice he had heard. So, of course, the editors have hitherto interpreted the passage; but the idea of such a starry dream-flight by Milton himself would be quite out of keeping with the circumstances and poetically awkward. All becomes plain and natural, however, if we suppose that the voice which Milton has heard from line 27 has been that of the dead Bishop, and that this voice does not stop at "*subterraneas*" in line 44, but continues to the very end of the poem. Then the "*Hanc ut vocantem lætus audivi*," &c. of lines 45, 46, implies "I have been telling you the true nature of Death, and what I have told you is not mere conventional Christian doctrine, but consists with my own experience; for, when Death called me, I heard the summons gladly, left the foul prison of my earthly body, and lo! all at once, amid swift guarding Angels, I felt myself carried up through the starry worlds to the Heaven where I now abide." As I have no doubt that this reading, though new, will at once recommend itself and permanently supersede the other, I have printed accordingly, and extended the quotation-marks to the close of the poem. This is one of the cases in which the absence of quotation-marks in Milton's own editions has led to mistakes.

49, 50. "*Vates ut olim . . . senex*," &c. : *i.e.* Elijah. See 2 Kings ii. 11. How much more consistent the comparison to Elijah's ascent is with the upward flight of the soul of the dead Bishop than it would have been with the imaginary flight of the poet!

51—64. "*Non me Boötis*," &c. Milton is not singular in this somewhat quaint enumeration of the constellations and luminaries through or past which the soul of the dead mounted on its flight to the Heaven where it was to abide. Todd, who read the passage as a description of Milton's own ideal flight in the celestial spaces, paralleled it, on that understanding, with the opening of the Fourth Day of the First Week in Sylvester's Du Bartas :—

"Pure Spirit, that rapt'st above the firmest sphere,  
In fiery coach, thy faithful messenger,  
Who, smiting Jordan with his pleighted cloak,  
Did yerst divide the waters with the stroke,

O take me up ; that, far from Earth, I may  
From sphere to sphere see th' azure Heavens to-day.  
Be thou my Coachman, and now cheek by jowl  
With Phœbus' chariot let my chariot roll ;  
Drive on my coach by Mars his flaming coach ;  
Saturn and Luna let my wheels approach ;  
That, having learnt," &c.

But take the following passage from Donne's *Progress of the Soul*, written on the death of Mrs. Elizabeth Drury. After comparing Death to the discharge of a rusty gun, which bursts in pieces in the act of shooting out the bullet, he traces the flight of this bullet (*i.e.* the escaped soul) thus :—

" She stays not in the Air,  
To look what meteors there themselves prepare ;  
She carries no desire to know, nor sense,  
Whether th' Air's middle region be intense ;  
For th' element of Fire, she doth not know  
Whether she passed by such a place or no ;  
She baits not at the Moon, nor cares to try  
Whether in that new world men live and die ;  
Venus retards her not, t' enquire how she  
Can (being one star) Hesper and Vesper be ;  
He that charm'd Argus' eyes, sweet Mercury,  
Works not on her, who now is grown all eye ;  
Who, if she meet the body of the Sun,  
Goes through, not staying till his course be run ;  
Who finds in Mars his camp no corps of guard,  
Nor is by Jove, nor by his Father, barred ;  
But, ere she can consider how she went,  
At once is at and through the Firmament :  
And, as these Stars were but so many beads  
Strung on one string, speed undistinguished leads  
Her through these spheres," &c.

Though young Milton yielded in his present Latin poem to the habit of astronomical enumeration which such precedents as these may have instituted, how much more tastefully and poetically he has managed it ! Perhaps, as he had been reading Chaucer's *House of Fame* for the purposes of his *In Quint. Novembris* (see note to that poem, lines 170—193), he may have had in his mind Chaucer's description there (Book II.) of his flight with the Eagle, through the elements and constellations, and past the Galaxy itself, on their way to Fame's House.

51, 52. "*Boötis . . . sarraca tarda frigore.*" Juvenal has a similar phrase (*Sat. v. 22, 23*) :—

" illo tempore quo se  
Frigida circumagunt pigri sarraca Bootæ."

56, 57. "*deam . . . triformem*" : *i.e.* the Moon. See *Par. Lost*, III. 730, and note there.

57, 58. "*suos . . . dracones.*" See *Pens.* 59, 60, and note.



## NATURAM NON PATI SENIUM.

3. "*Ædipodioniam . . . noctem*": such night as *Ædipus* moved in after he was blind.

19. "*sono dilapsa tremendo*." Mr. Keightley refers to 2 Peter iii. 10, "The heavens shall pass away with a great noise."

23. "*proles Junonia*": *Vulcan*.

25. "*tui . . . nati*": *Phaethon*.

29. "*aerei . . . Hæmi*": Mount *Hæmus*, separating *Thrace* from *Thessaly*, and famous for its height.

31, 32. "*Ceraunia*." The name "*Ceraunian Mountains*" was applied both to a part of the great *Caucasian* range between the *Euxine* and the *Caspian*, and also to a lofty mountain-chain in *Epirus*. The latter "*Ceraunians*" are meant here, as being near *Thessaly*, which was the theatre of the war between the Gods and the Titans. In that war the antagonists hurled mountains against each other; and *Pluto*, who took part with his brothers *Jupiter* and *Neptune* against *Saturn* and the Titans, is supposed to have used the *Ceraunians* in this manner. "*Superos*" in line 32 must therefore mean the Titans, or *Saturn* and the Titans.

33, 34. "*At Pater Omnipotens . . . consuluit rerum summæ*." So, as Todd noted, in *Par. Lost*, VI. 671—673, "*The Almighty Father . . . consulting on the sum of things*."

37, 38. "*Mundi rota prima . . . ambitos . . . cælos*." The "*rota prima*" is the *Primum Mobile* of the Ptolemaic system; the "*ambiti cæli*," or "enclosed heavens," are the nine inner spheres. See *Introd.* to *Par. Lost*, I. 89 *et seq.*

39—65. "*Turdior haud solito Saturnus, et*," &c. Observe how, throughout this whole passage, Milton's imagination is regulated by the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy then prevalent. The thesis of the entire poem is "*Naturam non pati Senium*," "That there is no decay in Nature." By *Nature*, of course, is here meant the whole Physical system of things, the *Mundus*, the *Cosmos*. Well, after having first (lines 1—7) expressed sorrow at the liability to error shown by the human mind, especially when it measures eternal things by its own fleeting standard, and after having next (lines 8—32) put as strongly as possible the question whether it actually is the case, as some people hold, that Nature is wearing out and a catastrophe is coming,—after all this the debater arrives (line 33, "*At Pater Omnipotens*," &c.) at his own resolute contradiction of the proposition. The Almighty Father, he asserts, has "consulted better for the sum of things" than such a proposition would imply; and then he goes on to verify this assertion in



detail by actually glancing at the successive portions of this "sum of things." He begins, as we have seen in last note, with the *Primum Mobile*, or that outermost shell which bounds the Universe in from Chaos or Nothingness, and maintains that that outermost shell is still wheeling in its vast diurnal revolution as soundly as ever, and whirling round with it all the interior heavens. And now, in the present passage, he proceeds to say that not only is that outermost shell still safe, but also each of the successive parts of its enclosed heavens, inwards to the very Earth at the core of all. He keeps to the Ptolemaic or Alphonsine order in his enumeration, only skipping a sphere or two for brevity. The Fixed Stars having been assumed as certified by the *Primum Mobile*, it is enough to find Saturn duly moving in *his* sphere (line 39), and next—for Jupiter may be skipped—Mars as red as ever in *his* (line 40). Then the behaviour of the Sun is examined, and four lines are given to that important body (41—44), also with a favourable report. The same number of lines (45—48) is then given to the planet Venus, not named, but defined beautifully by her functions as both the Morning-star and the Evening-star, according to the season. One may then skip Mercury and pass to the Moon (49, 50). There are no signs of decay in her either. And so, all the planetary spheres having been reported on inwards from Saturn's to the Moon's, one arrives (51) at the aerial region of the so-called Elements, within the Moon's sphere and more immediately surrounding the Earth. The report of the state of this region is also satisfactory. That the Elements are keeping their faith is witnessed by the undiminished roar of the thunder and flash of the lightning (51, 52), the unabated fury of the North-West Wind (53), and the unmitigated stringency of the North-Easter, blowing snow and storms among the Scythian Geloni (54, 55). From the Winds one may pass to the Sea. Well, do not the Mediterranean waves beat as grandly as ever the base of the Sicilian promontory of Pelorus; is not Triton's conch heard as loudly round all the shores; or is the weight of the giant *Ægæon* or *Briareus* less than it was on the spines of the Balcaric sea-monsters (56—59)? Only the Earth itself then remains; but observe how, even in the mention of it, the fancy still moves centrewards, or from the surface (61—63) to the interior (63—65). The flowers on the Earth's surface have lost nothing of their beauty—not the *Narcissus*, nor the *Hyacinth* (into which the youth *Hyacinthus*, the favourite of *Apollo*, was turned), nor that flower which sprang from the blood of *Adonis* (the beloved of *Venus*); nor is the interior of the Earth less rich than it was in gold and gems.—So ends the report, and with it the argument. Since the Ptolemaic theory was abandoned, there has been no such easy or convenient way of taking an inventory of "the sum of things"!

65—69. "*Sic denique in ævum*," &c. While denying the doctrine of slow and progressive decay in Nature, and anticipating her continued steadiness for ages to come, the debater accepts the Scriptural prophecy of the ultimate and sudden conflagration of all things (2 Peter iii. 7—10).

DE IDEÂ PLATONICÂ QUEMADMODUM ARISTOTELES  
INTELLEXIT.

1. "*Dicite*." Mr. Keightley objects to this commencement of a poem in Iambic trimeters with a dactyl, on the ground that, "though the Scæzontes used sometimes to commence verses with a dactyl," he does "not believe that this was the case in the regular Iambic measure." But Horace, in a single ode in regular Iambic trimeters (*Epode* xvii.), has a dactyl at the beginning at least three times: lines 6, 12, 78. Mr. Keightley adds the remark, that all through this poem Milton makes "too frequent use of the dactyl and anapæst."

2, 3. "*noveni . . . numinis Memoria mater*." Mnemosyne (Memory) was the mother of the nine Muses.

7—10. "*Quis ille*," &c.: the Platonic Idea or Archetype. See Introduction, II. 359.

10. "*exemplar Dei*": the model from which the Deity worked in the creation of Man.

11, 12. "*Haud ille*," &c. The meaning is "This Eternal Idea or Archetype is not a mere conception of the Divine Mind, a kind of twin with Minerva in the brain of Jove."

13—15. "*Sed, quamlibet*," &c.: *i.e.* "But, though his nature is common, in the sense of being distributed among many, yet he stands apart after the manner of an individual unit, and, wonderful to tell! is bound to a definite locality." This seems to be a rendering, in the language of poetical burlesque, of one part of Aristotle's famous criticism of the Platonic doctrine of Ideas or Universals. See Aristotle, *Metaph.* i. vi.; or, for a summary of the Aristotelian criticism of Plato's Ideas, Schwegler's *Hist. of Phil.* (translation by Dr. Stirling), pp. 101—105.

16—24. "*Seu sempiternus*," &c.: Here Milton, still in poetical burlesque of Aristotle, inquires what is the locality of the Archetype, in what part of the total Mundus he is to be sought; and, in doing so, he falls back, as always, on the Alphonsine conception of the Mundus as a thing of ten spheres (see note to preceding poem, 39—65). Is the Archetype up among the stars, roving among all the ten spheres at his pleasure; or does he inhabit the Moon's sphere only, nearest to the Earth? If not in those vacancies of mere space, is he to be found perchance down in the Lower World, sitting drowsily on the shores of Lethe, among those souls that are waiting to be ferried back and to re-enter mortal bodies (which would obviously be for the convenience of his business); or does he walk about somewhere on the Earth itself, a giant bigger than Atlas?

23. "*diis*," misprinted "*iis*" in the edition of 1673.

25—34. “*Non, cui profundum,*” &c. The burlesque is still continued ; only in this form :—“ No one can tell where the Archetype is : no one has ever seen him. Not the Dircæan augur (Theban prophet) Tiresias, whose blindness only enlarged his spiritual vision (see *Introd. to Par. Lost*, I. 104, 105) ; not the god Mercury himself (here called by his Ovidian synonym “*Plèiones nepos*”), instructing his band of prophets through the silent night ; not any old Assyrian priest, learned in the most ancient lore of Ninos, Belos, and Osiris ; not even Hermes Trismegistus, though he knew all secrets and founded the Egyptian philosophy (see *Il Pens.* 88, and note there).

35—39. “*At tu,*” &c. *Tu* is, of course, Plato ; and here, it seems to me, Milton intimates at the close that he does not believe that the Aristotelian representation of Plato’s Idea, which he has been burlesquing in the poem, is a true rendering of Plato’s real meaning. If it were so, if Plato had really taught any such monstrosity, then, &c. I rather think commentators on the poem have missed its humorous character, and supposed Milton himself to be finding fault with Plato.

36. “*induxti*” for “*induxisti*,” misprinted “*induxit*” in the Second edition.

## AD PATREM.

3. “*gemino de vertice*” : Mount Parnassus.

14. “*Clio*” : the muse of History, inasmuch as what he is to say about his Father is strictly true.

20. “*Prometheæ . . . flammæ*” : of the fire which Prometheus brought down from Heaven.

21—23. “*tremebundaque Tartara carmen ima ciere valet,*” &c. See *L’Allegro*, 145—150, and note there.

25. “*Phæbades*,” priestesses of Apollo (an Ovidian word) ; “*Sibyllæ*,” the Sibyls, or prophetic women, of whom there were many, and one of whom gave to the Roman Tarquinius the famous Books of the Sibylline Verses.

32—34. “*Ibimus,*” &c. Rev. iv. 4, and v. 8.

35—40. “*Spiritus et rapidos qui circinat igneus orbes,  
Nunc quoque sidereis intercinit ipse choreis  
Immortale melos,*” &c.

The “*nunc*” here is emphatic, meaning “ Even now, while we are in this mortal life.” For even now does not the famous sphere-music of Pythagoras (see note, *Arcad.*, 63—73) peal among the constellations (some of these mentioned by name) ; and what is it that prompts that sphere-music, leads it, and makes the melody inexpressible ? What

but the Fiery Spirit itself which is beyond all the spheres, encircles them all, and regulates their wheelings? See Ezekiel i. 20, and connect that text imaginatively with Milton's idea of the Heaven or Empyrean, as explained in the Introd. to *Par. Lost*, I. 80, 81. In the present passage, it will be observed, there is a subtle addition of the "*Spiritus igneus*" of the Empyrean to the ordinary music of the spheres.

37. "*inenarrabile carmen.*" Compare *Lycid.*, 176: "the unexpressive nuptial song."

41—49. "*Carmina regales epulas ornare solebant,  
Cum nondum luxus,*" &c.

An allusion to such stories of old bards singing in regal halls as that of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, Book VIII., and that of Iopas in the *Æneid*, I. 740—746. But there is a blended recollection, touched up by Milton himself, of many stories of the kind. One might even include, by foresight, *the Lay of the Last Minstrel*.—*Lyæus* is a name for Bacchus.

50—55. "*Denique quid vocis modulamen inane juvabit,*" &c. The purport of this passage is that song without words is but poor music. It might suit the sylvan choristers, or birds, but not a divine singer like Orpheus. No: it was not by his mere harp, but by the words of his song as well, that Orpheus performed his great feats in music, drawing the floods and oaks after him, and making even Pluto and the ghosts weep in Hell (see notes, *L'Allegro*, 145—150, and *Il Penseroso*, 103—108). Ovid, *Met.* x. 14, speaking of Orpheus, has the phrase "*simulacraque functa sepulcris.*"

56—66. "*Nec tu perge, precor,*" &c. On these compliments to his father on his musical distinction see Introd., II. 361.

66. "*Dividuum.*" The Latin adjective "*dividuus*" for "divisible" or "divisible into two" had fastened on Milton; and he turned it into English. See *Par. Lost*, VII. 382 and XII. 85; also *On Time*, 12.

68—70. "*Neque . . . ire jubebas quâ via lata patet,*" &c.: to commerce?

71, 72. "*Nec rapis ad leges,*" &c. See Introd., II. 362.

74. "*procul urbano strepitu*": i.e. at Horton (see Introd., II. 159 and 362). The "*sinis*," in the present tense, in line 76, seems to certify that this poem was written there.

79. "*Cum mihi Romulæ patuit facundia linguæ, et . . . grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis*": i.e. at St. Paul's School and the University; or perhaps rather at St. Paul's School alone, before he went to the University.

82—85. "*Addere . . . isti,*" &c. Milton seems to have added French, Italian, and Hebrew to his Latin and Greek while he was at the University. His tutor Young had presented him with a Hebrew Bible as early as 1625. It is interesting to know that it was by his father's

advice that he ranged beyond Greek and Latin. See Stanza 10 of Francini's complimentary Italian Ode to Milton, *antè*, p. 37 ; also note to Translations of Psalms LXXX.—LXXXVIII., *antè*, pp. 483, 484.

84. "*barbaricos . . . tumultus*" : i.e. the Germanic invasions, which created modern Italian by corrupting the old Latin.

86—92. "*Denique quicquid . . . per te nōsse licet, per te, si nōsse libebit*," &c. The tenses of the verbs seem to show that Milton, when he wrote this poem to his father at Horton, was actually engaged in those miscellaneous scientific studies of which he here speaks. Altogether the probability is that this poem was written shortly after Milton had left the University in 1632. It would be then, if ever, that his father would address to him those mild remonstrances about his disinclination to any profession to which the poem is an answer. Moreover, it is significant of the date that Milton inserted this poem in his own editions just before his Greek pieces, the first of which was written in 1634.

93. "*I nunc, confer opes*," &c. Warton quotes Ovid, *Heroid.* XII. 204 :—

"I nunc, Sisyphias, improbe, confer opes."

98—100. "*Publica qui juveni commisit lumina nato, atque Hyperionios currus*." The "*juvenis*" is Phaethon, to whom his father entrusted the chariot of the Sun (Hyperion here taken for the Sun).

101—104. "*Ergo ego . . . victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebo*," &c. Todd quotes Virgil, *Ecl.* VIII. 12, 13 :—

"Hanc sine tempora circum  
Inter victrices hederam tibi serpere lauros ;"

and Richardson, for the whole passage, Horace's words in the\* first of his Odes :—

"Me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium  
Dis miscent superis ; me gelidum nemus  
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori  
Secernunt populo."

107. "*Sæva nec anguiferos extende, Calumnia, rictus*." Compare *In Quint. Nov.*, 146.

115—120. "*Et vos, O nostri, juvenilia carmina, lusus*," &c. It does not seem to me improbable that these six lines were added to the poem just before its publication in the volume of 1645. The phrase "*juvenilia carmina*" seems to refer to that volume as containing this piece among others. Anyhow it was a beautiful ending, and prophetic.

## GREEK VERSES.

See Introductions to these Verses, II. 365, 366.



AD SALSILLUM, POETAM ROMANUM, ÆGROTANTEM.  
SCAZONTES.

1—5. "*O Musa, gressum quæ volens trahis claudum,*" &c. A humorous description of the kind of verse in which he has chosen to address Salzilli: viz. the *Scazon*, *Choliambus*, or *Hipponactic Trimeter* (see Introd., II. 367). Though it is a limping measure, and walks with the gait of the lame Vulcan, it thinks itself no less becoming on occasion than when Deiope, the fairest of Juno's attendant nymphs, moves her graceful and perfectly-matched legs before the couch of that goddess.—In Latin Scazons the strict rule of prosodians is that the last foot should always be a Spondee and the penultimate always an Iambus; Greek Scazons allowed either an Iambus or a Trochee for the penultimate. Milton, in the present piece, uses great license. He has frequently a Spondee for the penultimate; and once at least (22) he has an Iambus for the last foot, converting the line into a regular Iambic trimeter.

6. "*s'is,*" i.e. "*si vis.*"

7, 8. "*Camæna nostra cui tantum est cordi, quamque,*" &c. The reference is to Salzilli's extravagant Latin compliment to Milton (printed *antè*, p. 34.), where he had said that Milton would be equal to Homer, Virgil, and Tasso put together.

9. "*Milto.*" Observe that Milton adopts here the Latin form of his own name which Salzilli had used in his verses, instead of *Miltonius* or *Miltoeus*, which were the more common forms.

15. "*Visum superbâ cognitas urbes famâ,*" &c. Compare stanzas 6—9 of Francini's Italian Ode to Milton (*antè*, p. 36).

22. "*Tam cultus ore Lesbium condis melos.*" This line is not a Scazon: see note, 1—5. The *Lesbium melos* is poetry after the manner of Alcæus and Sappho, natives of Lesbos. By *Romano ore* Milton probably means Italian, not Latin, as it seems to have been by his Italian poetry that Salzilli was best known in Rome.

25, 26. "*sive tu magis Pæan libenter audis*": a Latin idiom. Compare *Epitaph. Dam.* 209, 210, and *Par. Lost*, III. 7.

26. "*hic*": Salzilli.

27, 28. "*Querceta Fauni, vosque rore vinoso  
Colles benigni, mitis Evandri sedes.*"

These are poetical designations for Rome and its neighbourhood. Both Faunus and Evander are important personages in the myths of primitive Latium. They are represented as contemporaries—Faunus, an old



native king,\* fond of agriculture and cattle-breeding, and afterwards worshipped as the God of Fields; and Evander, a refugee Greek king from Arcadia, who came into Latium, helped to civilize it, and led a mild and hospitable reign there. Thus, of Evander, Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 91—96 :—

“ Exsul ab Arcadiis Latios Evander in agros  
Venerat, impositos attuleratque deos.  
Hic, ubi nunc Roma est orbis caput, arbor et herbæ,  
Et paucæ pecudes, et casa rara fuit.  
Quo postquam ventum : ‘ Consistite,’ præscia mater,  
‘ Nam locus imperii rus erit istud,’ ait.”

There was a sacred oracular grove of Faunus on the Aventine hill, where also Evander had an altar.—Mr. Keightley notes that, though there are vineyards on the Roman hills, they are not famed for wine.

33—35. “ *Ipse inter atros emirabitur lucos Numa, ubi,*” &c. Warton’s note on the passage is as follows :—“ Very near the city of Rome, in the middle of a gloomy grove, is a romantic cavern with a spring, where Numa is fabled to have received the Roman laws from his wife Egeria, one of Diana’s nymphs . . . When Numa died, Egeria is said to have retired thither, to lament his death . . . On these grounds Milton builds the present beautiful fiction, that Numa, still living in this dark grove, in the perpetual contemplative enjoyment of his Egeria, from thence will listen with wonder to the poetry of the neighbouring bard. This place is much frequented in sultry weather by the people of Rome, as a cool retreat . . . Milton might have visited it while at Rome.”—The Grove or Valley of Egeria was one of the famous spots about Rome in the time of the Empire; and Juvenal has a passage (*Sat.* iii. 12—20) complaining that the place had been let out to the Jews, and its natural beauty spoilt by a litter of panniers and hay where there ought to have been pure green turf.—It appears to be disputed now whether the place pointed out by Roman *ciceroni* to tourists as the Valley of Egeria is the actual place so distinguished by the old Romans and referred to by Juvenal. See Smith’s *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.*, ii. 820 (Art. *Roma*).

38, 39. “ *Nec in sepulchris ibit obsessum reges,  
Nimium sinistro laxis irruens loro.*”

Inundations of the Tiber were frequent; and Milton has here in view Horace’s description of one such in his Ode i. ii. :—

“ Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis  
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,  
Ire dejectum monumenta regis,  
Templaque Vestæ,  
Iliæ dum se nimium querenti  
Jactat ultorem; vagus et sinistra  
Labitur ripâ (Jove non probante) ux-  
orius amnis.”

41. "*curvi . . . Portumni.*" Mr. Keightley does not see why the epithet *curvus* should be applied to Portumnus; but, as that god of harbours stands here for the open sea, may not the curves or windings of his shores be signified?—There was a temple to Portumnus at the mouth of the Tiber.

## MANSUS.

1, 2. "*Hæc quoque,*" &c. Because, as Warton notes, these verses of Milton were but an addition to the numerous poetical testimonies already received by Manso. More than fifty poets, according to the Italian literary historian Quadrio, had written in his honour.

4. "*Post Galli cineres, et Mæcenatis Etrusci.*" Caius Cornelius Gallus, who died B.C. 26, at the age of about forty, was distinguished as a general, and also as a poet and orator, and was the intimate friend of Virgil, Ovid, and all the other eminent writers of the Augustan age; by whose affectionate references to him he is now chiefly remembered. Of the Etruscan Mæcenas, and his celebrity in literature, nothing needs be said. He died B.C. 8.

6. "*Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebis.*" A line transferred from the Verses *Ad Patrem*. See line 102 of that poem, and note there.

7—10. "*Te pridem . . . concordia Tasso junxit . . . Mox tibi . . . Musa Marinum tradidit.*" For Manso's relations with Tasso and Marini see *Introd.*, II. 368, 369.

11, 12. "*Dum cauit Assyrios divum prolixus amores,*" &c. The reference is to Marini's poem *L'Adone*, which is suitably characterized.

16. "*Vidimus arridentem operoso ex ære poetam*": Marini's monument at Naples.

20, 21. "*Amborum genus . . . describis,*" &c. See *Introd.*, II. 369.

22, 23. "*Æmulus illius . . . qui,*" &c.: *i.e.* Herodotus, born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, not far from Mount Mycale, and supposed to be the author of the *Life of Homer* still extant, but now named "Pseudo-Herodotean."

24. "*Cliūs.*" See note, *Ad Patrem*, 14.

29. "*Imprudens Italas,*" &c. Perhaps an allusion to the things he had written in Italy—his *Italian Sonnets*, the Epigrams *Ad Leonoram* and the *Scazons to Salzilli*; or perhaps by "*Musa*" he only means himself, the poet.

30—33. "*Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos,*" &c. "I believe it is an old tradition," says Warton, "that, if swans sing, it is in

the darkest and coldest nights of winter." The Thames has always been famous for its swans; and Ben Jonson had this in mind when he wrote of Shakespeare—

" Sweet swan of Avon ! what a sight it were  
To see thee in our water yet appear,  
And make those flights upon the banks of Thames  
That so did take Eliza and our James ! "      \*

34. "*Tityrus*." By *Tityrus* Milton is supposed here to mean Chaucer, who had visited Italy about 1373 and seen Petrarch (Prologue to the *Clerke's Tale*). In Spenser's Pastorals *Tityrus* is a fancy-name for Chaucer. See February Eclogue in *Shepherd's Calendar*; and the opening of *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, where Spenser speaks of himself as

" The Shepheard's boy (best known by that name)  
• That after Tityrus first sung his lay."

36, 37. "*Quà plaga septeno mundi sulcata Trione . . . Boöten*." See note, *Eleg.* V. 35.

38—48. "*Nos etiam colimus Phæbum, nos munera Phæbo . . . misimus*," &c. There is a reference here, as Warton pointed out, to the belief that Apollo was worshipped by the ancient Britons. The belief is argued, with some minuteness, by Selden, in his notes to Drayton's *Polyolbion* (Songs viii. and ix.), where he shows how Belin, or Belinus, the "All-healing Deity" of the Druids, and the chief object of their worship, might, by antiquarian ingenuity, be identified with Apollo. Assuming this belief, Milton, in the present passage, goes farther, and ventures to claim as native British Druidesses those Hyperborean nymphs who, according to Herodotus (iv. 35), brought from their far country offerings to Apollo and Artemis in Delos. Herodotus gives but two of these nymphs, and names them Upis and Arge; but Milton, as Warton noted, takes as his authority Callimachus, *Hymn. Del.* 292 :—

" Οὐπίς τε, Λοξώ τε, καὶ εὐαίων Ἑκαέργη,  
Θυγατέρες Βορέας."

To adapt these three nymphs the better to his purpose, he characterizes each of them, making Loxo the daughter of the famous giant-killing, Corineus of Cornwall, the companion of Brutus (see note, *Lycidas*, 156—162); Upis a famous prophetess; and Hecaerge yellow-haired. Moreover, he supposes all the three British beauties to have been stained, after the fashion of their country, with the Caledonian woad; and, not content with this, he feigns that the tradition of their visit had been preserved in Delos, so that the Greek girls there still had songs about Upis, Hecaerge, and Loxo. Altogether, the passage is a piece of scholarship finely turned into poetry.

49. "*Fortunate senex / ergo quacunque per orbem.*" An adaptation, as Mr. Keightley notes, of Virgil's line (*Ecl.* i. 47):—

"Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt."

52. "*Tu quoque in ora frequens venies plausumque virorum.*" From Propertius, III. ix. 32, as Bowle noted:—

"Et venies tu quoque in ora virum."

Todd quotes also Virgil, *Georg.* III. 9:—

"Victorque virum volitare per ora."

56—69. "*At non . . . cælo fugitivus Apollo,*" &c. Another passage of mythological poetry. Apollo, when he was banished from heaven, came to the domain of Admetus, King of Pheræ in Thessaly, son of Pheres (hence named Pheretiades), the same who had previously received the great Hercules (Alcides) as his guest. For nine years the god kept the herds of this king Admetus, whose hospitality he at length rewarded in various ways, but especially by obtaining for him the favour that he should not die if he could find anyone else to die for him—a boon afterwards leading to the touching story of his wife Alcestis (note, *Sonnet* XIII.). But, while the god was in this service, it was his wont, when he would be at leisure for music, to retire to the cave of the gentle and cultivated centaur Cheiron (notes, *Eleg.* IV. 23—28, and *In ob. Proc. Med.* 25, 26), which was in the same Thessalian region, deep in woods, and near the river Peneus. And O what music the god would make in those leafy retreats, the friendly Centaur sitting beside him and listening! The banks of the valley reeled, the deepest stone-blocks were stirred, with the ravishment; the Trachinian rock (Mount Ceta) nodded its vast weight of woods; the ash-trees came in troops from the hills; the spotted lynxes gathered to gaze, lured from their forest haunts! In all this Milton recollects the Chorus in the *Alcestis* of Euripides, describing Apollo's music while he kept the herds of king Admetus (570 *et seq.*); and several of the phrases in the passage are waifs from Virgil, Ovid, and Horace. He has not, however, studied minute geographical consistency; for, though Mount Pelion, where the Centaur had his cave, is near Pheræ, it is at a considerable distance from the river Peneus on one side, and from Mount Ceta on the other. It was enough for the poet to keep his range within Thessaly. The purport of the whole passage, as regards Manso, is that he in Naples had been to Tasso and Marini what the hospitable king Admetus of Pheræ and the good centaur Cheiron of Mount Pelion had been to Apollo in his Thessalian banishment.

72. "*Atlantisque nepos*": *i.e.* the god Mercury, who was the grandson of the Titan Atlas, being the son of Jupiter by Maia, one of the daughters of Atlas.

73. "*magno favisse poetæ.*" Tasso must be especially meant.

75. "*Æsonios lucratur vivida fusos.*" See *Elegia Secunda*, line 8, and note there. Mr. Keightley notes that the phrase "*lucratur Æsonios fusos*," "has the benefit of Æsonian spindles," is an odd one, and not classic.

76. "*Nondum deciduos servans tibi frontis honores.*" This compliment to Manso, on his keeping his hair even in his old age, is irreconcilable with a most precise statement in the sketch given of Manso in the *Pinacotheca* of Janus Nicius Erythræus. In the Third Part of that interesting collection of biographic portraits of eminent men who had died within the lifetime of the author (this Third Part dated 1648, while the two preceding parts had appeared in 1645), Manso forms the subject of Article XIII. (pp. 56—58); and there, after much in commendation of Manso, this passage occurs in illustration of his affability and pleasant manners in private society: "As he excelled in all the Christian virtues, so he was found most of all remarkable in what we call humility; that is, in lowliness of mind and modesty. Wherefore he would not willingly listen to any praises of himself, would detract from his own merits, and attribute all good to others; and, as is the fashion in the club-meetings of the Blessed Virgin, in which he was ranked as one of the members (*ut mos est in sodalitiis B. Virginis, in quibus ille numerabatur*), he would good-humouredly bear to have his defects publicly exposed. If bid lick the ground with his mouth, or kiss the feet of his club-fellows, he would not refuse, or escape the authority of the master of the revels; nor was he less obedient if he were ordered to snatch from his head the periwig with which he concealed his baldness (*caliendrum e capite quo calvitiam occultabat*), but immediately did as he was ordered, and made no scruple about exhibiting, amid the great laughter of the beholders, his perfectly bald head (*neque dubitabat, magno intuentium cum risu, caput pilis nudum ostendere*)." Either, therefore, Erythræus is wrong in this part of his sketch of Manso (which is not likely), or the old nobleman's wig was a good one, and he had worn it carefully when Milton and he were together.

80—84. "*Siquando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges, Arturumque,*" &c. On the autobiographical significance of this passage, as the first announcement of Milton's intention to write a poem on the subject of Arthur and the British Legends, see *Introd. to Par. Lost*, I. 41, 42. Compare also *Epitaph. Dam.* 162—171. He had probably talked of this scheme to Manso; and, from his way of mentioning it, it does not appear to have taken exact shape in his mind. Was Arthur but to come in as one of the legendary British kings; or was he to be the central figure, and was the time of the story to be that of his wars with the Saxons?—"Etiam sub terris" has reference to Arthur's retreat to Faery-land; the "*invicta mensa*" is, of course, the Round Table. Todd,



however, quotes the phrase "*sociæque ad fœdera mensæ*" from Statius, *Theb.* VIII. 240.

85—93. "*Tandem, ubi,*" &c. A beautiful passage, written, I should say, with tears. Note the sudden and yet lingering "*at ego securâ pace quiescam.*" Something of the same mournful cadence recurs in *Sams. Agonistes*, 598.

94—100. "*Tum quoque . . . Olympo.*" The frequency with which Milton ends a poem with this dream of Heaven and its joys has been already remarked on. See note, *Eleg. Tertia*, 63, 64.

### EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS.

1—3. "*Himerides Nymphæ,*" &c. The *Himerides Nymphæ* are the nymphs of the Sicilian river, Himera, mentioned more than once by Theocritus, and once (v. 124) thus, 'Ιμέρα ἀνθ' ὕδατος ῥέιτο γάλα: "May Himera for water flow milk." There were, in reality, two rivers of this name in Sicily, one flowing to the south coast, and the other to the north. The northern Himera, which had the city of Himera at its mouth, is supposed to be the river of Theocritus. Milton's intention, however, is simply to invoke the Sicilian muses generally, the muses of Pastoral Poetry proper, who had inspired Theocritus, and his fellow Sicilian and pastoralist, Moschus. The First Idyll of Theocritus contains the lamentation of the shepherd Thyrsis for his dying fellow-shepherd *Daphnis*; the Thirteenth Idyll of the same poet relates the abduction of the beautiful youth *Hylas* by the water-nymphs, and the grief of Hercules for his loss; and the Third Idyll of Moschus has for its subject the untimely death of the pastoral poet *Bion*, whom Moschus acknowledges as his master, and who, though born in Asia Minor, near Smyrna, had come to reside in Sicily. This last Idyll is entitled 'Επιτάφιος Βίωνος, or *Epitaphium Bionis*, in imitation of Bion's own First Idyll, which is a lament for the death of Adonis, and is entitled 'Επιτάφιος Ἀδώνιδος, or *Epitaphium Adonidis*. In short, Milton desires, in the opening, as all through the poem, to remind his readers that the poem is on the model of the old Greek Pastoral. Hence he calls it a "*Sicelium carmen,*" or "Sicilian song," attempted on the banks of the Thames. See Introd. to the poem, II. 374—376; also Introd. to *Lycidas*, II. 268—275, and notes to *Lycidas*, lines 85, 86, and 132—134.

4. "*Thyrsis.*" Milton, in lamenting Diodati under the name of Damon, represents himself as Damon's surviving fellow-shepherd *Thyrsis*. The name, as has been said, is that of the chief speaker in the First Idyll of Theocritus; and thence it descended as a standing name in subsequent Pastoral poetry. Virgil has it for one of the speakers in his Seventh Eclogue; the English Pastoralists had not forgotten it; and Milton had already used it in his *Comus* as the name



of the Guardian Spirit in his guise of a shepherd. In that character it had been worn by the musician Henry Lawes, the performer of the part, who indeed claimed a kind of property in it in consequence (see Lawes's Dedication of the original edition of *Comus*, II. 433); but Milton now reclaims it for himself.

7. "*Damona.*" *Damon* is also a name in the classic Pastoral. Virgil has a *Damon* as one of the speakers in his Eighth Eclogue.

9—11. "*Et jam bis,*" &c. This passage fixes the date of Diodati's death. Milton had gone abroad in the April of 1638, and he returned to England in the autumn of 1639. Computing from this last date, or from a few weeks later, when Milton wrote his poem, two harvests, with their precedent summers of green crop, would take us back to the summer or early autumn of 1638. Diodati, therefore, must have died shortly after Milton left England, though Milton, as the sequel of the poem shows, remained ignorant of the fact till he was on his return.

12, 13. "*Nec dum aderat Thyrsis,*" &c. : *i.e.* Diodati's death in England had happened while Milton was at Florence, on the first of his two visits to that city : viz. between the middle of July and the middle of September 1638.

15. "*assuetâ seditque sub ulmo.*" Warton properly refers to the phrase "*the accustomed oak*" in *Pens.* 60 (see note there); but Todd quotes also Ovid, *Met.* x. 533, "*assuetâ semper in umbrâ.*"

18. "*Ite domum impasti; domino jam non vacat, agni.*" This line is the burden, or recurring line, of the poem, beginning every paragraph after this point, and repeated in all seventeen times. The exquisite device of such a burden, or recurring line, breaking a long pastoral monologue into musical parts, is found in the First Idyll of Theocritus; where the line—

Ἄρχετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀδιδᾶς

occurs, with only a verbal variation, nineteen times, breaking the lament of Thyrsis for the dying Daphnis. Again, in the Second Idyll of Theocritus, we have two such refrains breaking a monologue, one repeated ten times, and the other twelve times. So in the *Epitaphium Bionis* of Moschus, where the line

Ἄρχετε Σικελικὰ τῷ πένθει, ἄρχετε Μοῖσαι

occurs fourteen times; and so in Bion's *Epitaphium Adonidis*, where similar, but slighter, use is made of the line

Αἶ δ' αὖ τὰν Κυθήρειαν ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις

Virgil also, in his Eighth Eclogue, makes one of the speakers repeat nine times the line

"Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin."

23. "*aureâ*" : used as a dissyllable.

27. "*nisi me lupus antè videbit.*" For this superstition compare Virgil, *Ecl.* ix. 54.

31. "*post Daphnin.*" See note, *antè*, lines 1—3.

32. "*Pales*," the Roman god, or goddess, of sheepfolds; "*Faunus*" (see note, *Ad Sals.* 27), the Roman god of fields and cattle. In this whole passage (29—32) there is a recollection of Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 76—80 :—

"Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,  
Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadæ:  
Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.  
Ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quotannis  
Agricolæ facient."

40. "*rapido sub sole.*" Virgil has the phrase "*solem ad rapidum*," *Georg.* i. 424.

46. "*Mordaces curas.*" From Horace. See *L'Allegro*, 135, and note there.

47. "*Dulcibus alloquiis.*" Also from Horace (*Epod.* xiii. 17).

51, 52. "*Aut æstate, dies medio dum vertitur axe,  
Cum Pan æsculeâ somnum capit abditus umbrâ.*"

An idea taken, as Warton noted, from Theocritus, i. 15—17 :—

Οὐ θέμις, ὦ ποιμὲν, τὸ μεσαμβρινὸν, οὐ θέμις ἔμμιν  
Συρίσδεν' τὸν Πᾶνα δεδοίκαμες· ἦ γὰρ ἀπ' ἄγρας  
Ταυλὶκα κεκμακῶς ἀμπαύεται.

56. "*Cecropiosque sales referet, cultosque lepores?*" *Cecropios* (from Cecrops, the mythical founder of the Athenian state) may be translated "Attic"; in "*Cecropios sales*" there is a recollection of the phrase "*Attic salt*," as a name for genuine wit; and in the whole line there is an allusion to Diodati's sprightly humour. See *Introd.* to *Eleg. Prima*, II. 325—327, and *Introd.* to *Eleg. Sexta*, II. 337. See also note to *Comus*, 619—628.

65. "*Innuba*," &c. Compare *Par. Lost*, V. 215—219.

67. "*Mærent, inque suum convertunt ora magistrum.*" Warton compares *Lycidas*, 125 :—

"The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed."

69, 70. "*Tityrus . . . Alphesibæus . . . Ægon . . . Amyntas.*" These fancy-names are all from the classic Pastoral, and more especially from Virgil's Eclogues, where shepherds so named are either speakers or are mentioned. Milton may, or may not, have had real persons in view under these designations.

71. "*Hic gelidi fontes, hic illita gramina musco.*" So, as Richardson noted, Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 42, 43 :—

"Hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori :  
Hic nemus."

73. "*Ista canunt surdo.*" So, as Mr. Keightley notes, Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 8, "*Non canimus surdis.*"

75. "*Mopsus.*" Another name from the classic Pastoral. In Virgil's *Ecl.* v. *Mopsus* is one of the speakers.

76. "*avium*" : here to be taken, by synæresis, as a dissyllable (*av-yum*) ; but, as Mr. Keightley remarks, the first syllable of the word ought then to be long by position, whereas Milton keeps it short.

79, 80. " *Saturni grave sæpe fuit pastoribus astrum,*" &c. See note, *Il Pens.* 43. Warton refers to Propertius, iv. i. 85, 86.

"Felicesque Jovis stellas, Martisque rapacis,  
Et grave Saturni sidus in omne caput."

82. "*Quid te, Thyrsi, futurum est?*" A Ciceronian idiom for "*Quid tibi,*" &c. In scanning this line the æ of *nymphæ* must remain unelided.

88, 89. "*Hyas, Dryopeque, et filia Baucidis Ægle,*" &c. These female names are from the classic mythology, and here turned to Pastoral use. Real persons may, or may not, have been in Milton's mind. The *Ægle*, so specially characterized, *might* be some real person ; but the character, after all, as Warton noted, is taken from Horace (*Od.* iii. ix. 9, 10) :—

"Me nunc Thressa Chloe regit,  
Dulces docta modos, et citharæ sciens."

90. "*Venit Idumanii Chloris vicina fluenti.*" If any one of the four shepherdesses mentioned were a real person of Milton's acquaintance, this Chloris might be she ; for, as Warton explained, the *Idumanium fluentum*, from which she is said to have come, is the river Chelmer in Essex, near its influx into Blackwater Bay, called by Ptolemy *Portus Idumanus*. It is hardly possible to suppose so precise a local designation adopted without some suggestion from fact.

99, 100. "*deserto in littore Proteus agmina phocarum numerat.*" A recollection from Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 418—436, where the sea-god Proteus is described in this very occupation of tending and numbering his troops of sea-calves on the beach.

115—117. "*Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam,*" &c. A reference to Virgil's First Eclogue, where the shepherd Tityrus tells the shepherd Melibœus of his visit to Rome and his first impressions of that great city. As in that Eclogue Tityrus represents Virgil himself, Milton's meaning here is, "Was it of so much consequence for me to go all the way from England to see Rome, even if Rome had been the

same vast and unruined city as in Virgil's days?" He all but borrows a line of the Eclogue—

"Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?"

Milton visited Rome twice in the course of his foreign tour, viz. in Oct. and Nov. 1638, and again in Jan. and Feb. 1639.

126. "*Pastores Thusci*": the wits and literary men of Florence, among whom he had spent two months (Aug. and Sept.) in 1638, and again two months (March and April) in 1639. Among these Milton became acquainted most intimately with the following eight persons, all then of some distinction in Florentine society, and active in its Academies or literary institutions—Benedetto Buommattei, Jacopo Gaddi, Agostino Coltellini, Valerio Chimentelli, Pietro Frescobaldi, Antonio Malatesti, Antonio Francini, and Carlo Dati. But the great Galileo was living in his blindness near Florence, and Milton had been introduced to him also.

127, 128. "*Thuscus tu quoque Damon, antiquâ genus unde petis Lucumonis ab urbe.*" For Diodati's genealogy see Introd. to *Elegia Prima* (II. 323, 324). By "*antiquâ Lucumonis urbe*" is meant Lucca, Milton perhaps having heard a tradition that it had been founded by one of the old Etruscan Lucumons or kings, possibly even by that Lucumon who was afterwards Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth King of Rome in the legends. Lucca is certainly an ancient city; but it is doubted now whether it is of Etruscan origin, as no Etruscan remains have been found on the site (see Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.*, Art. *Luca*). It has already been noted in the Introd. (II. 373) that Milton, when on his second visit to Florence, made an excursion of a few days, expressly to see Lucca, the place of Diodati's ancestry.

132. "*Et potui Lycidæ certantem audire Menalcam!*" An allusion, in pastoral terms, to the discussions and trials of literary skill he had heard in the Florentine academies. *Lycidas* and *Menalcas* may be any of the fore-named group of Florentine scholars (note 126). Both names are from the Virgilian Eclogues; and, though Milton had already two years before appropriated *Lycidas* immortally to Edward King of Cambridge, he does not hesitate to re-apply the name casually here.

133, 134. "*Ipse etiam tentare ausus sum,*" &c.: i.e. Milton had himself in Florence partaken in the literary discussions of the Academies, and been complimented by his Florentine friends on his poetical and other abilities. See note to *Mansus*, line 29, for an enumeration of the pieces of verse written by Milton in Italy. While in Florence, he wrote also an interesting Latin letter to Buommattei on his Italian Grammar (Sept. 10, 1638); and it is possible, though not likely, that he wrote other things which he did not preserve. Doubtless the "attempts" he speaks of as "not displeasing" his Florentine friends were chiefly such of his Latin poems and oratorical exercises as he had

brought with him from England, or could remember; for it does not seem that any of his Florentine friends could read English, so as to appreciate his *Comus*, his *Lycidas*, or his other English pieces.

134, 135. "*nam sunt et apud me, munera vestra,*" &c. Richardson refers to Virgil, *Ecl.* 111. 62, 63, where Menalcas says:—

"Et me Phœbus amat: Phœbo sua semper apud me  
Munera sunt, lauri, et suave rubens hyacinthus."

I do not doubt, however, that Milton had actually received little gifts, or tokens of remembrance, from his Florentine friends, and that, to be in pastoral keeping, he names these "*fiscellæ, calathique, et cerea vincla cicutæ.*"

136—138. "*Quin et nostra . . . et Datis et Francinus . . . Lydorum sanguinis ambo.*" Milton here, after having referred to his Florentine friends generally as "*pastores Thusci,*" or "Tuscan shepherds," mentions two of them, Carlo Dati and Antonio Francini, with particular regard, and expressly by their own names, on account of the encomiums they had bestowed upon him—Francini in an elaborate Italian ode, and Dati in a Latin address (see both performances among the *De Auctore Testimonia*, antè, pp. 35—38). They are called "of the blood of the Lydians," in allusion to the story in Herodotus, universally accepted in the ancient world, that the Etruscans came from Lydia in Asia Minor. Doubtless, too, there is an allusion to Horace (*Sat.* 1. vi. 1, 2) where he says of Mæcenas that no one was *generosior* than he of all who inhabited "*Lydorum Etruscos fines.*"—It may be again mentioned that Milton's affectionate remembrance of his Tuscan friends accompanied him through life. Among his Latin Familiar Epistles is one to Carlo Dati, dated "London, April 21, 1647," in which messages are sent to Coltellini, Francini, Frescobaldi, Malatesti, and Chimentelli, and "the rest of the Gaddian Academy"; the correspondence with Dati did not then cease; and in Milton's *Defensio Secunda*, published in 1654, he made honourable mention of seven of the group by name, acknowledging his obligations to them, and to "not a few others" in Florence.

142. "*cum te cinis ater habebat.*" Traced to Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 633:—

"Namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat."

144. "*Vimina nunc textit, varicis sibi quod sit in usus.*" Traced to Virgil, *Ecl.* 11. 71, 72:—

"Quin tu aliquid saltem potius, quorum indiget usus,  
Viminibus mollique paras detexere junco?"

149. "Aut ad aquas Colni, aut ubi jugera Cassibelauni." The "*aquæ Colni*" sufficiently designate the neighbourhood of Horton in Bucks, the country-residence of Milton's father, where Milton had mainly lived from 1632 to 1638; and it has been ingeniously suggested to me by a



correspondent that the apposition of the "*jugera Cassibelanni*," as an alternative place for the meeting of the two friends, may imply that these "*jugera Cassibelanni*"—viz. the neighbourhood of St. Albans in Herts, where, according to Camden, the British king Cassibelaunus, who opposed Cæsar, had his head-quarters—were the place of Diodati's usual residence when Milton took farewell of him to go abroad. In that case, the present passage would mean that Milton, when abroad, often anticipated the renewal of his walks with Diodati, on the old understanding that sometimes Diodati should come to Horton, and sometimes Milton should go to St. Albans. The distance between the two places is about twenty miles. It is possible that the conjecture of my correspondent may yet be verified by the discovery of some traces of Diodati in the neighbourhood indicated. At present the place of his death is unknown. There has been a vague idea among Milton's commentators that it may have been near Chester; but this rests only on the fact that Diodati was at Chester in 1626, and the tenor of all the evidence is that his habitual residence afterwards, to his death in 1638, was much nearer London.

150—154. "*Tu mihi percurres medicos*," &c. The reference is to Diodati's profession of medicine and his botanical knowledge. See *Comus*, 619—628, and note there.

155—160. "*Ipse etiam*," &c. Observe the subtle connexion here with what has preceded. Milton has been speaking of Diodati's profession, of his botanical pursuits, of the topics of conversation these furnished in their walks, and now of the close of all this by death. Then he goes on to remember that he himself has a profession, if it may be so called,—that of letters and poetry,—and how often and how naturally, in exchange for Diodati's medical chat, he had talked with him about his own literary doings and plans. Well, if Diodati had been still alive, to welcome him back to England, what would have been one of his first communications to that beloved friend? Would it not have been about a great English Poem he had been meditating while in Italy, and of which his mind was still so full that actually but a few days ago—eleven nights and a day, says Milton, with his usual exactness—he had been trying to make a beginning? It had not been successful; the theme was too grave for one whose poetical exercises hitherto had been of a lighter kind; well might he hesitate! Would he have ventured, after all, to tell even Diodati? And now, with no Diodati to hear, shall he risk putting his bold intention on paper? Observe the studied breaks in the syntax, the jerks of short clauses, with which he conveys his doubts whether it will be prudent to do so, whether he may not incur the charge of boastfulness if he does; and then the sudden resolution "*tamen et referam: vos cedite, sylvæ*." ("Yes, I will tell it: ye Woods, give place.") By "*sylvæ*" or "woods" Milton here means Pastoral Poesy; and it is as if he had said,



"Pastoral Poesy! listen to that scheme of mine which is to withdraw me from your service and transfer me to one higher and more difficult!"

162—168. "*Ipse ego Dardaniæ*," &c. In this famous passage Milton divulges in greater detail that scheme of an Epic on the subject of King Arthur and Legendary British History which he had announced a year before in his poem to Manso (see *Mansus*, 80—84, and note there). All the proper names in the passage are significant. The "*Dardaniæ Rutupina per æquora puppes*" of which he is to speak are the Trojan ships along the Kentish coasts, bringing Brutus and his wandering Trojan followers to their new home in Britain (*Rutupinus* being from *Rutupæ* or *Rutupiæ*, now *Richborough* in Kent, famous among the Romans for its oyster-beds, and reckoned one of the most convenient ports in southern Britain). The "*Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ*" is the realm which Brutus established in Britain, called, in poetical gallantry, not his, but that of his wife Inogen, or Imogen, the daughter of the Grecian king Pandrasus, with whom Brutus and his Trojans had fought in the course of their Mediterranean wanderings, though at length there was an agreement, and a handsome parting dowry of ships and money from Pandrasus to Inogen and her adventurous husband. In the line "*Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum*" we are led farther on in British legendary history, and touch it at two long-separated points. Brennus and Belinus are two famous British brothers, sons of Dunwallo Molmutius, the second founder of the British nation, more than six hundred years after its first foundation by Brutus; and the legends tell nothing less of them than that, after mutual wars in Britain, they joined forces and led that famous expedition of so-called Gauls into Italy by which infant Rome had nearly perished (B.C. 390)—the so-called Gauls of that invasion being in reality Britons, and the Brennus who flung his broadsword into the scale, and said "*Væ victis!*" to the trembling Romans who were weighing out their ransom in gold, being the younger of the two brothers. For Arviragus, again, though he is wedged into the line with the two brothers, and indeed separates them, we must come down to the time of the Roman occupation of Britain; for he was one of the sons of the British king Cunobelin (Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*), and fought against the Roman invaders about A.D. 45. In the succeeding line "*Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos*" we overleap several centuries more, and arrive at the period of the supposed colonization of Armorica in France by refugee Britons escaping from the cruelties of Hengist, Horsa, and their Pagan Saxons (A.D. 450 *et seq.*). Thus at last we reach the main subject:—

"Tum gravidam Arturo, fatali fraude, Iögernem;  
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,  
Merlini dolus:"

*i.e.* the birth of the great Arthur, whose mother was Igraine, wife of Duke Gorlois of Cornwall, but whose father was not this Gorlois, but

Uther Pendragon, King of all Britain, introduced into the lady's castle, in the likeness of her dead husband, by the craft of the magician Merlin.—How Milton was to weld into one Epic all these masses of legend, straggling over some sixteen hundred years of imagined time, cannot be known. Probably, while making Arthur his immediate hero, and using Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, or the original Arthurian poems, as his material for that story, he might, by some device of magical reflection or doubling-back in the narrative, have included a retrospect of the British Legendary History back to Brutus, as told in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and summarized poetically by Spenser in sixty-four stanzas of his *Faery Queene* (see *F. Q.*, Book II. Canto x. stanzas 5—68; and note the mention there of Brutus and Inogen, 9—13, Brennus and Belinus, 40, Arvirage or Arviragus, 51, and the Armorican settlers, 64). As it happened, he was never to carry his project into effect; and all we have from him as a substitute for it is his prose compilation of the British Legends in his *History of England*, published in 1670. Within a year after the *Epitaphium Damonis* was written, the notion of an Arthurian Epic was abandoned by Milton and other subjects were occupying his mind. See *Introd. to Par. Lost*, I. 42 *et seq.*, and *General Introd. to Minor Poems*, II. 162 *et seq.*

168—171. "*O, mihi tum si vita supersit . . . Brittonicum strides.*" If Milton had carried out his great Arthurian project, then, as he here says, the simpler pastoral pipe which he had hitherto used most in his poetry would have been hung up and forgotten, and, as he also says, the Latin verse, which he had so much practised, would have been exchanged for native strains and the British war-screach.

171—178. "*Quid enim? omnia non licet uni.*" In this passage, in the opening of which there is a trace of Virgil's "*non omnia possumus omnes*" (*Ecl.* VIII. 63), Milton still pursues the idea of his great intended Epic, and emphasizes the fact that it would be in English. In that fact there was certainly a drawback, for it would limit his constituency of readers to his own countrymen. What then? He would be content with that constituency! Yes! let him be unknown all through the foreign world, if he should be read along all the rivers and all the shores of his own native island! For the importance of this concession in Milton's mode of thinking, and a re-expression of it shortly afterwards in one of his prose-pamphlets, see *Introd. to Par. Lost*, I. 40, 41; see also *Introd. to the Latin Poems*, II. 318—321. The enumeration of British rivers and coasts in the present passage is very poetical, and may be compared with that in *At a Vacation Exercise*, 91—100. Whether the *Usa* is the Ouse of the Eastern Counties or the Ouse of Yorkshire may remain doubtful; but the former may be preferred, as the river nearest Cambridge (see Spenser, *F. Q.* IV. xi. 34). The *Alaunus* may be the Denbighshire Allen or Alyn, flowing into the Dee. The "*vorticibus frequens Abra*," where the epithet "*vorticibus frequens*" is from Ovid,

*Mct.* ix. 306, is supposed by Warton to be probably the Humber ("storming Humber" Spenser calls it, *F. Q.* iv. xi. 30); but *Abra*, Latinized from *Aber* a river's mouth, was a name of various rivers, and sometimes especially designated the Severn. The *Treanta* is, of course, the Trent; then, above all, Milton names *Thamesis meus*, his own Thames; after which the *Tamara* or Tamar, dividing Devon from the mining county of Cornwall, is the only river mentioned, and the eye then glances swiftly to the extreme north of the island, catching no more rivers, but only the sea round the *Orcades*, or Orkneys.—In all these places, and not least in the last, Milton is now read.

180. "*Hæc tibi servabam lentâ sub cortice lauri.*" Probably this is a mere metaphorical expression for "I was keeping all this to be told you"; but the image is that of something packed up in tough laurel bark, and one can discern the significance of that image for the occasion.

181—197. "*tum quæ mihi pocula Mansus bina dedit, artis opus,*" &c. I do not see any other possible interpretation of this passage than that which accepts it, as Warton was inclined to do, as a description of an actual pair of cups or goblets, with designs painted or engraved on them, which the Neapolitan Manso had given to Milton as a keepsake at parting, and which Milton had hoped to show to Dic. lat. True, it may be argued that the whole is but a fiction in the manner of the pastoralists. Thus Virgil, following precedents in Theocritus, makes the two shepherds, Damoetas and Menalcas, who contend in his Third Eclogue for the superiority in singing, name as their stakes, respectively, a young heifer and a pair of beechen cups. Damoetas, who has staked the heifer, asks Menalcas to name his stake; and Menalcas replies—

"De grege non ausim quidquam deponere tecum :  
Est mihi namque domi pater, est iniusta noverca ;  
Bisque die numerant ambo pecus, alter et hædos.  
Verum, id quod multo tute ipse fatebere majus,  
(Insanire licet quoniam tibi) pocula ponam  
Fagina, cælatum divini opus Alcimedontis ;  
Lenta quibus torno facili superaddita vitis  
Diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos.  
In medio duo signa, Conon, et, quis fuit alter,  
Descripsit radio tolum qui gentibus orbem,  
Tempora quæ messor, quæ curvus arator haberet.  
Necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo."

To this Damoetas answers that the cups will do, but they are no great bargain against the heifer, as he has two cups of his own by the same maker—

"Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,  
Et molli circum est ansas amplexus acantho ;  
Orpheaque in medio posuit, sylvasque sequentes.  
Necdum illis labra admovi, sed condita servo.  
Si ad vitulam spectas, nihil est quod pocula laudes."

Despite this coincidence, however (and Milton certainly had those passages in his mind, and takes phrases from them), it is impossible to conceive the present from Manso to be a pure fiction, and difficult to conceive that the two cups are a mere allegorical substitute, in the poem, for a real present of some quite different article. Save for this passage, we know of no present of Manso to Milton except the Latin distich of compliment—

“ Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos, si pietas sic,  
Non Anglus, verum herclè Angelus ipse, fores ;”

and surely not even Milton's imagination could have converted that into two cups, a *mirum artis opus*, which Manso “*circum gemino cælaverat argumento*.” For, though the designs on the cups in the poem are described in most gorgeous language, one can still see what the subjects might be on two actual cups. On one side of each . . . an oriental scene of the Red Sea, the Arabian shores, palm-trees, and the divine bird Phœnix looking back at Aurora surmounting the great waters ; on the obverse was a scene from Greek mythology, representing Olympus and the gods, with Cupid underneath, his torch, his quiver, and his eyes all ablaze, shooting his arrows right upwards through the celestial ranks. Now, if, as Milton seems to say, the designs were Manso's own, the present was a very graceful one for the old nobleman to make to his young English visitor. Nor, if he did, when Milton was going away, take such a pair of cups from his cabinet, and beg Milton to accept them in addition to the Latin distich of compliment he has already written, would there have been much inconsistency in the act with what Erythræus, in his sketch of Manso (see note to *Mansus*, line 76), tells us of the old nobleman's habits at last : viz. that the only fault found with him was that he seemed to be too careful of his goods (*quod nimis ad rem attentus videretur*), and that people did not understand this till after his death, when it appeared that he had been saving all he could that he might leave a more handsome endowment for a college for the education of young noblemen which he had founded in Naples, and from which he expected great things.—Milton's pleasure in the regard Manso had shown for him is conspicuous throughout the passage. He calls him (line 182) “Manso, not the last glory of the Chalcidic, i.e. Neapolitan, shore” (for *Chalcidicus*, see note, *Ad Leon.* III. 4).

198—219. “*Tu quoque in his—nec me fallit spes lubrica, Damon—  
Tu quoque in his certe es,*” &c.

This closing passage is in a strain of noble and surprising phrenzy. Observe the transition from the preceding description of one of the designs on the cups—the Heaven of the gods, and Love not absent even there, but shooting his darts right up among the gods themselves.

“Thou too art among *them*,” he exclaims, addressing the dead Damon, “I know for certain that thou also art among *them* ;” and then, once on the track of his favourite idea of a mystic or divine Love active even in heavenly hearts among the heavenly hierarchies (see note, *Comus*, 999, *et seq.*), he remains in that idea to the end. Damon—or let him be called at last by his own dear name of DIONATI—is not among the dead. He is living above the skies : he has spurned back the rainbow ; amid the souls of heroes and the gods everlasting, he is drinking the joys that await the blessed ! Nay for him, virgin as his life on earth had been, were there not reserved the highest honours of Apocalyptic promise (Rev. xiv. 2—4) ? Yes, there in Heaven, his head encircled with the glittering crown, and walking with palm-branches in the glad procession, he was partaking already in the eternal nuptial-feast, joining his voice in the unutterable marriage-song, and mixing in a revel beatific beyond all Bacchic orgies, because ruled by the thyrsus of Sion itself (Rev. vii. 9—17, and xix. 5—9). Compare lines 165—181 of *Lycidas* and note there. But the phrenzy here, though with latent Biblical support, is more daringly wild. The last line especially breaks all customary bounds.

#### AD JOANNEM ROUSIUM : ODE.

*Milton's Note on the Verse.*—In this note, Milton, in a manner which is obviously apologetic, explains the irregularities of form in his Ode. In the first place, he explains that, though he has divided it into seven pieces, or three Strophes, as many Antistrophes, and an Epode, yet in this division he has attended rather to the habits of modern reading than to the ancient arrangement for singing, and so has made the pieces neither all of the same length, nor quite correspondent in the metres employed. Hence perhaps, in strictness, the whole Ode ought, he says, to have been printed monostrophically, or as one continuous run of varied verse, without break into parts. Next, however, in the measures of the individual lines great liberties have been taken, some conforming to rule, but others being quite loose and arbitrary, or guided by no rule but that of the poet's own ear. Among the first kind will be found some *Phaleucians* (otherwise called *Phalæcians* or *Heptasyllabics*, and strictly of this formula — — | — ∪ ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪ | — ∪) ; and, should it be objected that in two of these Phaleucians a spondee has been admitted as the third foot, Milton would justify himself by the example of Catullus, who has admitted a spondee at his pleasure, if not for the third foot, at least for the second.—The substance of all this is that the Ode is a metrical whim of Milton's, outraging all the traditions of Latin prosody, and falling back rather on that boundless license of the easy



Greeks which Martial envied. In one of Martial's Epigrams to Earinus, a favourite servant of the Emperor Domitian (ix. 12), he comments humorously on the strictness of the Latin prosody, which would not permit him to get such a pretty, sweet-sounding name as *Earinus* into his verse, though the Greeks managed it—

“ Nomen nobile, molle, delicatum,  
Versu dicere non rudi volebam :  
Sed tu syllaba contumax repugnas.  
Dicunt *Ἑαρινόν* tamen poetæ,  
Sed Græci, quibus est nihil negatum,  
Et quos *Ἄπες Ἄπες* decet sonare ;  
Nobis non licet esse tam disertis,  
Qui Musas colimus severiores.”

As Milton in this Ode was less scrupulous than Martial, and used that Greek license on a large scale which Martial could not risk even in the quantity of a syllable, the critics have, almost unanimously, condemned his experiment. Thus the Rev. Dr. Symmons, one of Milton's greatest admirers, calls the Ode to Rous “a wild chaos of verses and no verses heaped together confusedly and licentiously.” While admitting that some of the irregular individual lines might be defended as rhythmical and “not wholly contrary to the genius of the Latin language,” he will not give the benefit of even this chance to others ; two of Milton's so-called Phalæcians he declares to be “not Phalæcians, whatever Milton may call them ;” and he specifies thirteen lines as so bad that “to reject them disdainfully” does not require the judgment of fastidious ears, inasmuch as long-eared King Midas himself (see Milton's Sonnet to Lawes) would have done so.—For our part, we have faith enough in Milton's own ear and scholarship to believe that he had passed all Dr. Symmons's objections through his mind before venturing on the Ode, or at least before printing it, and thought them no bar to the whim in which he had chosen to indulge, if only he guarded himself by a due note of explanation. We believe also that anyone who will read the Ode continuously, with Milton's explanation in mind rather than the rules of Latin prosody, will find in it the full arbitrary rhythm which Milton intended. Cowper, who acknowledged that the translation of this Ode had cost him more labour than that of any other of Milton's Latin pieces, contrived to render the rhythm into what he considered might pass as an English equivalent. See specimen in Introduction, II. 380, 381.

1—3.

“ *Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,  
Fronde licet geminâ,  
Munditieque nitens non operosâ.*”

An exact description of the missing copy of the Moseley, or 1645, edition of Milton's Poems, which had been sent to Rous at Oxford (see Introd.,



II. 377—380). It was a double book, consisting of the English Poems and the Latin, separately paged, and with a separate title-page to the Latin Poems in addition to the general one at the beginning, but the two parts bound together in one neat, plain volume. Compare Martial's address *Ad Librum Suum* (III. 2) :—

“ Cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus,  
Et frontis gemino decens honore  
Pictis luxurietis umbilicis.”

6. “*haud nimii poetæ*” : said in semi-humorous modesty.

7, 8. “*Dum vagus Ausonias nunc per umbras,  
Nunc Britannica per vireta lusi.*”

The poems had been composed partly in “Ausonian shades,” *i.e.* in Italy, partly in “British green fields,” *i.e.* in England. This I take to be the meaning, and not that the poems were partly in Latin and partly in English. The sequel seems to forbid that metaphorical interpretation.

10—12. “*mox itidem pectipe Daunio,*” &c. Both Warton and Mr. Keightley understand this as a reference to the Italian Sonnets in the volume; but this would presuppose the metaphorical interpretation of the preceding phrase “*Ausonias per umbras,*” which I question in last note. Milton's meaning, by the syntax, is “While, now in Italy, now in England, I amused myself, innocent as yet of any concern in popular disputes, and indulged at random in my native lute (English verse), or anon would strike up a distant melody for my neighbours with *Daunian* quill.” Now, though this last phrase would certainly include the Italian Sonnets, and might be wholly appropriated to them if the Latin Poems had been previously mentioned, it seems more natural, in the context, to take *Daunian* as comprehending the Latin Poems with the Italian. The word *Daunia* applied strictly to a portion of Apulia in South-eastern Italy; and its extension either to ancient Italy generally or to modern Italy seems to be a poetic license. Possibly, in selecting the term, Milton may have remembered Horace's reference (*Od.* III. 30) to *Daunia* as a rather barbaric and sterile part of Italy :—

“ Dicar qua violens obstrepit Aufidus,  
Et qua pauper aquæ Daunus agrestium  
Regnavit populorum ”;

and he may have implied that neither was his Latin offered as the classical Latin of ancient Rome, nor his Italian as the right modern Tuscan.—If the Italian Sonnets *are* specially referred to, then the context would favour the hypothesis that these Sonnets were written in England, and not in Italy (see Introduction to Italian Sonnets, II.

283—285); for it would be too great a strain to translate, with Mr. Keightley, "*longinquum*" "distant from England," and "*vicinis*" "to those who were near him, the Italians."

18. "*Thamesis ad incunabula.*" The true sources or cradle of the Thames are not at or near Oxford, but either much farther west, in Gloucestershire (if the Isis is taken as the main head), or considerably to the north-east, in Buckinghamshire (if the Thame is taken as the head); but Milton condescends to the popular fancy that the Thames begins to be the true *Thamesis* a little below Oxford, where the longer Isis (Celtic *ouse* or "water") after being reinforced by the Cherwell precisely at Oxford, receives also the Thame as its tributary; and so starts afresh Londonwards as the *Thame-Isis*. The poets were fond of this fancy and of its association with Oxford. Thus, Spenser (*F.Q.*, iv. xi. 24—26), in his assembly of all the waters and rivers of the earth to the marriage of the completed Thames with the Medway in the open sea far below London, makes the Thame and Isis come first of all the English rivers, as being the father and mother of the now full-grown bridegroom :—

" But him before there went, as best became,  
His auncient parents ; namely th' auncient Thame :  
But much more aged was his wife than he,  
The Ouse, whom men doe Isis rightly name."

He goes on to tell that the Isis was a "weak and crooked creature" that could scarce see her way, and required the support of her two attendants the Churne and the Cherwell, but that Thame was stronger, though also old and grey-bearded, and also somewhat bowed forward in his gait.

" by reason of the load  
And auncient heavy burden which he bore  
Of that faire City, wherein made abode  
So many learned imps, that shoot abroad  
And with their braunches spred all Britany."

21. "*Aonidum*" : of the Muses, called Aonides, from Aonia, the old name of Boeotia.

29. "*Tollat nefandos,*" &c. The civil wars had lasted since 1642 ; and, as Oxford had been the King's head-quarters, the University there had especially suffered. Most of the Colleges had been broken up, or turned into barracks ; and all the studious routine of the place had been interrupted. Milton, in Jan 1646-7, sighs for an end of this state of things in Oxford, and throughout England.

33—36. "*Immundasque volucres . . . figat Apollineâ pharetrâ, Phineamque abigat pestem,*" &c. Milton has in view those who in England, in 1646-7, might be likened to the Harpies, or unclean and infectious birds

of Greek mythology, who were sent to punish the Thracian king and soothsayer Phineus, in his blindness, by continually attending him and spoiling and tainting all the food that came to his table. As it was not Apollo that delivered Phineus from the Harpies, the phrase "*Apollineâ pharetrâ*" is used with reference to the quiver which the deity who will perform the like service for England will bear. It will be the quiver of that monster-killing god who is also the God of Poetry. So also Thames, the seat of Oxford, is the "*amnis Pegaseus*," the river of the winged Pegasus, the horse of the Muses, at the stroke of whose hoof sprang up the sacred Hippocrene.—Who, in 1646-7, were the Harpies and unclean birds of England, in Milton's estimation, one can easily guess (see *Sonnets* XI. and XII., and *On the New Forcers of Conscience*, and Introductions and Notes to those pieces). Some of them had fastened especially on Oxford. But Milton must have had in view also the Royalists and Prelatists.

42. "*institoris insulsi*." Mr. Keightley translates "the ignorant keeper of a bookstall"; but it may be any "tasteless huckster" that could make use of the paper of the book.

46. "*renige pennâ*." Mr. Keightley quotes Virgil, *Æn.* i. 301, "*Remigio alarum*"; and Warton compares *Par. Lost*, II. 927, "*sail-broad vans*."

56—60. "*Quam cui præfuit Ion . . . Acteâ genitus Creusâ*." Ion, the mythical ancestor of the whole Ionian race, was the son of Apollo by Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens. He was therefore *Erechtheides*, or grandson of Erechtheus, just as his mother Creusa was *Actæa*, i.e. Attic or Athenian (from Acte, "promontory," an old name for Attica). The story about Ion was that his mother, ashamed of his birth, exposed him in a cave, but that Apollo caused Hermes to carry him to Delphi, where he was brought up, as a child of unknown parentage, in Apollo's own temple. "He, therefore, a youth, would wander in play about the altars which fed him; but, when he grew to manhood, the Delphians made him guardian of the treasures of the God, and trustworthy keeper of all." So says Euripides in the beginning of his *Ion*, and the rest of that play continues the story. It is to Ion, when he was keeper of the rich temple of Delphi, with its furniture of golden tripods and other gifts, that Milton compares Rous of the Bodleian.

65. "*Delo posthabitâ*": adapted from Virgil's words about Juno (*Æn.* i. 16), "*posthabitâ . . . Samo*."

73—87. "*Vos tandem . . . Rousio favente*." Warton and Mr. Keightley think that this Epode has in view chiefly the future fate of those of Milton's prose-writings that had been sent to Rous (see list of them, *Introd.*, II. 378, 379); but, though these are included, I do not

see that he distinguishes between them and the poems he was now replacing in their companionship. In 1646-7, when this Ode was written, Milton, whether as poet or as prose-writer, was under that cloud of abuse, and in some quarters even infamy, which his Anti-Episcopal pamphlets and Divorce pamphlets, but especially the latter, had occasioned. There probably was some discrimination already among his contemporaries between the merits of his poetry and the demerits or disputed merits of his prose-pamphlets; for the public beginnings of his poetical reputation might date from as far back as 1634, when his *Comus* was acted and heard of, whereas his controversial prose-pamphlets and the conflict of judgments about them dated only from 1641. But in the conflict of judgments about his prose-pamphlets any poetical reputation he had previously acquired had been swallowed up. Even the collected volume of his poems which he had let Moseley publish for him in 1645, partly with a view to compel people to remember that he was not a prose-pamphleteer only, had failed of that effect; and some fourteen months afterwards, when the present Ode was written, Milton might well look forward to a very dubious verdict from his countrymen on the worth of all he had done. Still he had faith in at least the rectitude of what he had done, whether as poet or as prose-writer; and hence he could say, half sadly, "*Si quid meremur sana posteritas sciet*," and could expect those "*ultimi nepotes*," that "*cordatior ætas*," that should understand him thoroughly and do him justice. Alas! the "*cordatior ætas*" was long in coming! Milton himself hardly lived to see it. New fame, but also new infamy, in England and through Europe, grew round him for thirteen years more, in consequence of his Regicide pamphlets and his connexion with the Commonwealth and Cromwell; at the Restoration he was "blind Milton," one of the "damnable Cromwellian crew," whom even respectable people wanted to see hanged, or consented to see live on unhanged only because God had already put the mark of his own vengeance upon him, and punished him with blindness; and, though *Paradise Lost* in 1667, and *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in 1671, recalled attention to the blind monster, and revived the distinction that might be made between his poetical genius and his political and prose enormities, only a brave Dryden among the greater critics, with here and there a following among the lesser, neglected this distinction in their general estimate, and saluted the yet living Milton with adequate reverence. Thirteen years after Milton's death (1687) a scribbler called Winstanley could venture to dismiss him thus in a book called *Lives of the most famous English Poets*: "He is one whose natural parts might deservedly give him a place among the principal of our English poets; but his fame is gone out like a candle in a snuff, and his memory will always stink." Through the subsequent century, as we know, this conclusion was resented and reversed, and the poet Milton became for England all that he has since been. But still there was the inevitable

distinction. The Poet Milton was one being, high in heaven ; Milton the Prose-writer was quite another being, down irrecoverably in Tartarus. Hear, for example, how the able and scholarly Warton, who was the first to do editorial justice to Milton's Minor Poems, could speak of Milton's Prose-writings as late as 1791, in a note to this very passage in the Ode to Rous. " Upon the whole," wrote Warton, " and with regard to his political writings at large, even after the prejudices of party have subsided, Milton, I believe, has found no great share of favour, of applause, or even of candour, from distant generations. His *Si quid meremur*, in the sense here belonging to the words, has been too fully ascertained by the mature determination of time. Toland, about thirty years after the Restoration, thought Milton's prose-works of sufficient excellence and importance to be collected and printed in one body. But they were neglected and soon forgotten. Of late years, some attempts have been made to revive them, with as little success. At present they are almost unknown. If they are ever inspected, it is perhaps occasionally by a commentator on Milton's verse, as affording materials for comparative criticism, or from motives of curiosity only, as the productions of the writer of *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, and not so much for any independent value of their own. In point of doctrine, they are calculated to annihilate the very foundations of our civil and religious establishment, as it now subsists : they are subversive of our legislature, and our species of government. In condemning tyranny, he strikes at the bare existence of Kings ; in combating superstition, he decries all public Religion. These discourses hold forth a system of government at present as unconstitutional, and almost as obsolete, as the nonsense of passive obedience ; and, in this view, we might just as well think of republishing the pernicious theories of the Kingly bigot James as of the Republican usurper Oliver Cromwell. Their style is perplexed, pedantic, poetical, and unnatural, abounding in enthusiastic effusions which have been mistaken for eloquence and imagination. In the midst of the most solemn rhapsodies, which would have shone in a Fast Sermon before Cromwell, he sometimes indulges a vein of jocularitv ; but his witticisms are as awkward as they are unsuitable, and Milton never more misunderstands the nature and bias of his genius than when he affects to be arch either in prose or verse. His want of deference to superiors teaches him to write without good manners ; and, when we consider his familiar acquaintance with the elegancies of antiquity, with the orators and historians of Greece and Rome, few writers will be found to have made so slender a sacrifice to the Graces." Clearly, when this was written by one of the truest admirers of Milton's Poetry, the *cordatior atas* which Milton had anticipated for his writings in general had not come. Has it come even yet ? Less decisively than before, but decisively enough, we still distinguish the poetry from the prose. About Milton's Poems we know what it



is right to say; but Oh! his opinions, Oh! his pamphlets! To be sure, there is his *Areopagitica*; we will make that an exception, we will call that noble, for its doctrine is now axiomatic; but Oh! for the rest! Well, it cannot be denied that there is something valid in the distinction theoretically, and that practically we do find it necessary to make such distinctions in our criticism of writers. We like one production of a writer, and we do not like, or we do not equally like, another production of the same writer. Besides, poems are poems, and opinions are opinions. We desire only to be stirred and roused and charmed and elevated by a poem; but, if an opinion concerns any matter of morals or politics still in discussion, how can we avoid hating it, and even any presentation of it, if we do not agree with it? With all this, however, the distinction, as it has been applied to Milton, may be challenged at its roots, and will more and more be challenged. It is the author of *Paradise Lost* that is the author of those *Prose Pamphlets*; and it is the author of the *Prose Pamphlets* that is the author of *Paradise Lost*. They sprang from one life; they are but diverse manifestations of one and the same soul; they are organically related; neither could have come into the world from any other mind than precisely that which exulted in the other; there is an interfusion between the two of the same sap, the same ruling ideas, the same Miltonism, the same life-blood. What God and Nature, and Milton's own meditations and determinations about himself through fifty years, thus organically united, and transmitted as a conjoint bequest from one man's life to those who in future times might care to know how he figured things and with what thoughts he walked the world, what right have we, because of our temporary Shibboleths, to break so positively into two parts, declaring that the one must be accepted, but the other condemned or ignored? To prefer the one to the other is within our right; to find fault with either is within our right; but not to adore the one and bury or deride the other as an accidentally connected monstrosity. Perhaps, in this respect, a *cordatior ætas* than even the present still awaits Milton. Perhaps to the total body of his writings, prose and verse together, one may yet learn to address, with full significance, the two opening lines of his Ode to Rous, addressed by himself only to his volume of Poems, as partly English and partly Latin:

“ Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,  
Fronde licet geminâ.”



IN SALMASII HUNDREDAM: IN SALMASIUM.

On the subjects of these two scraps see Introd., II. 382, 383.—It may be added, in explanation of phrases in the second piece, that Salmasius ranked as an *Eques*, or Knight, on the continent, having, as Todd notes, been presented with the Order of St. Michael by Louis XIII. of France.—Of "*Mungentium, cubito virorum*" in the same piece Warton notes that this was a cant name among the Romans of fishmongers.

THE END.







